An Analysis of Pragmatic Competence in 2013 Presidential Election Candidates of Iran: A Comparison of Speech Acts with the Poll Outcomes

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Abstract—**This study tried to investigate pragmatic competence in Iran's 2013 presidential election candidates. The data were collected from the recorded video of a live TV program at the Fararu news source by sampling the third debate. At first, the researchers employed Austin's (1962) and Searle's (1975) theory to extract types of speech act strategies used by the candidates. Then, the study used the Pearson chi-square formula to examine the frequency of speech acts types. Moreover, the present study compared types of locutionary, illocutionery, and perlocutionary speech acts used by candidates with the poll outcomes issued by press media, in order to achieve the assumption that speech acts might have a great effect on election's outcomes. It found three kinds of locutionary acts: declarative, imperative and interrogative. Also, it found five kinds of illocutionary acts used by some candidates: declarative, representative, directive, expressive, and commissive. Consequently, the candidates were almost equally in using locutionary acts, but they were permanently different in illocutionary acts. Finally, in terms of perlocutionary acts, the candidates were mostly intended to get the hearers know by their assertion, explanation, clarification, argumentation, etc.**

Index Terms—**pragmatic competence, speech acts, presidential election of Iran**

I. INTRODUCTION

One aspect of critical discourse analysis (CDA) is to identify key discourse differences that impact on election outcome. As Van-Dijk (1993) mentions, what is noticeable in CDA is that its' primarily intention is towards social issues, to become understandable, to spell out people's point of view, perspective, purposes and principles, both within their discipline and within society at large. Moreover, according to him, one crucial presupposition of adequate CDA is understanding the nature of social power and dominance. Power involves control, namely by members of one group over those of other groups. He adds that such control may pertain to action and cognition: that is, a powerful group may limit the freedom of action of others, but also influence their minds. He also states that CDA can only make a significant subscription to critical social or political analyses if it has ability to provide an account of the role of language, language use, discourse or communicative events in the production of dominance and inequality. (pp.252-253) According to him, there are some principles of CDA:

the explicit sociopolitical stance of discourse analysts, and a focus on dominance relations by elite groups and institutions as they are being enacted, legitimated or otherwise reproduced by text and talk. One of the crucial elements of this analysis of the relations between power and discourse is the patterns of access to public discourse for different social groups. Theoretically it is shown that in order to be able to relate power and discourse in an explicit way, we need the cognitive interface of models, knowledge, attitudes and ideologies and other social representations of the social mind, which also relate the individual and the social, and the micro- and the macro-levels of social structure. Finally, the argument is illustrated with an analysis of parliamentary debates about ethnic affairs. (p. 249)

What he adds is that the CDA aim is offering a different mode or perspective of theorizing, analysis, and application throughout the whole field. He defines it far from the direction, school, or specialization that exists next to the many other approaches in discourse studies. He believes in critical perspective in diverse areas as pragmatics, narrative analysis, conversation analysis, rhetoric, sociolinguistics, stylistics, ethnography, or media analysis.

The other aspect of the CDA is the notion of power. As Wodak (2002) mentions "the language is not powerful on its own and it gains power by the use powerful people make of it" (p. 10). Consequently, CDA critically analyzes the language use of those people in power or who have opportunity to improve conditions. As Bourdieu (1977) who primarily concerned with dynamic power in society states that the theory of knowledge is a dimension of political theory, because the symbolic power to impose the principles of the construction of reality specifically. Moreover, he

adds that social reality is a major dimension of political power particularly. Also, the CDA dependents on context, because it has a principle of simultaneity. Moreover, it cannot be analyzed outside the time in which it is occurred. (Foucault, 1972) In addition, what this study analyzes is not far from the communicative intentions, what Grice (1957) characterize as intentions that produce some response on the part of the addressee. This is what has been called illocutionary uptake. According to Searle (1969):

In the case of illocutionary acts we succeed in doing what we are trying to do by getting our audience to recognize what we are trying to do. But the effect on the hearer is not a belief or a response, it consists simply in the hearer understanding the utterance of the speaker. (p. 47)

For analyzing the discourse, the study is considered speech acts analysis. The speech acts will be analyzed by theories of a British philosopher of language, Austin (1962), and an American philosopher, Searle (1975) who suggest how these theories can act as a framework for eliciting the used speech acts of Iranian candidates. According to Austin (1962), there are some needs for analyzing the speech acts including:

Firstly, a locutionary act that is roughly equivalent to uttering a certain sentence with a certain sense and reference, and equivalent to meaning in the traditional sense. Secondly, he mentions that human being also perform illocutionary acts such as informing, ordering, warning, and undertaking. Thirdly, he adds that human being may also perform perlocutionary acts: what we bring about or achieve by saying something, such as convincing, persuading, deterring and even, say, surprising or misleading. (p. 108)

Moreover, Searle (1975) claims that four acts are characteristically performed in the utterance of a sentence: "a. Uttering words (morphemes, sentences) = performing utterance acts b. Referring and predicating = performing propositional acts c. Stating, questioning, commanding, promising, etc = performing illocutionary acts" (p. 24).

II. METHODOLOGY

A. Research Questions and Hypotheses

All the statistical analyses were conducted to investigate the following research questions.

Q1. What are the frequencies of speech act strategies used by Iran's 2013 presidential candidates?

Q2. What is the relationship between the use of speech acts types (locutionary acts, illocutionary acts, and perlocutionary acts) and the poll outcomes issued by press media in Iran's 2013 presidential debate?

According to the questions mentioned and the purposes of the study, the following research hypotheses were predicted:

H1. There is not any significant difference between the frequencies of speech act strategies used by Iran's 2013 presidential candidates.

H2. There is a relationship between the use of speech acts types (locutionary acts, illocutionary acts, and perlocutionary acts) and the poll outcomes issued by press media in Iran's 2013 presidential debate.

B. Participants

This study examined eight candidates of Iran's 2013 presidential election debate for analyzing their speech acts. The candidates' age range was from 49 to 73 years old. Some of the candidates belonged to a type of political parties like: Development and Justice Party, Moderation and Development Party, Islamic Coalition Party, and Conservative Majority Alliance. Also, some of them were independent candidates. They had been responsible in key positions, before presenting as presidential candidate, like: mayor of Tehran, minister of petroleum, secretary of the supreme national Security Council, secretary of the expediency discernment council, member of the Assembly of Experts, and minister of foreign affairs. They were native speakers of Persian and their speeches during the debates were translated to English by the researchers.

C. Materials and Instruments

This study considered the eight Iranian candidates of eleventh period of presidential election held in 2013, with a special focus on the third debate as the most controversial one. The third debate was held by presentation of all candidates during 90 minutes on 17 Khordad 1392 (7 June 2013). All the debates broadcasted from channel one of Iran's TV at 4 PM. The materials were collected from a recorded video of a live TV program at http://fararu.com (Fararu, 2013). to answer to the research questions of this study. In addition, the visual and script form of debates are available on line. Moreover, the poll outcomes were extracted from http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Iranian_presidential_election_debates,_2013 (Iranian presidential election debates, 2013) right after the third debate for comparisons of the candidates' used speech acts and the poll. The third debate session consisted of eight speeches of eight candidates. Each one of the candidates had 10 minutes to speak during the debate. They had to respond to the specific questions around essential matters of the country: foreign and domestic policies. At first, the candidates mounted the tribune one by one and responded not only to the determined questions, but also to the other candidates' questions. Then, each one of them tried to collect his speeches in two minutes. The range of used sentences by each candidate was from 10 to 20 sentences in each speech. Consequently, this study analyzed eight candidates' speech acts and politeness by considering at least 70 sentences of this debate that whole candidates involved in. (The third debate speeches, see Appendix)

D. Procedures

At the first step of this study, in analyzing the first research question, the study used speech act theory to explain how speakers use language to accomplish intended actions and how hearers infer intended meaning from what is said. Austin's (1962) and Searle's (1975) theory were used as a framework to analyze kinds of speech acts of each candidate in this study. This study analyzed the candidate's locution acts based on declarative, imperative, and interrogative speech acts of Austin's (1962). The illocution acts of candidates were analyzed based on Searle's (1975) five categories of speech acts: representatives, directives, expressive, commissives, and declaratives. According to Austin (1969, as cited in Sadock 1974), perlocutionary act is the effect of the word for the hearer which is a consequence or byproduct of speaking, whether intended or not. Moreover, according to Austin (1969, as cited in Brown & Yule, 1983), perlocutionary act can be described in terms of effect of illocutionary act, on the particular occasion of use, has on the hearer. In addition, perlocutionary acts would include such effects as persuading, embarrassing, intimidating, boring, irritating, and inspiring the hearer. At the second stage, the sentences of each candidate's speech were separated to analyze their types of locution, illocution, and perlocution. At the third stage, in order to explain the second research hypothesis, the study compared the first hypothesis' outcomes with the poll. The polls were held right after third debate in order to define the debate winner. Considerably, in the way of analysis of pragmatics' subfields in this debate, there were some cross-cultural differences that needed consideration based on Iran's culture.

E. Data Analysis

To examine the research hypotheses, qualitative descriptive and quantitative statistics were used to describe the data. The data were collected from eight candidates of Iran's 2013 presidential election third debate. To investigate the first research hypothesis, the study needed to clarify the frequency of speech acts used by each candidate. Then, the data were classified based on candidate's responses to the same question. This part considered speech act of each candidate based on Austin's (1962) and Searle's (1975) strategies to clarify the locutions, illocution, and perlocutions of speeches. Following this classification, there was quantitative statistic of the Pearson chi-square formula to analyse the frequency of each candidate's speech in order to use specific locution and illocution speech acts that had different effects on creating specific perlocution speech acts. The main function of this part was analyzing the frequencies of speech act strategies used by Iran's 2013 presidential candidates. To compare the candidates' speech acts in relation to election outcomes, in order to response to the second research hypothesis, the study compared the previous stage outcomes with the statistical analyses done by the news sources right after the debate (poll). Moreover, the study described the comparison outcomes descriptively. The main function of this stage was providing a relationship between speech act of candidates' speeches and the victorious of candidates in this competition.

III. RESULTS

To examine the first stated null hypothesis, at first, this part explains in Table 1 a detailed analysis of speech act strategies used by Iran's 2013 presidential candidates. It expounds speech act of each candidate based on Austin's (1962) and Searle's (1975) strategies. It consists of two main speech act classifications. The first classification, locutions, contains of declaratives (Dec_1), imperatives (Imp), and interrogatives (Int). The second classification, illocutions, contains of representatives (Rep), directives (Dir), expressive (Exp), commissives (Com), and declaratives (Dec_2).

TABLE 1
A DETAILED ANALYSIS OF USED SPEECH ACT STRATEGIES BY CANDIDATES

candidate	Speeches	locution	Illocutions				
			Rep	Dir	Exp	Com	Dec_2
A	The party-based management is not responding anymore.	Dec_1			*		
	Our administration should be looking for people's right.	Imp		*			
	A comprehensive government must be formed.	Imp		*			
	We should achieve a successful economic diplomacy.	Imp		*			
	My administration will end in political strife…	Dec_1				*	
	The persons should be capable and efficient and accept the leader….	Imp		*			
	I believe that we should…	Dec_1	*				
	I prevent elapsing time.	Dec_1				*	

candidate	Speeches	locution	Illocutions				
			Rep	Dir	Exp	Com	Dec$_2$
B	Our diplomacy organization should not work….	Imp		*			
	Our diplomacy system did not succeed in achieving our foreign policy goals.	Dec$_1$			*		
	We need a change in our management approaches.	Dec$_1$		*			
	I introduce five axes as foreign policy: 1…. 2…. 3…. 4. … 5…..	Dec$_1$	*				

candidate	Speeches	locution	Illocutions				
			Rep	Dir	Exp	Com	Dec$_2$
	The economic problem is important in policy of country.	Dec$_1$	*				
	The economic problem is associated with sanctions.	Dec$_1$	*				
C	With better management, we could and can decrease its effects.	Dec$_1$				*	
	A solution of sanction issue has priority in our foreign policy, but how? Somebody says that…	Dec$_1$			*		
	The problem with Americans is the primary problem of the revolution because…	Dec$_1$	*				
	We do not have a discussion with the ideals and goals.	Dec$_1$	*				
	You said this problem do not solve with management.	Dec$_1$	*				
	Ironically, I believe that our diplomacy area does not let us to take advantage with low cost in foreign policy…	Dec$_1$			*		

candidate	Speeches	locution	Illocutions				
			Rep	Dir	Exp	Com	Dec$_2$
D	In the field of domestic policy, the basis of domestic policy of government will be management and hope based on…	Dec$_1$				*	
	It must be such thing that…	Imp				*	
	The second issue is freedom that…	Dec$_1$				*	
	Another issue is the justice issue in all around the country and citizens' right that…	Dec$_1$				*	
	For moving the country toward the unity and power we need….	Dec$_1$		*			
	In the foreign policy we should keep our national interest and national security and…	Imp		*			
	It is better to refer to the recent book published by ElBaradei who says….	Dec$_1$	*				
	Straw also said that ….	Dec$_1$	*				
	We should not distort the reality of history.	Imp		*			
	Today, we should also keep the country's circumstances.	Imp		*			
	However, in foreign and important policies, we have also the confirmation and guidance of the leader.	Dec$_1$		*			

candidate	Speeches	locution	Illocutions				
			Rep	Dir	Exp	Com	Dec$_2$
E	In the first debate we concluded that the country is faced with problems.	Dec$_1$	*				
	Who are responsible for the current situation?	Dec$_1$			*		
	The people should know…	Imp		*			
	the performance of 8 years ago indicate we cannot …	Dec$_1$			*		
	The performance of reform government began with politic watchword, but followed with an expanded work…	Dec$_1$	*				
	We controlled the costs and...	Dec$_1$	*				
	This is unacceptable to know….as responsible for this situation.	Dec$_1$			*		
	My priority is…I will form…	Dec$_1$				*	

candidate	Speeches	locution	Illocutions				
			Rep	Dir	Exp	Com	Dec$_2$
F	Sometimes we have misunderstanding that is part of economic problems and …	Dec$_1$			*		
	Those should take responsibilities who…because we discussed after the war…	Dec$_1$	*				
	Another part of problems…	Dec$_1$			*		
	If I become president…	Dec$_1$				*	
	The Iranian passport should not be…	Imp	*				

candidate	Speeches	locution	Illocutions				
			Rep	Dir	Exp	Com	Dec$_2$
G	If the domestic capacity increases, the foreign policy will be corrected.	Dec$_1$			*		
	If people vote for me, my plan is…	Dec$_1$				*	
	If you vote for me, I let people to choose…	Dec$_1$				*	

candidate	Speeches	locution	Illocutions				
			Rep	Dir	Exp	Com	Dec$_2$
H	The area of foreign policy is the domain of thought,	Dec$_1$			*		
	We should follow it based on pure Islam.	Imp		*			
	If we cannot do it, we will become weak.	Dec$_1$			*		

This study analyzed the candidates' speeches by considering Austin's (1962) and Searle's (1975) classifications. Every classification consists of some sub-categories. According to Austin (1969, as cited in Langacker 1972), there are some example of locutionary speech acts. These examples are comparable with Table 1.

A) Declarative (Dec$_1$)

1) Pauline gave Tom digital watch for his birthday.

B) Imperative (Imp)

1) Give a digital watch for my birthday.

C) Interrogative (Int)

1) Did you buy the wallet, or did you steal it, or did you find it on the street?

It is worth to repeat the philosopher Searle's (1975, as cited in Richard & Schmidt, 2010) point of view about five-part classification of illocutionary speech acts by providing some examples. The examples are restricted to one type of each category. These examples are comparable with Table 1.

A) Representative (Rep)

1) This is a German car (assertion)
B) Commissive (Com)
1) I'll take you to the movies tomorrow (promise).
C) Directive (Dir)
1) Why don't you close the window?
D) Expressive (Exp)
1) The meal was delicious.
E) Declarative (Dec_2)
1) During the wedding ceremony the act of marriage is performed when the phrase I now pronounce you man and wife is uttered.

Secondly, since hypothesis 1 predicated that there is not any significant difference between the frequencies of speech act strategies used by Iran's 2013 presidential candidates. Table 2 shows the frequency of used speech act strategies by them.

TABLE 2
THE FREQUENCY OF USED SPEECH ACT STRATEGIES BY CANDIDATES

Candidates	Locutions				Illocutions			
	Dec_1	Imp	Int	Rep	Dir	Exp	Com	Dec_2
A	2	4	0	1	4	1	2	0
B	3	1	0	1	2	1	0	0
C	8	0	0	5	0	2	1	0
D	7	4	0	2	5	0	4	0.
E	7	1	0	3	1	3	1	0
F	4	1	0	2	0	2	1	0
G	3	0	0	0	0	1	2	0
H	2	0	0	0	1	2	0	0

Thirdly, in order to test the hypothesis, this study analyzed the comparison and contrast of used speech act frequencies by candidates. Table 3 shows the relation between speech act strategies and the achieved frequencies by considering the Pearson chi-square formula.

TABLE 3
CHI-SQUARE TESTS OF USED SPEECH-ACT FREQUENCIES BY CANDIDATES

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	76.264	49	.008
Likelihood Ratio	76.541	49	.007
Linear-by-Linear Association	9.434	1	.002
N of Valid Cases	64		

According to Pearson Chi-Square statistic, to be significant, the Sig. value needs to be .05 or smaller. In this case the value of .008 is smaller than the alpha value of .05, so we can conclude that our result is significant. This means that there was a significant difference between the frequencies of speech act strategies used by Iran's 2013 presidential candidates. This suggests that the null hypothesis is rejected.

In order to show whether there is a relationship between the use of speech acts types (locutionary acts, illocutionary acts, and perlocutionary acts) and the poll outcomes issued by press media in Iran's 2013 presidential debate, this part compered the used speech act strategies outcomes, that were analyzed in previous section, with the poll, that was held right after the third debate. Table 4 indicates that the forecasted votes have been assembled by some on-line news sources. The following polls were held right after the third debate of 2013' presidential election in order to predict the debate winner.

TABLE 4
THE POLL OUTCOMES ISSUED BY PRESS MEDIA IN IRAN'S 2013 PRESIDENTIAL DEBATE (7 JUNE 2013)

Poll source	Date updated	Total votes	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H
Entekhab	9 June 2013	67,973	6.45%	3.97%	1.01%	57.28%	17.35%	5.78%	2.19%	5.97%
Khabaronline	9 June 2013	41,000	8%	5%	1%	44%	21%	12%	3%	6%
Asriran	9 June 2013	101,220	9.86%	4.31%	1.23%	55.34%	15.41%	6.28%	3.29%	4.27%
Fararu	9 June 2013	50,666	5.95%	5.58%	1.1%	52.97%	19.38%	7%	2.96%	5.06%

Figure 1 displays the overall picture of candidates' locutionary speech-act strategies used for answering the same question. To compare three types of locutionary speech acts, the first column of this figure shows declarative locutionary speech act, the second one shows imperative one, and the third one shows interrogative one.
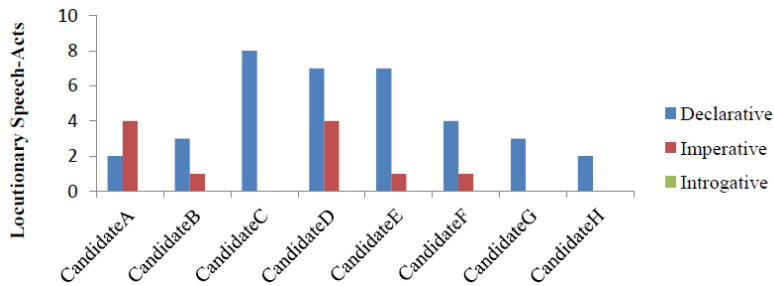

Figure 1 The Comparison of Locutionary Speech Acts Used by Candidates

Moreover, to compare the candidates' illocutionary speech-act strategies, the study consider each candidate' illocutionary speech act separately. Figure 2 displays representative illocutionary speech act used by candidates for answering the same question.
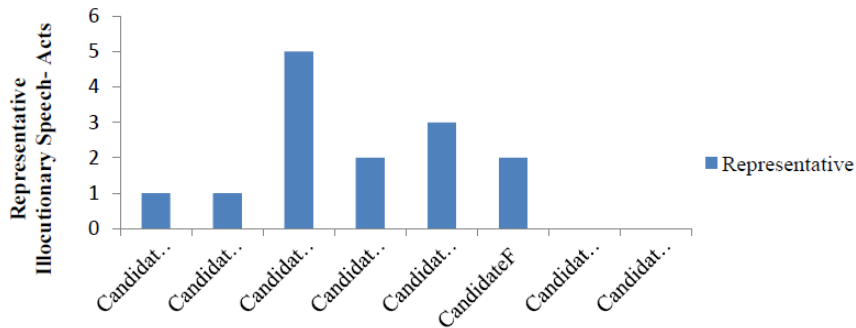
Figure 2 The Comparison of Representative Illocutionary Speech Acts Used by Candidates

Next, Figure 3 compares directive illocutionary speech act used by candidates for answering the same question.
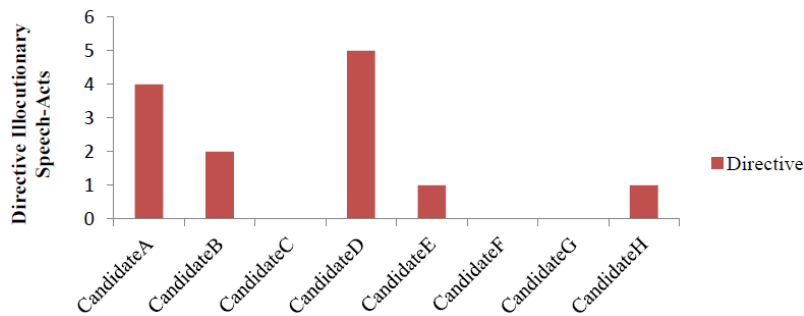

Figure 3 The Comparison of Directive Illocutionary Speech Acts Used by Candidates

In addition, Figure 4 compares expressive illocutionary speech act used by candidates for answering the same question.
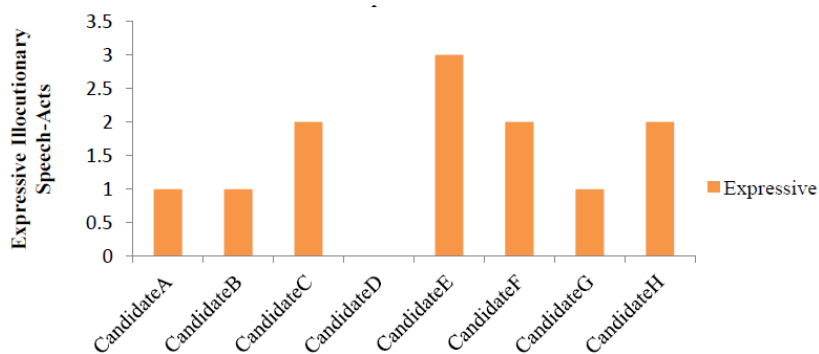

Figure 4 The Comparison of Expressive Illocutionary Speech Acts Used by Candidates

Finally, Figure 5 compares commissive illocutionary speech act used by candidates for answering the same question.
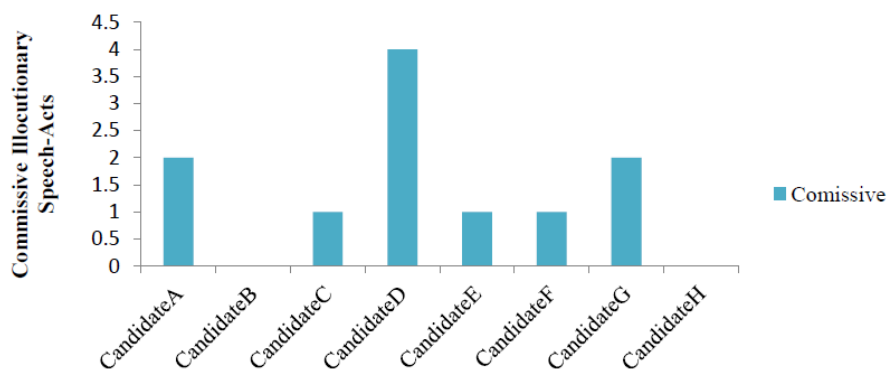
Figure 5 The Comparison of Commissive Illocutionary Speech Acts Used by Candidates

IV. DISCUSSIONS AND CONCLUSION

The results of chi-square test indicated a statistically significant difference between the frequencies of speech act strategies used by Iran's 2013 presidential candidates. Since the candidates needed to attract people's attention, in terms of locutionary sentences, they had to use a lot of declarative and imperative sentences than interrogative ones. However, the most stated sentences were declarative ones to assert themselves and describe their status. In terms of illocutionary sentences, in order to motivate people to perform a function, here, people decision making, the candidates used more representative, directive, expressive, and commissive sentences than declarative ones. The purpose of candidates in performing representative sentences was to commit themselves to the belief that the propositional content of the utterances were true. Statements of fact, assertions, conclusions, and descriptions, are the examples of this type of speech acts. By use of directive sentences, the candidates tried to get the hearer to commit themselves to do something. These directive sentences expressed what the candidates wanted, commanded, ordered, requested, and suggested. Moreover, by use of expressive sentences, the candidates stated what they felt. They expressed psychological sentences and used statements of pleasure, pain, likes, dislikes, joy or sorrow. Also, they expressed their feelings (disapproval, unsatisfied, anger) as complainers of current issues through this speech act classification. The candidates used commissive sentences to show what they are going to do in the future. It was in the form of promises, threats, refusals, and pledges. By the use of this type of speech act classification, the most candidates indicated that they could perform some actions by alone, or as a member of a group.

Related qualitative data revealed that there was a strong relation between speech acts used by the candidates and the poll outcomes issued by press media. Significantly, a strong relation existed between the winner of this competition and the other candidates, in using types of speech acts strategies. Table 4 shows the prominence of candidate D in this competition.Orderly, candidates E, F, A, H, B, G, and C place in next ranks. The high differentiation of candidate D's and candidate E's votes indicated that candidate D might be winner in the final election. As Figure 1 shows, in terms of locution acts, candidates A and D used declarative sentences as much as imperative sentences. Candidates B, C, E, F, G, and H used the declarative sentences more than the imperative or the interrogative ones. Candidate D used lots of declarative and imperative locution sentences, and more directive and comissive illocution ones than representative and expressive ones. In detail, candidate D not only got the hearers to do something, but also got them to expect something in the future. The polls outcomes demonstrated that the least votes belonged to candidate C who used lots of representative speech act sentences that just got the hearers to know something.

According to Figure 2, in terms of representative illocutionary speech acts, candidate C answered the question by the most representative sentences and lots of claims. Orderly, candidates E, and F used more representative sentences than other types of illocutionary acts. Statements of fact, claims, reports, assertions, conclusions, and descriptions were the examples of this type of speech acts in this debate. In using representative sentences, the candidates committed themselves to the truth or falsity of somethings that being the case. Also, according to Figure 3, candidate D and A answered the question directivity. Directive sentences of these candidates expressed what they wanted; they consisted of commands, orders, requests, and suggestions. According to Figure 4 candidates E, C, and H used lots of expressive sentences. Candidates A, B, F, and G used expressive sentences equally. No types of expressive actions were observed in candidate D's speeches. Moreover, according to Figure 5, candidate D used more commissive sentences than the other candidates to show doing the actions in the future. They were in the form of promises, refusals, and pledges. In terms of perlocutiony acts that are the effect of illocutionary acts, the candidate A with more directive sentences got the hearers to do something. Candidates C, E, and F used more representative sentences and all of candidates except candidate D used expressive ones that the effect of these types of sentences is getting the hearers to know something. By comparison of types of sentences with candidates' votes in the poll's outcomes, the study concluded that majority of votes belonged to candidate D with lots of commissive sentences and lack of expressive ones. Also, minority of votes belonged to candidate C with lots of representative sentences and minimum commissive ones. Finally, there was one by one relation between the poll's outcomes and locution and illocution strategies used by the candidates.

APPENDIX

	Candidate
مدیریت جناحی دیگر جوابگو نیست. دولت ما باید به دنبال حق مردم باشد و باید دولت فراگیر تشکیل یابد. ما باید به یک دیپلماسی موفق اقتصادی دست یابیم. در دولت من منازعات سیاسی پایان خواهد یافت.	A
دستگاه دیپلماسی ما نباید خارج از برنامه های کلان کشور عمل کند. حوزه دیپلماسی ما نتوانسته در تحقق اهداف سیاست های خارجی ما موفق عمل کند. ما نیازمند یک تغییر در رویکردهای مدیریتی هستیم. B پنج محور را سیاست خارجی معرفی کرد: 1. تحقق در انسجام داخلی 2. دیپلماسی فعال منطقه گرایی 3. فعال کردن دیپلماسی اقتصادی 4. دیپلماسی عمومی 5. راهبرد مقاومت مقتدران	B
مشکل اقتصادی در سیاست کشور اهمیت دارد. مشکل اقتصادی با تحریم ارتباط دارد. با مدیریت بهتر می شد و می شود آثارش را کم کرد. در سیاست خارجی حل مسئله تحریم اولویت دارد ولی چگونه؟ بعضی می گویند که اگر دم کدخدا را ببینیم مشکل حل می شود. مشکل هسته ای بهانه است، مشکل با آمریکایی ها، مشکل اصل انقلاب است چون ما خواهان استقلال بوده ایم و پافشاری می کنیم با ما مخالفت می کنند. به نظر من پایه حل مشکل تحریم را باید در موضع عزت و اقتدار عمل کنیم. 40 سال آمریکا تلاش کرد چین را نادیده بگیرد و بالاخره آمریکا آمد و با چین تعامل کرد. ما بحثی با آرمان ها و اهداف ها نداریم. شما فرمودید با مدیریت حل نمیشود این موضوع از قضا معتقدم حوزه دیپلماسی ماست که نمیگذارد در سیاست خارجی با هزینه کم بیشترین نفع را ببریم. این موضوع کلیدی است	C
در زمینه سیاست داخلی، اساس سیاست داخلی دولت بر مبنای تامین امنیت و ایجاد آرامش برای همه مردم ایران در تمام ابعاد زندگیشان خواهد بود در اقتصاد و فرهنگ و شغل و حریم خصوصی و ... باید به گونه ای باشد که مردم شب و روز در خانه و خیابان و سفر احساس آرامش کنند. مساله دوم مساله آزادی است که در همه ابعاد زندگی آزادی مسئولانه را احساس کنند. یعنی جایی که باید نظرشان را اعلام کنند و یا اینکه به آزادی تمام بیایند و حضور یابند که متاسفانه امروز در برخی موارد آزادی مردم برای حضور در عرصه انتخابات با سخت گیری هایی که نیازی نیست روبرو شده است. یکی دونمونه را آقای عارف اعلام کردند. مساله دیگر مساله عدالت در سراسر کشور و بحث حقوق شهروندی است که همه مردم کشورمان از هر قبیله و نژاد و قومیتی، احساس کنند که شهروند یک کشور واحد هستند و از حقوق مساوی و عادلانه برخوردارند و زمینه برای مشارکت همه مردم فراهم کنیم تا مردم با اعتماد کامل مشارکت کنند و این تنها برای انتخابات و 22 بهمن نباشد. تا کشور به سمت انسجام و قدرت ملی حرکت کند. برای اینکار نیاز به عقلانیت و اعتدال و دوری از افراط و تفریط داریم. در سیاست خارجی هم باید منافع کشور و امنیت ملی را حفظ کرده و شرایطی فراهم کنیم که فرصت های لازم برای مردم ما بوجود آید. اینکه اشاره شد در دولت سازندگی یا اصلاحات سیاست خارجی ما ایراد داشته، تعجب میکنم که اشاره میکنند به حرفی که در گوشه سایتی آمده است. خوب است به کتابی که اخیرا البرادعی نوشته نگاه کنیم که میگوید جنگ پشت دروازه ایران بود و ایران جلوی آن را گرفت و 3 وزیر اروپایی را به ایران دعوت کرد و آنها را سر بر داد. استراو هم گفت جنگ حتمی بود و من اعلام کردم احمقانه است. نباید واقعیت های تاریخی را تحریف کنیم. امروز هم باید شرایط کشور را حفظ کنیم. البته در سیاست های خارجی و مهم همه جا تایید رهبری و هدایت های ایشان هم بوده	D
در مناظره اول جمع بندی این بود که کشور با مشکلاتی رو به روست. چه کسانی مسئول وضع موجود هستند. مردم حق دارند که بدانند چه کسانی این مشکل را بوجود آوردند. تمام قوا در اختیار اصولگرایان بود. در قوه مجریه همه افراد حذف شدند. عملکرد هشت سال گذشته نشان داد که ما نمی توانیم خودمان را به یک جناح خاص محدود کنیم. عملکرد دولت اصلاحات با شعار سیاسی آمد اما در عمل یک کار فراگیر را دنبال کرد. 173 میلیارد دلار نفت صادر شد در حالی که بیشتر از 630 میلیارد دلار در دوره اخیر درآمد داشت. گرانی را کنترل کردیم و ارز را تک نرخی کردیم. این که جریان موهوم انحرافی را مسئول وضع کشور بدانیم پذیرفتنی نیست. جریان اصولگرا مسئولیت خودش را بپذیرد. اولویت اول من فصل سوم قانون است، من معاونت اقوام را تشکیل خواهم داد.	E
گاه ممکن است برداشت نادرستی وجود داشته باشد، این برداشت از مشکلات حاد جامعه و روش دولت فعلی به این برداشت منجر شده است. بخشی از مشکلات اقتصادی در تحریم ها ریشه دارد. باید افرادی متصدی امور شوند که تجربه داشته باشند. چون در دوره بعد از جنگ مذاکره کردیم به طوری که حتی یک وجب از کشور ما دست دیگران نماند. هسته ای سخت تر از قرارداد 598 نیست. بخشی دیگر از مشکلات از سوء تدبیر پیش آمده است. به این معنی اگر کسی مثل ما نمی اندیشید او را نادیده بگیریم و خانه نشین کنیم. اگر من رئیس جمهور شوم تعامل سازنده با دنیا فراهم خواهم کرد. رابطه با چند کشور محدود آفریقایی و آمریکایی خوب است اما فایده ای چندانی به همراه ندارد. گذرنامه مردم ایران طوری نباشد که در ورود مورد بی احترامی قرار نگیرد. متاسفانه اکنون برخورد با ایرانیان در خارج مناسب نیست و ما تلاش می کنیم که مطابق شان ملت وضعیت بهبود یابد.	F
اگر استعداد داخلی فزون شود سیاست خارجی درست می شود. اگر مردم به من رای بدهند برنامه ام انسجام داخلی خواهد بود. اگر به من رای دهید می گویم استاندار هر استان را مردم انتخاب کنند	G
حوزه سیاست خارجی حوزه اندیشه است. بر اساس اسلام ناب باید این گفتگو را دنبال کنیم با سازوکار قوی و مدیریت هوشمند که گفتمان را باور داشته باشد. اگر ما اینکار را نتوانیم انجام دهیم دچار ضعف می شویم. این یک بحث اساسی است. سوال من من را آقای F جواب نداد که چرا بعد از 7 سال گفتگویشان تحریم های داماتو صادر شد و برای رئیس جمهور وقت هم حکم جلب آوردند	H

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