

Critical Analysis of President Rouhani's Discourse at UN General Assembly

Ahmad Zirak Ghazani,

Department of English Language and Literature, Azarbaijan Shahid Madani University

Email: a.zeerak@gmail.com

Abstract

A political discourse contains some features that must be constant in them to be recognized and understood by the audience as such, and it must, at the same time, fulfill the purpose of persuading the addressees. The paper investigated persuasive strategies as well as the ideology of moderation enshrined in the public speaking of the President of the Islamic Republic of Iran H. E. Dr. Hassan Rouhani before the 69th Session of the UN General Assembly. It is grounded in Norman Fairclough's assumption in Critical Discourse Analysis that ideologies are located in texts and that it is not possible to separate them from the text, so texts are open to different interpretation (Fairclough, 1995). Thus the selected ideological and persuasive components were examined, revealing Rouhani's Persuasive techniques in terms of argument regarding nuclear issue. Searle's typology of Speech Act Theory was applied as a framework to investigate the illocutionary force of sentences in the speech. Furthermore, the use of Aristotle's three appeals, Ethos, Logos, and Pathos were examined with regard to the Persuasive strategies. A careful detailed investigation of the communicative role of pronouns showed that Rouhani made use of strategic deixis to unite himself with the addressees and ordinary people as well as to exhort western countries toward cooperation and dissuade them from excessive demands in nuclear negotiations.

Key Words: discourse analysis, persuasive strategies, political discourse, CDA , speech act theory

1. Introduction

Politics is a battle for gaining power in order to realize certain political, economic and social ideas. In this process, language plays a critical role, since every political effect is prepared, accompanied, influenced and expressed by language (Horváth, 2009).

This study deals with the persuasive strategies in the discourse of Dr. Rouhani, politically moderate and pragmatic president of Iran, made Before the 69th Session of the United Nations (UN) General the Assembly in order persuade the international society to cooperate together and to convince them of peaceful nature of Iran's nuclear dossier. This paper is mainly concerned with linguistic elements and rhetorical devices employed in Rouhani's speech to boost the eloquence and effectiveness of the address. In this regard, Rouhani's speech was mirrored in *the Guardian* as the peace is within reach. In a hotly anticipated speech at the UN in which Rouhani offered immediate negotiations aimed at removing any reasonable concerns over his country's nuclear program (Borger & Pilkington, 2013).

2. Literature Review

2.1. Discourse

Most of the political discourse that we get to observe is more or less stage-managed; therefore, Public statements are delivered within a pre-arranged way where they can be prepared by professional speech writers and rehearsed in advanced. It is common to find persuasive linguistic techniques used in advertising also commonplace in the language of politics, whether it be the exploitation of alliteration, or even rhyme as a form of sound play (Woods, 2006). Language "as a form of social practice" (Fairclough, 2001, p.16) and "a purposeful means of communication" (Schaff, 1960, p.292) is perceived as a means to express the self and to establish and maintain a specific relationship with the others. The speaker's use of utterances to do this reveals their intentions (D'Amato, 1989). Ideologies, therefore, do not exist in silence, but are expressed, built up and transmitted through language, which reveals their nature (Thompson and Hunston, 2001). Within this framework, addressers are inclined to reach a common sense with their addressees through the use of different strategies (Fairclough, 2001). These include persuasion, which is an

“act of conversion, convincing others, and changing their views, shifting their ideal points along the imagined line” (Diamond and Cobb, 1999, p.225). Persuasion therefore has the eventual goal of influencing people or making them accept certain beliefs in order that they may either assume new goals or forsake previous ones to the benefit of higher value goals, as offered by the persuader (Poggi, 2005).

2.2 Speech Act Theory

Austin’s (1962) Speech Act Theory offers a tool to apply in the pragmatic analysis of discourse. It is concerned with the meanings assigned to speech acts by participants based on their relationship and context. To put it differently, it is mainly concerned with what the producer of an utterance can do with it as soon as it is produced.

2.3 Searle’s Typology of Speech Acts

Searle (1978) classified illocutionary force into five categories in what is known as Searle’s typology of speech acts: assertives, directives, commissives, expressives, and declarations. Assertive speech acts, or representatives, are represented by the speaker’s assertion of the truth of what is said, as in giving conclusions, complaining, boasting or describing events or states in the world. Directive speech acts are an attempt to get the hearer to do something, and are typified by orders, invitations or requests. Commissive speech acts, such as promises, threats or offerings, express the speaker’s intention to take certain actions; in political speeches, usually “fair and responsible” ones (Fairclough & Fairclough, 2012, p.122).

An expressive speech act is performed whenever there is an expression of psychological state by the producer of the utterance, as when apologizing and thanking. Declarations are speech acts that change the world by declaring that a new state of affairs has come into existence, such as a declaration of war; to have any effect, they must be pronounced by the right person in the right context.

2.4. Deictic Pronouns

Deictic pronouns are well known for being at the boundaries of syntax, semantics and pragmatics and, as Van Dijk (1997) pointed out, are very typical in political contexts. They are a way of avoiding full commitment to an action, and are perceived as a detachment strategy (Woodward and Denton, 2004). Person deixis has been the focus of many linguists (Levinson 1983, Fairclough 2001, Wilson 1990, Triki 2002, Van Dijk, 1995, 1997 a), who claimed that it is central to the study of political discourse.

Politicians chose one deictic category rather than another to express the degree of their personal involvement. This is consonant with the manipulation of the first person plural *we*, which can designate the speaker and one or more other persons. Therefore, identity and membership may be expressed through the use of personal deixis as a persuasive technique. This determines who belongs to the group and who does not. Typical group members share common features that distinguish them from other groups. Politicians tend to emphasize this difference through the categorization of groups using person deixis.

“Ideological polarization” (Van Dijk, 1997, p.28) is strategically reinforced through positively representing the self via pronouns such as *we* and *our* on the one hand, while attributing a negative evaluation to the other side through the use of *them* or *their*. “Given the nature of political polarization in the political process, we may further expect the typical positive evaluation of US and OUR actions in positive terms and of THEM and THEIR actions in negative terms” (Van Dijk, 1997, p.28).

2.5. Inclusive and Exclusive ‘we’

When a hearer is known to be engaged in the reference, ‘*we*’ will be considered as ‘inclusive *we*’ and when a hearer is known not to be engaged, it will be considered as ‘exclusive *we*’ (Fontaine, 2006). In this regard, Fairclough (2001) also posited two relational values of different sort for pronouns in English. Accordingly, there are two values for ‘*we*’: inclusive *we* and exclusive *we*. The former, Inclusive *we*, includes addresser and addressees, and the latter, exclusive *we*, includes addresser plus one or more others but not the addressees.

2.6. Aristotle's Persuasive Strategies

In his seminal work *The Art of Rhetoric*, Aristotle (1967) presented three different persuasive strategies: *logos* (rational argumentation), *ethos* (reliability and credibility of the speaker) and *pathos* (emotional appeal). These three appeals aim to persuade the addressee to reach “out of free choice” a goal desired by the addresser (Poggi, 2005, p. 298). This is achieved by convincing the addressee of the high value of the perceived goal through the manipulation of their beliefs.

2.6.1. *Logos*

The more reliable the connection between beliefs, therefore, the higher the degree of conviction with which those beliefs will be held. Showing people that newly proposed beliefs are highly consistent with their established beliefs in terms of cause/effect, goals/means, space or time, can trigger their logical analysis and make the argumentation coherent in their minds. Poggi (2005) identified the use of *logos* as a logical, rational means of persuasion as the classical domain of argumentation.

2.6.2. *Ethos*

Drawing the addressee's attention to the credibility and reliability of the source constitutes another level of persuasion, i.e. *ethos*. The degree of trust that it will elicit in the addressee depends on the “personality and moral substance” (Cockcroft, 2004, p. 195) of the persuader.

2.6.3. *Pathos*

Only a satisfactory knowledge of the interlocutor to be persuaded will empower the persuader to recognize their orientations and their most highly esteemed goals. Specific goals, however, are distinguished for their generalness and high esteem to mankind regardless of cultural disaccords; they involve “self-representation, maintenance of a positive face, freedom, and the desire to be

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loved or admired. Emotions biologically protect the most valued goals, manifested by either pleasant or unpleasant feelings". These values are affectively loaded, so that "pathos is triggered whenever they are invoked". Once the pathos trigger is done, the addressee may feel an urgent passion to achieve the goal (Poggi, 2005, p.314).

2.7. Critical Discourse Analysis

According to Horváth (2014) Critical Discourse analysis (CDA) views language use as social practice. The users of language do not act in isolation, but in set of cultural, social, and psychological framework. Critical Discourse Analysis assumes this social context and studies the relationships between textual structures and takes this social context into consideration and examines the links between textual structure and their function in interaction within society. Such an investigation is a complex, multi-layered one.

Fairclough (1989, p.24-26) expounded the true nature of discourse and text analysis. In his view, there are three levels of discourse, firstly, social conditions of production and interpretation, i.e. the social factors, which contributed or lead to the origination of a text, and, at the same time, how the same factors effect interpretation. Fairclough afterwards introduced three stages of CDA as follows:

1. Description is the stage which is concerned with the formal properties of the text.
2. Interpretation is concerned with the relationship between text and interaction – with seeing the text as a product of a process of production, and as a resource in the process of interpretation.
3. Explanation is concerned with the relationship between interaction and social context – with the social determination of the processes of production and interpretation, and their social effects. (Fairclough 1989, p.26)

3. Purpose of the Study and Research Questions

This analysis is grounded in Norman Fairclough's assumption in critical discourse analysis claiming that ideologies reside in text (Fairclough, 1995). This work aimed to

uncover the persuasive strategies used by President Rouhani as well as its covert ideological components. In light of what has been mentioned, the current study seeks to answer the following questions:

1. How are the persuasive strategies adopted by the president Rouhani in order to establish international confidence that Iran's nuclear program is exclusively for peaceful nature?
2. How are Logos, Pathos and Ethos approached in President Rouhani's speech?
3. How is the ideology reflected in Rouhani's Discourse?

4. Methodology

This study used both discourse and critical discourse analysis to uncover the hidden inferences and to make explicit what was deliberately made implicit by the persuader.

4.1 Text Analysis

The data were tabulated and analyses from pragmatic points of view such speech acts, performatives, agency, and in terms of deictic pronouns.

In the last phase, which deals with the Aristotelian appeals, I analyzed whole segments of sentences according to a coherent shared meaning.

4.2. Ideological Analysis

The analysis and interpretation of the ideological aspect of Rouhani's address attempted to link his discourse with the social processes and to unveil covert ideology of the text. For this reason, I analyzed the speech according to the elements of argumentative discourse.

4.3. Corpus Description

The speech under study was delivered in Persian (see appendix A); however, the presented speech to world representatives was based on its English translation (see

appendix B). The main speech revolves around five main issues; Nonetheless, Iran's nuclear issue was the focal point in this study.

5. Data Analysis and Discussion

According to the literature review, the text was explained from pragmatic perspective. It began with analyzing performatives and speech acts before agency and pronouns. Then as mentioned in the methodology section, the Aristotelian appeals were addressed.

5.1. Performatives and Speech Acts Distribution

The starting section, nuclear issue and ending parts of speech were analyzed in terms of sentence/phrase chunks. Table 1 represents a sample of constantive/performative function and speech acts analysis.

Table 1: Investigation of Constantive/Performative function and speech Act/s

Sentence/ Phrase	Constative	Performative	Speech acts
In the name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful		X	Assertive
Mr. President, Excellencies, Ladies and Gentlemen,		X	Directive
(1) Thank God, the Lord of the Two Worlds and the Prayer and peace be (2) upon our Prophet Muhammad and his family and companions.		X	Expressive (1) Assertive (2) Directive (2)

The analysis of sentences/phrases led the researcher to infer that almost all of the chunks of speech contain performatives. This is in line with the characteristic of political discourse as "an act of conversation" (Diamond and Cobb, 1999, p.225) that prompts the addressee to take one side through utterances that are intended to convince them to act in line with the intention of persuader (Austin, 1962).

5.2 Agency and Pronouns

According to Fairclough & Fairclough (2012) agency is used intentionally in Political discourse as a Persuasive and manipulative strategy. The choice of agency, through the use of one personal pronoun is intended to manipulate and reflect the ideology. As it is shown in the table 2, the first person singular pronouns are only used with explicit performative to express the president's positive attitude and belief regarding the actions that Iran will take to clarify the raised concerns. In this way President Rouhani attributes to express his optimism in order to cooperate with superpowers of UN by using expressive speech act. Table 2 depicts a sample of first person deictic pronoun investigation.

Table 2: Relationship of First Person Singular Pronoun and Speech Act/s

Sentence	Speech Acts
I <u>believe</u> mutual adherence to the strict implementation of commitments and obligations and avoidance of excessive demands in the negotiations by our counterparts is the prerequisite for the success of the negotiations.	Expressive Assertive
I <u>wish</u> you all success.	Expressive

5.3 Inclusive and Exclusive 'we'

The inclusive/exclusive factor is also pertinent in personal deixis (Grenoble, 1998). There are two mechanisms to satisfy the human needs for creating groups. The first mechanism is referred to as 'integration' and the second 'segregation'. 'Integration' implies expressing a common sense in order to create one group, whereas 'segregation' means the refusal of particular individuals in a group membership (Koole as cited in Fontaine, 2006).

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The table below shows the first person plural pronoun underlined and the speech act they convey. It also demonstrates the whether a pronoun has inclusive or exclusive nature.

Table 3: Relationship of First Person Plural Pronoun and Speech Act/s

Sentence	Type	Explanation and the Reason	Speech Acts
We placed serious and honest negotiations on the agenda, not as a result of sanctions or threat but rather because of the will of our people.	Exclusive	No major decision can be taken without the consent of Iran’s supremeleader; hence, the <i>we</i> does not include Rouhani himself.	Assertive
Any delay in arriving at a final agreement only raises the costs; not only at our (1) expense but also at the expense of the economy and trade of the other parties as well as the development and security prospects of our (2) region.	Exclusive (1) Inclusive (2)	The imposed sanctions only raise the costs for the middle class of the society, not the vey rich and the officials in power; therefore, the <i>our (1)</i> does not include the speaker as a head of a nation and it was used strategically. The <i>our (2)</i> is merely inclusive since it refers to middle east a common territory shared by different indiviuals from different nations.	Assertive

5.4 Critical analysis of the Inclusive vs. Exlusive “we”

In line with Fairclough and Fairclough (2012) and Wilson (1990) who claimed that personal deixis serves to express ideologies and maniapulate people, the result confirmed that the use of inclusive deixis was to persuade representatives of world of peaceful nature of atomic program and that Iranians take serious steps in order to resovle all related concerns. Even the Directive speech act was addressed by employing first person plural which means that the Iranian authorities solely have the duty and responsibility to

clarify the issues. Despite the former Iranian president, Mahmoud Ahmadinejad, Rouhani does not employ exclusive pronouns for blaming others for any dereliction of obligations. However, President Rouhani has also employed strategic first person plural pronouns strategically to show the policies that represent the interests of ordinary people. This ideology seems to be rooted in the belief that political and social goals are successfully achieved by the direct actions of the people. Although it comes into existence where conventional political institutions fail to deliver or unite with the common beliefs of people. Due to the fact that there is no identifiable economic or social set of conditions that give rise to it, it is essential not to confine it to any particular social class. The utilization of inclusive or exclusive first person plural pronoun is strategic in political discourse and makes contribution to manipulation goals of the addresser (Wilson, 1990).

5.5. Critical Analysis of Aristotelian Appeals

Habermas (as stated in Fairclough and Fairclough, 2012) defined ‘argument’ as “containing reasons that are connected in a systematic way with the validity claim of a problematic expression” (p.18).

All arguments have logical, rhetorical and dialectical aspects, and need to be analyzed and evaluated in logical and rhetorical terms. A good argument in order to be convincing need to be good in all these aspects (Fairclough and Fairclough, 2012).

Table 4: Investigation of Aristotelian Appeals

Sentences	Logos	Ethos	Pathos
During the last year, we have engaged in the most transparent dialogue to build confidence regarding Iran's peaceful nuclear program. We placed serious and honest negotiations on the agenda, not as a result of sanctions or threat but	For the opening of nuclear issue, the negotiations between Iran and p5+1 that led to Geneva agreement is foregrounded.	The substance of addresser is attested since the dialogues were useful.	The feeling of hope and optimism is conveyed by use of terms and phrases that bear positive connotations such as “transparent

rather because of the will of our people.

dialogue”, “to build confidence”, “honest negotiations”, etc.

The frequent resort to logos is evident in these tables for all part of discussion.

6. Answers to Research Questions

This paper attempted to shed light on persuasive strategies by answering the following five research questions:

1. How are first person plural ‘we’ is employed in the speech?
2. How are Logos, Pathos and Ethos approached in President Rouhani’s speech?
3. How is the ideology reflected in Rouhani’s Discourse?

To shed light on Question number 1, President Rouhani used first person pronoun ‘we’ in strategic way order to include the cynics and his critics within Iran. Regarding the use of third person plural ‘they’ is concerned, he employed it to refer to terrorist groups along with misrepresentation of them.

With regards to Question number 2, President Rouhani resorted to all three Aristotle’s persuasion appeals; however, marked use of logos was noticeable.

As far as the convert ideology is concerned, president Rouhani attempted to integrate the other Islamic nations’ belief with Iran’s current ideology that is moderation and combat with extremism. His tone and approach to address sensitive and critical subjects in the Middle-east such as Palestine, etc. showed a more nuanced stance. This also signals a moderate and divergent approach in comparison with President Ahmadinezhad’s perspective.

7. Discussion and Conclusion

Political discourse is identified by use of multiple speech acts in the same utterance where one speech act is a medium for another, Similar to study of Jarraya (2013), the use of asserives was found to be pervasive in this investigation whereby assertive speech acts

were used to build rapport with the audience, as a hedge to mitigate the impact of an utterance, and also they were intended to seek sympathy of persuasive ends. Commissives were intended to establish mutual confidence and to gain the trust of the international society as well as Iran's negotiating partners in nuclear program. Directives, accompanied with assertives, were employed to ask the western countries to refrain from demanding excessively, and to be realist in nuclear talks.

The use of deictic pronoun as the agency was strategic since the exclusive form of "we" was used to invoke sympathy and express government's interests by integrating it with those of the nation.

Also, The detailed study of person deixis suggested that pronouns and agencies were crafted and used in a strategic manners. With regard to exclusive use of 'we', President Rouhani attempted to build rapport with his realist critics, world leaders and representatives. He also employed first person plural pronouns in exclusive manner to include his dissidents in his speech and to express sympathy to other social groups.

On the whole, the exclusive first person pronouns were used to show the integrity with discordant fundamanalist politicians within Iran, social middle-class, and lower class people. He does not belong to these groups; however, he tried to identify himself with them to create sense of sympathy.

The Aristotelian appeals were based on the use of logos as the foremost type of persuasion appeal in order to put forward and justify the argument. The personal deixis was used with performatives to develop ethos of the addresser as the persuasive strategy. Aristotle (as cited in Fairclough & Fairclough, 2012) makes a connection between man's political nature and Logos that is the power of speech. He describes speech as "serving to indicate what is useful and what is harmful, and so also what is just and what is unjust. Similarly in Political rhetotic, one deliberates about what to do what we should choose or avoid. In the same way, the objective of Rouhanis's deliberative rhetoric was to exhort western countries toward cooperation or dissuade from excessive demands in negotiations.

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Appendix A

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

«الحمد لله رب العالمين والصلوة والسلام على سيدنا ونبينا محمد وآله الطاهرين و صحبه المنتجبين»

آقای رییس،

عالی جنابان،

خانمها و آقایان،

در آغاز، مایلیم تریکات صمیمانه خود را به مناسبت انتخاب شایسته جنابعالی به ریاست مجمع عمومی ابراز دارم و از تلاش‌های دبیر کل محترم، آقای بان‌کی‌مون تقدیر نمایم. امیدوارم نشست امسال مجمع عمومی، جهان را در شرایط حساس کنونی، به امنیت و آرامش انسان‌ها که از اهداف اصلی سازمان ملل متحد است، گامی نزدیکتر کند.

آقای رییس،

من از منطقه‌ای می‌آیم که بخش‌های مهمی از آن در آتش تندروی و افراط می‌سوزد. در شرق و غرب کشور من، افراطی‌گری، همسایگان ما را تهدید می‌کند و خشونت می‌ورزد و خون می‌ریزد. آنان البته تنها به یک زبان سخن نمی‌گویند و حتی رنگ پوست‌شان هم، یکی نیست و یک ملیت واحد ندارند. آنان از کشورهای مختلف به خاورمیانه آمده‌اند اما ایدئولوژی واحدی دارند: «افراطی‌گری و خشونت». و هدف واحدی دارند: «تابودی تمدن، اسلام‌هراسی و ایجاد زمینه برای مداخله». «مجدد بیگانگان در منطقه

با کمال تأسف، تروریسم، جهانی شده: «از نیویورک تا موصل، از دمشق تا بغداد، از شرقی‌ترین تا غربی‌ترین نقطه جهان، از القاعده تا داعش». افراطیون جهان، یکدیگر را یافته‌اند و ندا سر داده‌اند که «متحد شوید» اما آیا ما در برابر افراطیون متحدیم؟

افراطی‌گری یک مسأله منطقه‌ای نیست، که فقط ملت‌های منطقه ما با آن درگیر باشند، افراطی‌گری، مسأله‌ای جهانی است. برخی از کشورها در پیدایش آن مؤثر بوده و در مبارزه با آن ناکام. و اکنون ملت‌های ما، تاوان آن را پس می‌دهند. غرب‌ستیزی امروز، فرزند استعمارگری دیروز است. غرب‌ستیزی امروز، واکنش به نژادپرستی دیروز است. برخی از سازمان‌های اطلاعاتی، تیغ را به دست زنگی مست داده‌اند و او نیز همه را از دم تیغ می‌گذرانند. همه آنان که در ایجاد و تقویت این گروه‌های تروریست نقش داشته‌اند، باید به اشتباهات خود در پدیدار شدن افراطی‌گری اعتراف کنند و نه تنها در پیشگاه گذشته که در برابر آینده نیز عذرخواهی کنند.

برای مقابله اصولی با تروریسم، باید ریشه‌های آن را شناخت و چشمه‌های آن را خشکاند. تروریسم در بستر فقر، بی‌کاری، تبعیض، تحقیر و بی‌عدالتی می‌رود و با فرهنگ خشونت رشد می‌کند. برای ریشه‌کن کردن تروریسم باید عدالت و توسعه را گستراند و از تحریف ادیان الهی برای توجیه قساوت و بی‌رحمی جلوگیری کرد. درد بزرگتر آن است که این تروریست‌ها به نام دین، خون می‌ریزند و به نام اسلام سر می‌برند. می‌خواهند این حقیقت مسلم تاریخ را پوشیده نگهدارند که براساس آموزه همه پیامبران الهی از ابراهیم(ع) و موسی(ع) تا عیسی(ع) و محمد(ص)، کشتن یک انسان بی‌گناه همانند کشتار همه بشریت می‌شمارند. من در شگفتم این گروه‌های آدمکش، خود را گروه اسلامی می‌نامند و شگفت‌آورتر آن که رسانه‌های غربی نیز در همراهی با آنان، این نام مجعول را که تنفر همه مسلمانان را برمی‌انگیزد، تکرار می‌کنند؛ غافل از آنکه مسلمانانی که هر روز خدای خویش را به صفت رحمانیت یاد می‌کنند و از پیامبر خویش درس عطوفت و محبت آموخته‌اند، این افتراءها را، بخشی از پروژه اسلام‌هراسی می‌شمارند.

اشتباهات راهبردی غرب در مسایل منطقه خاورمیانه و آسیای مرکزی و قفقاز، این نقطه از جهان را به بهشت تروریست‌ها و افراطیون بدل کرده است. تجاوز نظامی به افغانستان و عراق و مداخلات‌های نادرست در تحولات سوریه نمونه‌های روشنی از این راهبرد غلط در منطقه خاورمیانه است. اتخاذ رویکردهای غیرمسالمت‌آمیز و تجاوز و اشغال نظامی، از آنجا که معیشت و حیات مردم عادی را هدف قرار می‌دهد، پیامدهای روانی و رفتاری متعددی را در پی دارد که

امروز، بروز آن را بصورت خشونت و آدم‌کشی در منطقه خاورمیانه و آفریقا، مشاهده می‌کنیم؛ که حتی برخی شهروندان سایر نقاط جهان را هم، با خود همراه کرده است. خشونت همچون یک بیماری مسری، در حال سرایت به سایر نقاط جهان است. ما همواره معتقد بودیم که دموکراسی، با کوله‌پشتی، نمی‌آید؛ دموکراسی، محصول رشد و توسعه است، نه جنگ و تجاوز. دموکراسی یک کالای صادراتی نیست که از غرب به شرق تجارت شود. در یک جامعه توسعه نیافته، دموکراسی وارداتی، به دولت ضعیف، منتهی می‌شود و دولت ضعیف هم، به شدت آسیب‌پذیر

وقتی پای ژنرال‌ها به منطقه باز شد، انتظار نداشته باشید دیپلمات‌ها به استقبال آنان بروند. وقتی جنگ شروع شد، دیپلماسی به پایان می‌رسد. وقتی تحریم آغاز شد، نفرت عمیق از تحریم‌کنندگان هم، شروع می‌شود. وقتی فضای خاورمیانه امنیتی شد، پاسخ آن هم امنیتی می‌شود

منافع کشورهای غربی در این منطقه، در گرو به رسمیت شناختن باورها و خواست مردم منطقه در قالب نظام‌های مردمسالار است

تجربه پیدایش القاعده، طالبان و گروه‌های افراطی اخیر، نشان داد که نمی‌شود از گروه‌های افراطی، برای مقابله با کشورهای مخالف، استفاده کرد، و پس از آن، از عوارض پیدایش این افراط، در امان ماند

به یاد داشته باشیم که ایران، روزی همه را به «گفتگو» دعوت کرد که هنوز جنایت ۱۱ سپتامبر، رخ نداده بود و روزی به «جهان عاری از خشونت و افراطی‌گری» خواند، که هنوز خشونت‌های اخیر ظهور نکرده بود. شاید سال گذشته، تعداد اندکی، آتش شعله‌ور شده کنونی را پیش بینی می‌کردند. اما امروز خشونت و افراطی‌گری بدون مهار، خود را بصورت یک تهدید قطعی جهانی، نمایان ساخته است. بطور مسلم، اگر چرایی بروز پدیده کنونی را بدرستی تحلیل نکنیم، نخواهیم توانست راه‌حل درست برون‌رفت از آن را پیدا کنیم. امروز هم، دوباره، نسبت به خطر گسترش افراطی‌گری و همچنین خطر درک نادرست و برخورد غلط با این پدیده را هشدار می‌دهم

خاورمیانه، تشنه توسعه است، و خسته از جنگ. این حق طبیعی مردمان سرزمین‌های حاصل‌خیز خاورمیانه است که از زندگی توأم با صلح و رفاه، برخوردار باشند. در گذشته، استعمار این حق را از آنان سلب کرد و اکنون سایه جنگ و خشونت، امنیت آنان را تهدید می‌کند. در منطقه ما، سیاستمداران، و نخبگان معتدلی وجود دارند که مورد اعتماد ملت‌های خویش‌اند. آنان، نه غرب‌ستیزند و نه غرب‌گرا. به نقش استعمار در عقب‌افتادگی ملت‌های منطقه، آگاهند اما از نقش ملت‌های خویش در راه توسعه‌یافتگی نیز، غفلت نمی‌ورزند؛ غرب را از خطاهایش مبرا نمی‌دانند، اما به غفلت‌های خویش نیز توجه دارند. این نخبگان، می‌توانند با جلب اعتماد مردم، قوی‌ترین ائتلاف‌های ملی و بین‌المللی علیه خشونت را تشکیل دهند

صدای این نخبگان، صدای واقعی مردم اعتدال‌گرا در جهان اسلام است؛ صدای آشنای یک افغان خسته از جنگ؛ عراقی قربانی افراط‌گری؛ سوری هراسان؛ از تروریسم؛ و لبنانی نگران؛ از خشونت و فرقه‌گرایی. سخن ما این است که این اشتباه راهبردی است که اگر برخی کشورها با ادعای رهبری ائتلاف در پی ادامه برتری جویی در منطقه ما باشند

بدیهی است کشورهای منطقه که درد را بهتر می‌شناسند، بهتر هم، می‌توانند با هم‌فکری و ائتلاف، مسئولیت مبارزه را پذیرفته و رهبری آن را بر دوش گیرند. و اگر دیگر کشورها می‌خواهند علیه تروریسم، گامی بردارند، باید به حمایت آنان برخیزند

من اعلام می‌کنم، اگر امروز همه توان خود را علیه افراط و خشونت، به‌کار نگیریم، و کار را به کاردان نسپریم، فردا جهان برای هیچ کس، جای امنی نخواهد بود

خانم‌ها، آقایان،

سال گذشته با ارائه طرح «مبارزه با خشونت و افراطی‌گری» که با استقبال گسترده‌ای روبرو شد، کوشش کردم تا نقش کشور خود را در تحقق صلح و امنیت منطقه‌ای و بین‌المللی، ایفا نماید

در منطقه پرآشوب و پرتلاطم خاورمیانه، ایران یکی از با ثبات‌ترین و امن‌ترین کشورهای این منطقه است. همه کشورهای منطقه باید در نظر داشته باشند که، همه ما در یک کشتی نشسته‌ایم، در مسایل سیاسی و اجتماعی، تا امنیتی و نظامی، ما نیازمند همکاری‌های گسترده برای دستیابی به تفاهم مشترک و دائمی هستیم

اگر در منطقه خاورمیانه، هماهنگی و همکاری بیشتر و گسترده‌تری می‌داشتیم، هزاران انسان بی‌گناه فلسطینی در غزه، قربانی تجاوز رژیم صهیونیستی نمی‌شدند.

Critical Analysis of President Rouhani's Discourse...

ما در تمامی عرصه‌ها، مبنای حل مشکلات را تعامل و اعتمادسازی پایدار میان قدرت‌های منطقه‌ای می‌دانیم و از هرگونه همکاری میان کشورهای مسلمان برای مبارزه با افراطی‌گری، تهدید و تجاوز، حمایت می‌کنیم و آماده‌ایم نقش دائمی سازنده و مؤثر خود را، ایفا کنیم

آقای رییس،

تداوم تحریم‌های ظالمانه علیه ایران، تداوم اشتباهی راهبردی علیه یک ملت معتدل و مستقل، در شرایط حساس منطقه ماست. ما در یک سال گذشته، به شفاف‌ترین گفت‌وگوها، برای اعتمادسازی در موضوع هسته‌ای ایران دست زده‌ایم؛ و نه در اثر تهدید و تحریم که بر مبنای اراده ملت خود، مذاکره جدی و صادقانه را در دستور کار قرار داده‌ایم زیرا باوریم که موضوع هسته‌ای، یک راه‌حل، بیشتر ندارد و آن فقط مذاکره است و اگر برخی در تخیل خویش، به راه‌های دیگری می‌اندیشند، سخت در اشتباهند. هرگونه تأخیر در حصول توافق نهایی، تنها هزینه‌ها را بالا می‌برد و این هزینه‌ها نه فقط بر ما، که بر اقتصاد و تجارت طرف مقابل و بر توسعه و امنیت منطقه‌ای تحمیل می‌شود و هیچ‌کس نباید در این حقیقت تردیدی داشته باشد که مصالحه و توافق با ایران، به نفع همگان است، بخصوص کشورهای منطقه است

روند مذاکرات هسته‌ای میان ایران و کشورهای ۱+۵ در ماه‌های گذشته، با جدیت و امیدواری متقابل به پیش رفته است. جمهوری اسلامی ایران به گواهی همه ناظران بین‌المللی، با صداقت و اقتدار به تعهدات خویش عمل کرده است. اگر چه طرف مقابل، با برخی اظهارات و اقدامات، به تردید در عزم و واقع‌بینی خویش دامن زده است. امیدواریم مذاکرات جاری در فرصت کوتاه باقیمانده، به توافق نهایی بینجامد. ما به ادامه برنامه هسته‌ای صلح‌آمیز خود، شامل اعمال حق غنی‌سازی و سایر حقوق هسته‌ای در خاک ایران، در چارچوب مقررات بین‌المللی، مصممیم. ما با انگیزه مثبت، حسن‌نیت و جدیت، به تداوم مذاکرات هسته‌ای با کشورهای طرف مذاکره، بر مبنای اعتماد متقابل، رفع دوسویه ابهامات، موضع برابر، احترام متقابل و اصول پذیرفته شده بین‌المللی، پایبندیم. از دیدگاه ما، التزام کننده با ایران، ضرورتی تام دارد زیرا توافق نهایی در مورد به تعهدات و اجرای دقیق تفاهات و اجتناب از زیاده‌خواهی در مذاکرات، از سوی طرف‌های مذاکره، برنامه هسته‌ای صلح‌آمیز ایران، می‌تواند سرآغاز همکاری‌های همه‌جانبه، در راستای پیشبرد امنیت، صلح و توسعه و در منطقه و جهان باشد. مردم ایران پایبند به اصول و ارزش‌هایی هستند که استقلال، توسعه و غرور ملی در رأس آنهاست. مردم، عملکرد دولت‌های خود را بر اساس همین معیارها مورد ارزیابی قرار می‌دهند. اگر این واقعیت بارز ملی از سوی طرف‌های مذاکره‌کننده، مورد توجه قرار ندهند و دچار خطاهای محاسباتی شوند، یک فرصت استثنایی و تاریخی از دست خواهد رفت

همانطور که می‌دانید، دولت ایران در سال جاری میلادی، با ابتکاراتی که در مذاکرات هسته‌ای به کار برد، شرایط جدیدی را برای حل موضوع بوجود آورد که دستاورد مرحله‌ای آن، توافق ژنو بود. با توجه به رویکرد اعتمادساز و شفاف جمهوری اسلامی ایران در این زمینه و تداوم آن، در صورتیکه طرف‌های مذاکره‌کننده نیز متقابلاً از عزم و انعطاف کافی برخوردار باشند و ظرف مهلت تعیین شده، بتوانیم در حل این مسأله به موفقیت کامل دست یابیم، فضای کاملاً متفاوتی به لحاظ همکاری‌های منطقه‌ای و جهانی بوجود خواهد آمد، که در سایه آن، امکان تمرکز بر حل مسایل مهم منطقه از جمله مسأله بسیار مهم مبارزه با خشونت و افراطی‌گری در منطقه، فراهم خواهد شد

دستیابی به توافق جامع هسته‌ای با ایران، فرصتی تاریخی برای غرب است که نشان دهد با پیشرفت و توسعه دیگران مخالف نیست و تبعیض در مقررات بین‌المللی را دنبال نمی‌کند؛ این توافق می‌تواند پیامی جهانی برای صلح و امنیت نیز داشته باشد که راه‌حل اختلافات، مذاکره و تکریم است نه منازعه و تحریم

آقای رییس،

حاضر محترم،

خانم‌ها، آقایان،

ملت بزرگ ایران که در سال گذشته با حضور گسترده خود در انتخاباتی آرام و پرشکوه، با روی کار آوردن این دولت، از گفتمان «تدبیر، امید و اعتدال» استقبال کردند، از دولت منتخب خود، در راه سازندگی کشور پشتیبانی و حمایت می‌کنند. در حالی که بعضی از کشورهای پیرامونی ایران، دستخوش جنگ و ناآرامی هستند، ایران سرزمین امنیت، ثبات و آرامش است

سیاست اصولی کشور من، تلاش برای تعامل سازنده با همسایگان بر اساس احترام متقابل، و با تأکید بر منافع مشترک است. طرح مسأله سلطه ایران بر کشورهای مسلمان منطقه، افسانه‌ای بیش نیست که در قالب پروژه ایران‌هراسی در سال‌های اخیر بر آن دمیده شده است. آنها که در این شیپور می‌دمند، نیاز به جعل دشمنی موهوم دارند تا تنش‌ها را تداوم دهند و با تشدید تضاد و تفرقه، منابع توسعه ملتها را به انحراف کشند. رویکرد اصولی ما، پایان بخشیدن به توهم ایران‌هراسی و زمینه‌سازی برای مشارکت راهبردی با همسایگان است.

در پایان، همانطور که در سال گذشته نسبت به توسعه خشونت و افراطی‌گری هشدار دادم، امسال نیز تأکید می‌کنم، که اگر رویکرد درست برای مواجهه با این مسأله، اتخاذ نشود، به سمت منطقه‌ای ناآرام و پرتلاطم با بازتاب‌های جهانی، خواهیم رفت. راه‌حل درست برخورد با این مسأله مهم، نه از بیرون بلکه با محوریت و ابتکارات درونی و البته همکاری‌های بین‌المللی قابل تصور است.

خدای بزرگ در قرآن کریم به مؤمنانی که کار شایسته را در برنامه عمل خود قرار می‌دهند مژده داده است که بر زمین ماندگاری خواهند داشت و بیم و هراسشان به امن و امان بدل خواهد شد. ولیدیلنهم من بعد خوفهم اماً

امیدوارم نسل ما با تلاشی شایسته، زمینی ایمن‌تر و آبادتر برای نسل فردا به یادگار بگذارد. توفیق همه شما را آرزومندم. متشکرم

Appendix B

I am coming from a region of the world whose many parts are currently burning in fire of extremism and radicalism. To the East and West of my country, extremists threaten our neighbors, resort to violence and shed blood, President Rouhani said in his address to the 69th session of the United Nations General Assembly.

They of course do not speak a single language; they are not of a single skin color and not of a single nationality; they have come to the Middle East from around the world. They do however have a single ideology: "violence and extremism".

They also have a single goal: "the destruction of civilization, giving rise to Islamophobia and creating a fertile ground for further intervention of foreign forces in our region".

I deeply regret to say that terrorism has become globalized: "From New York to Mosul, from Damascus to Baghdad, from the Easternmost to the Westernmost parts of the world, from Al-Qaeda to Daesh". The extremists of the world have found each other and have put out the call: "extremists of the world unite". But are we united against the extremists?!

Extremism is not a regional issue that just the nations of our region would have to grapple with; extremism is a global issue. Certain states have helped creating it and are now failing to withstand it. Currently our peoples are paying the price. Today's anti-Westernism is the offspring of yesterday's colonialism. Today's anti-Westernism is a reaction to yesterday's racism. Certain intelligence agencies have put blades in the hand of madmen, who now spare no one. All those who have played a role in founding and supporting these terror groups must acknowledge their errors that have led to extremism. They need to apologize not only to the past but also to the next generation.

To fight the underlying causes of terrorism, one must know its roots and dry its source fountains. Terrorism germinates in poverty, unemployment, discrimination, humiliation and injustice. And it grows in the culture of violence.

To uproot extremism, we must spread justice and development and disallow the distortion of divine teachings to justify brutality and cruelty. The pain is made greater when these terrorists spill blood in the name of religion and behead in the name of Islam. They seek to keep hidden this incontrovertible truth of history that on the basis of the teachings of all divine prophets, from Abraham and Moses and Jesus to Mohammed, taking the life of a single innocent life is akin

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to killing the whole humanity.

I am astonished that these murderous groups call themselves Islamic. What is more astonishing is that the Western media, in line with them, repeats this false claim, which provokes the hatred of all Muslims. Muslim people who everyday recall their God as merciful and compassionate and have learned lessons of kindness and empathy from their Prophet, see this defamation as part of a Islamophobic project.

The strategic blunders of the West in the Middle-East, Central Asia, and the Caucuses have turned these parts of the world into a haven for terrorists and extremists. Military aggression against Afghanistan and Iraq and improper interference in the developments in Syria are clear examples of this erroneous strategic approach in the Middle East. As non-peaceful approach, aggression, and occupation target the lives and livelihoods of ordinary people, they result in different adverse psychological and behavioral consequences that are today manifested in the form of violence and murder in the Middle East and North Africa, even attracting some citizens from other parts of the world.

Violence is currently being spread to other parts of the world like a contagious disease. We have always believed that democracy cannot be transplanted from abroad; democracy is the product of growth and development; not war and aggression. Democracy is not an export product that can be commercially imported from the West to the East. In an underdeveloped society, imported democracy leads only to a weak and vulnerable government.

When Generals step into a region, do not expect diplomats to greet them warmly; when war begins, diplomacy tends to end. When sanctions set in, deep hatred for those imposing them also begins. When the atmosphere of the Middle East is securitized, the answer will be of the same nature as well.

The interests of Western countries in our region are tied to their recognition of beliefs and the desire of the people for democratic governance in the region.

Our region expects that the Western world would once and for all place itself in the company of those true seekers of democracy, and, hence, soften the bitter memories of its support for dictators.

The experience of creation of al-Qaeda, the Taliban, and modern extremist groups have demonstrated that one cannot use extremist groups to counter an opposing state and remain impervious to the consequences of rising extremism.

The repetition of these mistakes despite many costly experiences is perplexing.

Let's recall that Iran had invited everyone to "dialogue" before the criminal act of September 11th, and also called for "a world against violence and extremism" before the outbreak of the current violent atrocities.

Perhaps in the past year, few people could forecast the fire that would rage today. But now uninhibited violence and extremism presents an imminent threat to the world. It is self-evident that without an accurate understanding of how the current condition came about we will not be able to find the right solutions.

Today, again, I shall warn against the spread of extremism and the danger posed by the inadequate understanding and incorrect approach to this phenomenon.

The Middle East longs for development and is weary of war. It is the natural right of the peoples of the fertile lands of the Middle East to live in peace and prosperity. In the past, colonialism denied them this right and, today, the shadow of war and violence threatens their security.

There are moderate politicians and elites in our region who enjoy the confidence of their peoples. They are neither anti-Western nor pro-Western. While aware of the role of colonialism in the backwardness of their nations, they are not neglectful of the role of their nations in reaching the development they seek.

They do not absolve the West from its misdeeds, but are also aware of their own failings. These leaders can take positions of active leadership by attracting the confidence of the people in their societies and establish the strongest national and international coalitions against violence.

The voices of these leaders are the true voices of moderation in the Islamic world; the familiar sound of an Afghan tired

of war; an Iraqi victim of extremism, a Syrian fearful of terrorism; and a Lebanese worried over violence and sectarianism.

I believe if countries claiming leadership of the coalition, do so to continue their hegemony in the region, they would make a strategic mistake. Obviously, since the pain is better known by the countries in the region, better they can form coalition, and accept to shoulder the responsibility of leadership to counter violence and terrorism. And if other nations wish to take action against terrorism, they must come to their support.

I warn that if we do not muster all our strengths against extremism and violence today, and fail to entrust the job to the people in the region who can deliver, tomorrow the world will be safe for no one.

Last year, I tried to fulfill the role of my country in the realization of peace at both the regional and international levels by putting forward a proposal about, “a world against Violence and Extremism”, which was met with general support. In the tumultuous and chaotic region of the Middle East, Iran is one of the most tranquil, secure and stable nations. All the nations of the region have to keep in mind that we are in the same boat. Thus, we need broad cooperation with regard to social and political as well as security and defense issues with a view to reaching common and durable understandings.

Had we had greater cooperation and coordination in the Middle East, thousands of innocent Palestinians in Gaza would not have been fallen victim to Zionist regimes aggression.

We in the Islamic Republic of Iran consider interaction and confidence building among states of the region as fundamentally essential for conflict resolution.

We support any measure to promote cooperation between Islamic nations to combat extremism, threats, and aggression, and in this connection, are prepared to play our permanent constructive and positive role.

The oppressive sanctions against Iran go on in continuation of a strategic mistake against a moderate and independent nation under the current sensitive condition in our region.

During the last year, we have engaged in the most transparent dialogue to build confidence regarding Iran’s peaceful nuclear program. We placed serious and honest negotiations on the agenda, not as a result of sanctions or threat but rather because of the will of our people.

We are of the view that the nuclear issue could only be resolved through negotiations, and those who may think of any other solution are committing a grave mistake.

Any delay in arriving at a final agreement only raises the costs; not only at our expense but also at the expense of the economy and trade of the other parties as well as the development and security prospects of our region.

No one should doubt that compromise and agreement on this issue is in the best interest of everyone especially that of the nations of the region.

The nuclear negotiations between Iran and the 5+1 have continued during the past year with seriousness and optimism on both sides. According to all international observers, the Islamic Republic of Iran has carried out its commitments in good faith.

Although, some of the observations and actions of our counterparts have created certain doubts regarding their determination and realism, we hope that the current negotiations lead to a final accord in the short amount of time left.

We are committed to continue our peaceful nuclear program, including enrichment, and to enjoy our full nuclear rights on Iranian soil within the framework of international law.

We are determined to continue negotiations with our interlocutors in earnest and good faith, based on mutual respect and confidence, removal of concerns of both sides as well as equal footing and recognized international norms and principles.

I believe mutual adherence to the strict implementation of commitments and obligations and avoidance of excessive

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demands in the negotiations by our counterparts is the prerequisite for the success of the negotiations.

A final accord regarding Iran's peaceful nuclear program can serve as the beginning of multilateral collaboration aimed at promoting security, peace and development in our region and beyond.

The people of Iran, who have been subjected to pressures especially in the last three years as a result of continued sanctions, cannot place trust in any security cooperation between their government with those who have imposed sanctions and created obstacles in the way of satisfying even their primary needs such as food and medicine.

The sanctions will create additional impediments in the way to the future long term cooperation.

The people of Iran are devoted to certain principles and values at the apex of which are independence, development and national pride. Our people evaluate the behavior of their government based on the same criteria.

If this obvious national fact is not understood by our negotiating partners and they commit grievous miscalculations in the process, a historic and exceptional opportunity will be lost.

As you know, during the ongoing nuclear negotiations in this year, the Iranian government took some initiatives that created new favorable conditions, which resulted, at that phase, in the Geneva Joint Plan of Action.

We are determined to continue our confidence building approach and our transparency in this process. If our interlocutors are also equally motivated and flexible, and we can overcome the problem and reach a longstanding agreement within the time remaining, then an entirely different environment will emerge for cooperation at regional and international levels, allowing for greater focus on some very important regional issues such as combating violence and extremism in the region.

Arriving at a final comprehensive nuclear agreement with Iran will be a historic opportunity for the West to show that it does not oppose the advancement and development of others and does not discriminate when it comes to adhering to international rules and regulations.

This agreement can carry a global message of peace and security, indicating that the way to attain conflict resolution is through negotiation and respect not through conflict and sanction.

President Rouhani said that last year the great nation of Iran broadly participated in the calm and impressive presidential election and endorsed the discourse of "Foresight, Hope, and Prudent Moderation."

Thereafter, they support their elected government in its effort in building the country. While some of the countries around Iran have fallen prey to war and turmoil, Iran remains secure, stable and calm.

My Government's principled policy is to work towards constructive interactions with our neighbors on the basis of mutual respect and with emphasis on common interests.

The notion that Iran seeks to control other Muslim countries in the region is a myth fanned in the recent years in the context of an Iranophobic project.

Those who make these claims need imaginary enemies to sustain tensions and sow division and conflict, thus, in this way, pushing for the redeployment of national resources away from development. We work towards putting an end to delusional Iranophobia, setting the stage for building strategic partnerships with our neighbors.

The president said that last year I warned against the expansion of violence and extremism. This year too I warn that if the right approach is not undertaken in dealing with the issue at hand, we get closer to a turbulent and tumultuous region with repercussions for the whole world.

The right solution to this quandary comes from within the region and regionally provided solution with international support and not from the outside the region.

God, the Almighty has promised those who have believed and done righteous deeds that He will surely grant them succession to authority upon the earth and that their fears will turn into peace and security.

It is my sincerest hope that our generation endeavors to leave a more secure and developed earth as its legacy for the next generation.