

Speech Acts by Chinese Leaders in Iran Nuclear Crisis

Shahrouz Shariati¹ 
Ali Naseri² 

1-Introduction

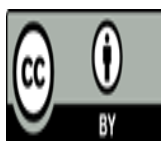
The confrontation of the great powers with the nuclear case of the Islamic Republic of Iran may facilitate the prediction of Iran's foreign policy. One of the international mediating countries that has been present in the nuclear negotiations with Iran since 2006 and appears to have a greater alignment with Iran than other countries is China. This research aims to examine the official stance of the Chinese government towards Iran's nuclear program during the so-called 5+1 negotiations. This research has sought to address its primary question by applying the Copenhagen School theory to the analysis of Chinese government officials' speech acts. Additionally, the article aims to elucidate the role of these mental ideas in the future of Iran-China relations, while examining the factors influencing China's foreign policy discourse.

2- Methodology and Theoretical Framework

This study employs a qualitative methodology, specifically the directed content analysis method. This approach involves identifying, summarizing and classifying data based on the theoretical framework of the Copenhagen school, with a particular focus on security-building and de-security speech acts as observed among leaders and officials of the Chinese government between 2003 and 2023. It should be noted that, according to the tenets of speech act theories, the act of speaking is not merely the expression of words; rather, it is a routine action undertaken within a specific context. Based on this method, the initial draft for the classes is extracted after several readings of the interviews.

¹ Associate Professor of Political Science at Tarbiat Modares University, Tehran, Iran. shariati@modares.ac.ir

² PhD student in Political Science, Humanities, Tarbiat Modares University, Tehran, Iran alinaseri@modares.ac.ir



The identified items are then grouped based on similarities in classes and sub-classes to identify the content hidden in the speech acts. To ensure the functionality of the data, the authors were required to repeatedly reprocess the data over an extended period to facilitate the emergence of the most accurate narrative representation of reality. In order to analyse the data presented in this article, a total of 66 interviews, positions and memoirs of leaders of the People's Republic of China were used. These were presented in the form of direct or indirect quotations during the specified target period. Due to the lexical limitations of the article, a selection of these were presented in the form of actions and speeches.

speech act theory represents a distinctive theoretical approach within the Copenhagen school of thought. A notable area of research within the field of security studies that is supported by this school is the discursive construction of reality, with a particular focus on the concept of security. One of the most notable contributions of the Copenhagen school to the study of international crises is the conceptualization of the two key terms 'securitization' and 'de-securitization'. These two terms elucidate the process of establishing a reality. Securitization can be defined as a process whereby certain issues are incorporated into the security framework, whereas they were previously excluded from it. Conversely, the process of de-securitization can be observed when a society gradually ceases to perceive an issue as an existential threat, thereby reducing or eliminating the calls for exceptional measures to address the threat. It can be argued that the process of creating security is not contingent solely on whether an issue constitutes a threat to security. Rather, it is primarily a political decision, based on the assumption that these processes are shaped by speech acts. Such acts, in turn, serve as the foundation for the formulation of policies and the implementation of strategic actions.

In order to gain insight into the discourse of China's peaceful rise, which represents the primary strategy of this country's government, the article has also employed the tenets of the "Tianxia" theory as a foundation for comprehension of China's foreign policy. This perspective on China's foreign policy was first articulated by Deng Xiaoping in the late 1980s and early 1990s. Deng Xiaoping had reached

the conclusion that the modernization of the Chinese economy constituted the foundation for the country's overall power.

3- Discussion

In the context of the Iran nuclear crisis, China has emphasized the necessity of pursuing peace and coexistence, as well as the importance of cooperation, negotiation, and maintaining global order and security. China's endorsement of Iran's right to access peaceful nuclear energy, its opposition to sanctions imposed on Iran and its invitation to all parties to engage in cooperation and dialogue, following the United States' withdrawal from the Joint Comprehensive Plan of Action (JCPOA) and its recommendation for the United States to rejoin the JCPOA, represent key anti-security actions on the part of China in this matter.

Despite these actions being in line with the national interests of the Islamic Republic of Iran, an evaluation of China's security-building actions reveals that the intensity of negative rhetoric regarding Iran's nuclear crisis exceeded alignment. It can thus be observed that the primary concepts and fundamental tenets of the Chinese leadership's approach are, in practice, aligned with those of the Western powers, particularly in the context of the Iran nuclear crisis. Indeed, China has demonstrated a consistent stance in alignment with the West, particularly in relation to the prohibition of the proliferation of nuclear weapons, which it has consistently identified as a red line. Moreover, the Chinese government has not exercised its veto power with regard to any of the resolutions adopted by the United Nations Security Council, including resolutions 1696, 1737, 1747, 1803 and 1835, which were adopted in relation to Iran's nuclear program. In light of the aforementioned evidence, it can be reasonably inferred that the prevailing stance of the Chinese leadership with regard to the Iranian nuclear program is one of acquiescence to American demands for the securing of Iran's nuclear file. Indeed, China has done little to enhance the security of this file.

4- Conclusion and Suggestions

Despite the alignment of China's speech acts with the national interests of the Islamic Republic of Iran, an analysis of China's

securitization rhetoric reveals that the intensity of its negative discourse regarding Iran's nuclear crisis outweighs any alignment or convergence with Iran's position. In practice, the core perceptions and principles guiding Chinese leaders' thinking and actions, while exhibiting some differences, have largely aligned with the positions of the Western bloc. In the context of Iran's nuclear crisis, China has effectively moved in step with the West, defining the prevention of nuclear weapons proliferation as its red line. As a result, China did not veto United Nations Security Council Resolutions 1696, 1737, 1747, 1803, and 1835, which were imposed against Iran's nuclear program. This demonstrates that the overarching perspective of Chinese leaders toward Iran's nuclear program has been one of tacit support for the United States' efforts to securitize Iran's nuclear dossier. At best, China has engaged in minimal desecuritization efforts, but these have been insufficient to counterbalance its alignment with Western policies on this issue. The official approach of the People's Republic of China government to Iran's nuclear program during the so-called 5+1 negotiations demonstrated a dual, though predictable, orientation towards the program. Security-building actions regarding Iran's nuclear activities prevailed over de-securitization actions.

5- References

- Austin, J.L. (1975). Urmson, J. O.; Sbisà, Marina. (eds.). *How to do things with words* (2nd ed.). Harvard University Press.
- Barabantseva, E. (2009). Change vs. order: Shijie meets Tianxia in China's interactions with the world. *Alternatives*, 34(2), 129-155.
- Bassiri Tabrizi, A., Kienzle, B. (2020). The High Representative and directores in European foreign policy: the case of the nuclear negotiations with Iran. *European security*, 29(3), 320-336.
- Behrang, F. (2012). *US Foreign Policy Interests and Iran's Nuclear Program* (Doctoral dissertation, University of Saskatchewan).
- Bolton, J. (2020). *White House Diary* (Ataq Afaqaz). translated by Saeed Kalati, first edition, Tehran: Third Edition. **[In Persian]**
- Braun, V., Clarke, V. (2006). Using thematic analysis in psychology. *Qualitative research in psychology*, 3(2), 77-101.
- Buzan, B., Wæver, O. (1997). Slippery? Contradictory? Sociologically untenable? The Copenhagen school replies. *Review of International Studies*, 23(02), 241–250.
- Buzan, B., Wæver, O., de Wilde, J. (1998). *Security: A new framework for analysis*. Lynne Rienner Publishers.
- Buzan, B., Ole, W., Jaap, W. (1998). *Security: A New Framework for Analysis*. Boulder: Lynne Rienner.

Speech Acts by Chinese Leaders in Iran Nuclear Crisis

- Callahan, W.A. (2007). Tianxia, empire and the world: Soft power and China's foreign policy discourse in the 21st century. British Inter-University China Centre Working Paper Series, 1(2).
- Cha, T. (2018). Competing visions of a postmodern world order: the Philadelphian system versus the Tianxia system. *Cambridge Review of International Affairs*, 31(5), 392-414.
- Chinese Foreign Ministry Spokesperson. (2008). Foreign Ministry Spokesperson Qin Gang held a regular press conference on March 4, 2008, available at: https://www.fmprc.gov.cn/web/gjhdq_676201/gj_676203/yz_676205/1206_677172/fyryg_th_677180/200803/t20080304_9306777.shtml. [In China]
- Cong, F. (2017). Statement by H.E. Mr. Fu Cong, Head of Chinese Delegation, Ambassador for Disarmament Affairs of the People's Republic of China at the General Debate in the First Session of the Preparatory Committee for the 2020 NPT Review Conference.
- Esmaeili, A.M., Zhang, Y. (2022). Identity, China's foreign policy and Iran's nuclear program. *Asian Journal of Middle Eastern and Islamic Studies*, 16(1), 46-61.
- Gang, C.H. (2023). Chinese Foreign Minister: Iran's nuclear issue requires diplomatic solutions, published in Fars news agency, available at: <https://www.farsnews.ir/news/14011126000227>. [In Persian]
- Gang, Q. (2010). On June 10, 2010, Foreign Ministry Spokesperson Qin Gang held a regular press conference, available at: http://nl.china-embassy.gov.cn/fyrth/201006/t20100610_2753954.htm. [In China]
- Garver, J.W. (2016). China and Iran: an emerging partnership post-sanctions.
- Guangya, W. (2007). Security Council Toughens Sanctions Against Iran, Adds Arms Embargo, available at: <https://press.un.org/en/2007/sc8980.doc.htm>.
- Guangya, W. (2007). Explanatory Remarks by Permanent Representative of China to the UN Ambassador Wang Guangya at the Security Council after Taking Vote on Draft Resolution on Sanctions Against Iran, available at: http://un.china-mission.gov.cn/eng/hyyfy/200703/t20070324_8399112.htm.
- Haley, N.R. (2019). *With all due respect: Defending America with grit and grace*. St. Martin's Press.
- Hamid, M.A. (2021). Is the JCPOA-2015 deal a solution to Iran's nuclear crisis?
- Hanau Santini, R. (2010). European Union discourses and practices on the Iranian nuclear programme. *European Security*, 19(3), 467-489.
- Hanjing, Y. (2015). The Iranian nuclear issue and the Obama administration's engagement policy. *Arab World Studies*, (4), 32-44. [In China]
- Hillary, C. (2010). Clinton Warns China on Iran Sanctions, available at: <https://www.nytimes.com/2010/01/30/world/asia/30diplo.html>.
- Hong, Z. (2014). China's Dilemma on Iran: between energy security and a responsible rising power. *Journal of Contemporary China*, 23(87), 408-424.
- Hongda, F. (2016). The political environment and response of China in promoting the "Belt and Road" strategic initiative in Iran. *West Asia and Africa*, 2, 49-64. [In China]
- Hua, Ch.Y. (2020). the tweet of the Chinese official about the return of the United States to the JCPOA, published in the Ilna news agency, available at: <https://www.ilna.ir/>. [In Persian]
- Huysmans, J. (2006). *The politics of insecurity: Fear, migration and asylum in the EU*. Routledge.
- Jiabao, W. Mehr news agency. (2007). Mehr news agency; The peaceful use of nuclear energy is Iran's right, available at: <https://www.mehrnews.com/news/433138>. [In Persian]
- Jianchao, L. (2006). Foreign Ministry Spokesperson Liu Jianchao made a statement on the UN Security Council's adoption of the resolution on the Iranian nuclear issue, available at:

Crisis Studies of the Islamic World

- https://www.fmprc.gov.cn/web/gjhdq_676201/gj_676203/yz_676205/1206_677172/fyryg_th_677180/200612/t20061224_9306774.shtml. [In China]
- Jianchao, L. (2006). Foreign Ministry Spokesman Liu Jianchao's Comment on the Adoption of UN Security Council Resolution on the Iranian Nuclear Issue, available at: <http://capetown.china-consulate.gov.cn/>
- Jianchao, L. (2007). Foreign Ministry Spokesperson Liu Jianchao answers questions at a regular press conference on November 15, available at: https://www.gov.cn/xwfb/2007-11/15/content_807018.htm. [In China]
- Jie chi, Y. (2010). Irena; China's Foreign Minister: We are against sanctions against Iran, IRNA news, available at: <https://www.irna.ir/news/8062257/>. [In Persian]
- Jie chi, Y. (2007). Foreign Ministry Spokesperson Qin Gang held a regular press conference on December 4, 2007, available at: https://www.fmprc.gov.cn/web/gjhdq_676201/gj_676203/yz_676205/1206_677172/fyryg_th_677180/200712/t20071204_9306776.shtml. [In China]
- Jie Chi, Y. (2007). The Minister of Foreign Affairs of China emphasized Iran's nuclear right, published in Mehr News Agency, available at: <https://www.mehrnews.com/amp/586541/>. [In Persian]
- Jinping, X. (2016). Xi Jinping attended the leaders' meeting of the six-party mechanism on the Iranian nuclear issue; available at: http://adelaide.china-consulate.gov.cn/zgxw_2/201604/t20160402_61924.htm. [In China]
- Jinping, X. (2018). Xi Jinping held talks with Iranian President Rouhani, available at: https://www.mfa.gov.cn/web/gjhdq_676201/gj_676203/yz_676205/1206_677172/xgxw_677178/201806/t20180610_9306746.shtml. [In China]
- Jinping, X. (2015). China's Xi says will work with U.S. on implementing Iran nuclear deal available at: <https://www.reuters.com/article/us-iran-nuclear-china-usa-idUSKCN0PV0DZ2015072>.
- Jinping, X. (2015). Xi Jinping Meets with President Hassan Rouhani of Iran available at: https://www.fmprc.gov.cn/mfa_eng/topics_665678/2015zt/xjpdjstjxgsfwbfdnxyxyfldr_hyhwlhy60znjnhd/201504/t20150428_704902.html.
- Jintao, H. (06/09/2008), Hu Jintao, 6/9/2008, Use of peaceful nuclear energy is Iran's right, Mehr news agency, available at: <https://www.mehrnews.com/news/433138>. [In Persian]
- Jintao, H. (2009). Historic Summit of Security Council Pledges Support for Progress on Stalled Efforts to End Nuclear Weapons Proliferation, available at: <https://press.un.org/en/2009/sc9746.doc.htm>.
- Jun, Z. (2020). Chinese representative elaborated on China's position on the Iranian nuclear issue, available at: <https://m-xinhuanet-com./2020-07/01>. [In China]
- Jun, Z. (2022). Remarks by Ambassador Zhang Jun at the UN Security Council Briefing on the Iranian Nuclear Issue, available at: https://www.fmprc.gov.cn/mfa_eng/wjb_663304/zwjg_665342/zwbd_665378/202207/t20220701_10713281.html. [In China]
- Kang, L. (2018). the spokesperson of the Chinese Foreign Ministry on Friday once again emphasized the country's opposition to unilateral US sanctions against Iran, Al-Alam Network, in : <https://fa.alalam.ir/news/3716601/>. [In Persian]
- Kerry, J. (2021). Every Day Is Extra, translated by Ali Mojtahedzadeh, 4th edition, Tehran: Parse Publications. [In Persian]
- Khanalizadeh, M., Nabavizadeh, S.V., Namazi. (2022). On the other side of the table, 5th edition, Tehran: Marafet Library Publishing. [In Persian]
- Kissinger, H.A. (2013). China, translated by Hossein Rasi, 1st edition, Tehran: Farhang Masazer Publications. [In Persian]

Speech Acts by Chinese Leaders in Iran Nuclear Crisis

- Kwang, V. (2009). The Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs of China: The use of nuclear energy is Iran's inalienable right, published in the Islamic Republic News Agency at the Internet address, available at: <https://www.irna.ir/news/9297522>. [In Persian]
- Kwang, V. (2022). China's support to Iran in continuing its efforts to resolve the nuclear issue through negotiations, available at: <https://www.irna.ir/news/84644552>. [In Persian]
- Li, B. (2010). The Security Council approved the resolution imposing sanctions against Iran and China said, available at: <https://news.sina.com.cn/c/2010-06-10/021520445783.shtml>.
- Lijian, Z. (2020). Foreign Ministry Spokesperson Zhao Lijian's Regular Press Conference on October 19, 2020, available at: http://laoag.china-consulate.gov.cn/eng/fyrth/202010/t20201019_5102171.htm. [In China]
- Liru, C. (2012). Peaceful Rise: China's Modernisation Trajectory. *The International Spectator*, 47(2), 14-17.
- Min, W. (2013). Deputy Permanent Representative to the United Nations Wang Min: China does not support excessive pressure on Iran and the adoption of new sanctions, available at: <https://news.un.org/>
- Mousaviyan, S.H. (2014). *The Narrative of the Iran Nuclear Crisis (Unsaid by a Diplomat)*, First Edition, Tehran: Tisa Publications. [In Persian]
- Nader, A., Harold, S.W. (2012). *China and Iran: Economic, Political, and Military Relations*.
- Ning, M. (2023). Arman meli; We support the lifting of sanctions on Iran, available at: <https://www.armanmeli.ir/>. [In Persian]
- Obama, B. (2020). *The Promised Land*, translated by Mohammad Memarian, third edition, Amirkabir Publications. [In Persian]
- Pestana, L., Gomes, N. (2022). China's tianxia and foreign policy in the pandemic context. *Janus. Net e-journal of International Relations*, 13, 123-140.
- Pieper, M. (2017). The transatlantic dialogue on Iran: the European subaltern and hegemonic constraints in the implementation of the 2015 nuclear agreement with Iran. *European Security* 26(1), 99-119.
- Pines, Y. (2000). "The one that pervades the all" in ancient chinese political thought: the origins of "the great unity" paradigm. *T'oung Pao*, 86(4), 280-324.
- Por, S.S. (2020). Tianxia: China's concept of international order. *Global Asia*, 15 (2), 44-50.
- Puranen, M. (2020). *Warring states and harmonized nations: Tianxia theory as a world political argument*. JYU dissertations.
- Qin, Y. (2016). A relational theory of world politics. *International studies review*, 18(1), 33-47.
- Qin, G. (2010). Foreign Ministry Spokesperson Qin Gang responded to reporters' questions on the new resolution adopted by the United Nations Security Council on the Iranian nuclear issue, available at: <https://www-mfa-gov-cn>. [In China]
- Qin, G. (2008). Foreign Ministry Spokesman Qin Gang Remarks on UN Security Council's Resolution on the Iranian Nuclear Issue, available at: http://lr.china-embassy.gov.cn/eng/fyrth/200803/t20080304_6267805.htm.
- Rouhani, H. (2011). *National Security and Nuclear Diplomacy*, 4th edition, Tehran: Strategic Research Center. [In Persian]
- Salehi, A.A., Ali Bakshi, H. (2016). *a passage on the history of Ali Akbar Salehi's memoirs*, first edition, Tehran: Ministry of Foreign Affairs Publications. [In Persian]
- Schweller, R.L., Pu, X. (2011). After unipolarity: China's visions of international order in an era of US decline. *International security*, 36(1), 41-72.
- Searle, J. R. (1969). *Speech acts*. Cambridge University Press.
- Shaoxian, L. (2015). Impact assessment of the comprehensive agreement on the Iranian nuclear issue. *West Asia and Africa*, 5, 4-18. [In China]

Crisis Studies of the Islamic World

- Sherman, W. (2021). *without fear*, translated by Mohammad Jamshidi and Hafez Rostami, 8th edition, Tehran: Soroush Publications. **[In Persian]**
- Shuang, G. (07/02/2019), Ministry of Foreign Affairs answers questions on Iran's enriched uranium stockpile exceeding the limit stipulated in the comprehensive agreement, available at: https://www.gov.cn/xinwen/2019-07/02/content_5405420.htm. **[In China]**
- Soltani Nejad. A. & others. (2013), China's policy in Iran's nuclear conflict and factors influencing it. *Strategic Studies Journal*, No. 58, Winter 2013, pp. 143-170. **[In Persian]**
- Stritzel, H. (2007). Towards a theory of securitization: Copenhagen and beyond. *European Journal of International Relations*, 13(3), 357–383.
- Sun, D., Zhang, Y. (2016). Theory and practice of China's participation in the governance of the Iranian nuclear issue. *Arab World Studies*, (4), 3-19. **[In China]**
- Tarock, A. (2016). The Iran nuclear deal: winning a little, losing a lot. *Third World Quarterly*, 37(8), 1408-1424.
- Tingyang, Z. (2005). *Tianxia tixi: Shijie zhidu zhexue daolun* [The Tianxia system: A Philosophy for the World Institution]. Nanjing: Jiangsu jiaoyu chubanshe.
- Tong, Z. (2015). China and Iran on the nuclear issue, available at: <https://carnegieendowment.org/2015/02/02/zh-pub-58936>. **[In China]**
- Vuori, J.A. (2008). Illocutionary logic and strands of securitization: Applying the theory of securitization to the study of non-democratic political orders. *European Journal of International Relations*, 14(1), 65–99.
- Wæver, O. (1989). Security, the speech act. In *Analysing the Politics of a Word*. Research Training Seminar. Copenhagen.
- Wæver, O. (1995a). Identity, integration and security: Solving the sovereignty puzzle in E.U. studies. *Journal of International Affairs*, 48(2), 389–431.
- Wæver, O. (1995b). Securitization and desecuritization. In R. D. Lipschutz (Ed.), *On security* (pp. 46–76). Columbia University Press.
- Wæver, O. (1999). Securitizing sectors? *Cooperation and Conflict*, 34(3), 334–340.
- Wæver, O., Buzan, B., Kelstrup, M., Lemaitre, P. (Eds.). (1993). *Identity, migration and the new security agenda in Europe*. St. Martin's Press.
- Wang. Q. (2018). Director-General of the Department of Arms Control of the Foreign Ministry Wang Qun Attends the Opening Ceremony of Seminar on Civil Nuclear Cooperation under the JCPOA on the Iranian Nuclear Issue and Delivers a Speech, available at: https://www.fmprc.gov.cn/eng/gjhdq_665435/2675_665437/2818_663626/2820_663630/201804/t20180413_532576.html. **[In China]**
- Wenbin, W. (14/12/2020) «the world of economics; China's important request to America about JCPOA: <https://donya-e-eqtesad.com>. **[In Persian]**
- Wenbin, W. (2023). Mehr News Agency; China: We want the lifting of sanctions against Iran and the adherence of the West to the JCPOA, available at <https://www.mehrnews.com/news/5830365/>. **[In Persian]**
- Williams, M.C. (2003). Words, images, enemies: Securitization and international politics. *International Studies Quarterly*, 47(4), 511–531.
- Yang, L. Marginson, S., Xu, X. (2022). Thinking through the world: a tianxia heuristic for higher education. *Globalisation, Societies and Education*, 1-17.
- Yeophantong, P. (2013). Governing the world: China's evolving conceptions of responsibility. *Chinese Journal of International Politics*, 6(4), 329-364.
- Yesui, Z. (2010). China welcomes smoother U.S. ties, nudges Iran, available at: <https://www.reuters.com/article/us-china-usa-idUSTRE62T1BU20100330>.
- Yi, W. (2015). Wang Yi: China brings solutions and ideas to solve the Iranian nuclear issue, available at:

Speech Acts by Chinese Leaders in Iran Nuclear Crisis

- https://www.fmprc.gov.cn/web/gjhdq_676201/gj_676203/yz_676205/1206_677172/xgxw_677178/201507/t20150703_9306718.shtml. [In China]
- Yi, W. (2022). Chinese Foreign Minister: We support Iran in defending its rights and interests, available at: <https://kuwait.mfa.gov.ir/portal/newsview/673778/>. [In Persian]
- Yi, W. (2013). Address by Foreign Minister Wang Yi at the Symposium: New Starting Point, New Thinking and New Practice 2013: China and the World, available at: https://www.fmprc.gov.cn/eng/wjb_663304/wjbz_663308/2461_663310/201312/t201312_18_468462.html. [In China]
- Yi, W. (2017). Foreign Minister Wang Yi accepts an interview with Xinhua News Agency on the "Implementation Day" of the Joint Comprehensive Plan of Action on the Iranian Nuclear Issue, available at: https://www.fmprc.gov.cn/ziliao_674904/zyjh_674906/201601/t20160117_9869787.shtml. [In China]
- Yi, W. (25/11/2016). Chinese Foreign Minister says progress in Iran nuclear talks lays foundation for final comprehensive agreement, available at: https://www.gov.cn/xinwen/2014-11/25/content_2782922.htm. [In China]
- Yi, W. (2015). China's foreign minister pushes Iran on nuclear deal, available at <https://www.reuters.com/article/us-iran-nuclear-china/chinas-foreign-minister-pushes-iran-on-nuclear-deal-idUSKBN0LK05Q20150216>.
- Yi, W. (2021). The lifting of sanctions on Iran is the first step that America should take, Kaihan, published at: <https://kayhan.ir/fa/news/219126>. [In Persian]
- Yonghui, L. (2016). Analysis of the Russian and Iranian nuclear issues. *Russian, Eastern European and Central Asian Studies*, (2), 36-49. [In China]
- Yu, L. (2020). China's Free Trade Area Strategy: An alternative avenue to China's "peaceful" rise?. *The Social Science Journal*, 57(2), 206-218.
- Zarif, M., others. (2021), (Book 1 of the Geneva Interim Agreement) *The Secret of Surbeh Mehr; A great effort for the rights, security and development of Iran*, first edition, Tehran: Information Publications. [In Persian]
- Zhang, F. (2010). The tianxia system: world order in a Chinese utopia. *Global Asia*, 4(4), 108-112.
- Zhang, F. (2013). The rise of Chinese exceptionalism in international relations. *European Journal of International Relations*, 19(2), 305-328.
- Zhang, J. (2015). China's new foreign policy under Xi Jinping: towards 'Peaceful Rise 2.0'?. *Global Change, Peace & Security*, 27(1), 5-19.
- Zhao Lijian. Z. (2022). Mehr News Agency; China opposes the illegal and unilateral US sanctions against Iran, available at: <https://www.mehrnews.com/news/5533335/>. (In Persian).
- Zhao Shi. M. (2019). China supports JCPOA, Iranian diplomacy, available at: <http://irdiplomacy.ir/fa/news/>. [In Persian]
- Zhao, T. (2005). *Tianxia tixi: shijie zhidu zhexue daolun (The Tianxia System: An Introduction to the Philosophy of a World Institution)*. Nanjing: Jiangsu jiaoyu chubanshe.
- Zhao, T. (2006). Rethinking Empire from a Chinese Concept 'All-under-Heaven'(Tian-xia), *Social Identities*, 12(1), 29-41.
- Zhao, T. (2009). A political world philosophy in terms of all-under- heaven (tian-xia) in Diogenes. No. 221. 5-18.
- Zhao, T. (2011). *天下体系: 世界制度哲学导论 (Tianxia system: an introduction for a world philosophy)*. Beijing: Renmin daxue chubanshe.
- Zhao, T. (2019). *Redefining A Philosophy for World Governance*. Singapore: Springer Nature.

Crisis Studies of the Islamic World

- Zhao, T. (2019b). 天下观与新天下体系 (The concept of tianxia and the new tianxia system) in Zhongyang shehuizhuyi xueyuan xuebao. 2019. No 2.
- Zhao, T. (2021). All under heaven: The tianxia system for a possible world order (Vol. 3). Univ of California Press.
- Zhaoxing, L. (2006). Li Zhaoxing expounded his position at the general debate of the 61st UN General Assembly, available at: http://un.china-mission.gov.cn/zt/11d61/200609/t20060922_8360203.htm. [**In Persian**]