# PalArch's Journal of Archaeology of Egypt / Egyptology

# POLITICAL REASONS FOR IRAN'S ALIGNMENT AND ALLIANCE WITH CHINA WITH RESPECT TO A COMPREHENSIVE STRATEGIC PARTNERSHIP

Mohammad Ghanbari Barzyan<sup>1</sup>, Majid Abbasi<sup>2</sup>

MA student of regional studies, Allameh Tabataba'I University, Iran.
mohammadghanbarib73 @ gmail.com
Associate Professor of International Relations, Allameh Tabataba'I University, Iran
Abbasi @ atu.ac.ir

Mohammad Ghanbari Barzyan, Majid Abbasi: Political Reasons for Iran's Alignment and Alliance with China with Respect to a Comprehensive Strategic Partnership -- Palarch's Journal Of Archaeology Of Egypt/Egyptology 18(15), ISSN 1567-214x

Keywords: Iran, China, Comprehensive Strategic Alliance, Oil and Gas, USA

#### **ABSTRACT**

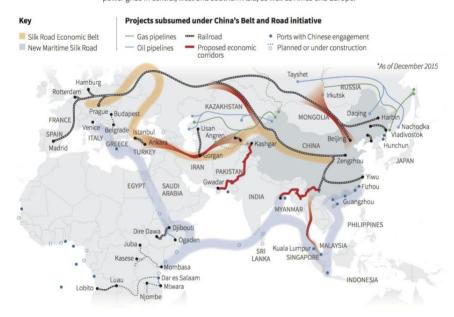
Iran and China after the Islamic Revolution of Iran for various reasons to expand relations with each other. Iran and China has good relations with each other in various sectors such as energy and economy, for reasons such as renewal Opinion seeking, opposition to US unilateralism and balancing with this country, globalism, cooperation with The two sides are trying to expand each other as countries that do not agree with the international order Work together to change the order in their favor.

#### INTRODUCTION

In today's world, energy has an important place in the world and all countries for various uses, including their economies They need energy. Among them are countries that have energy reserves and countries that are considered industrial They need to be closely related to each other. Energy security is important for both parties and effort They have to move to different alliances to increase energy security. China is a global economic power It is considered and needs millions of barrels of oil daily, so it needs a good relationship with oil-rich countries Have a long-term partnership and relationship with them to provide the energy they need in the long run Be sure. In addition, China has planned a "one belt, one road" project that includes roads Is trading with other parts of the world. The two countries need different fields and for different reasons They cooperate. The plan includes a corridor, and the 19th Congress held in 2017 stated that This plan must be at the top of the country's goals. (Hurley, John, 2018:1). This plan is 30 percent of world GDP and It will also cover 35% of trade. The Belt and Way Initiative has subcategories to them We will mention. 1-China-Russia-Mongolia Economic Corridor 2-China-Central Asia West West Economic Corridor 3- China Economic Corridor - China Hindu Peninsula 4- China-Pakistan Economic Corridor 5- China-India-Bangladesh-Myanmar Economic Corridor 6- Economic corridor of the new Eurasian territorial bridge. )CharlesC L, Kwong Dean,2020:1)

### **Reviving the Silk Road**

Announced by Chinese President Xi Jinping in 2013, the Silk Road initiative, also known as China's Belt and Road initiative, aims to invest in infrastructure projects including railways and power grids in central, west and southern Asia, as well as Africa and Europe.



Source: Mercator Institute for China Studies. (C.Inton, 24/03/2017. Reuters)

#### Reviving the Silk Road

As shown in the picture above, Iran has a very important role in connecting East and West, and that is it In addition to the successful communication between the parties in previous years, this will further strengthen the relationship between the parties. In addition to all the content and importance of bilateral relations for each country, the two countries are under great pressure from the United States Therefore, this dispute with the United States has a significant impact on the closeness of the two countries, and both countries have Different capabilities that can complement each other to complement the impact of US sanctions Reduce to a minimum. Iran is constantly restricted by others and, according to Mir Shimmer, a priority The key to any government is survival, so the Islamic Republic tends to include China in the equations of the West Asian region Be able to balance the United States. But the Chinese because they want to communicate with any country Provide their necessary interests, which requires not engaging in political debates, but Iran is trying to use This agreement will bring China into these issues. In the economic sector, too, the parties are under pressure from the United States They work together to reduce this pressure.

#### **Theorical Framework:**

Given the nature of the relationship between Iran and China and the common ground, the United States, the two sides are trying to cooperate. To balance each other and the United States by combining each other's power

in different sectors. Two sides in The balance of power interacts with each other, which falls under the category of defensive realism. Explain realism first We will then explain the balance of power. In realist thinking, every country thinks of accumulating power Be able to provide security in an anarchic world. Hobbes says about power: The right of nature is the right to freedom That one uses the power of pleasure to preserve one's nature. (Hobbes, Thomas, 1651:79). In realist thinking, government sovereignty and support is very important, and gaining power is an important goal Power means having military capability. In realist thinking, the existence of a central power is very important. Nothing The existence of central power causes chaos and instability that (ORSI, DAVIDE ,2018:123) Thomas Hayes also says that the need for power accumulation is inherently unstable and requires international actors to Accumulates power to ensure its survival. Every government needs power to survive. (Cox,M,2016:106). Raymond Aron says there is no government that can sustain itself without coercion Slowly. (Aron, Raymond, 1966:591-600). Anarchy is central to human relations because it is central to the governance of international relations.(Brown,chris,2005:116)

"The link between anarchy and selfishness," says Scott Burchill on the importance of understanding anarchy And the necessities of power politics provide the core of power. (Burchill,scott,2005,30). Count "At the national level, force and government work in the name of right and justice," says Walter, a later advocate of defensive realism. It was taken, but it is used at the international level for the sake of superiority and existential protection Domestic is the realm of authority, public administration and law, but the realm of international politics is the realm of power, conflict and compromise. Each government pursues its own interests through the use of force or otherwise. The action of its competitors in accordance with the rival strategy. The year will be defined in the international arena of force as the first and last solution. (WALTZ, 1979:111-114).According to Mirsheimer, realism is based on three main beliefs:

1-Realism, like liberals, sees the state as a major player in international politics.

2- The behavior of the great powers is influenced more by their internal environment than by the internal characteristics and coordinates of governments.

3-The calculations of power dominate the thinking of the state, and they compete for power. (Mearsheimer,2001:13-14). The balance of power was first proposed by Stephen Walt, and the point is that powers are trying to Create a balance with the power of others so that they can maintain their power. Iran and China in the form of such A structure that relies on alliances to work together to form a kind of alliance against the United States. Stefan Walt says governments respond to threats, not power. Walt's theory on the origin of alliances puts. (Walt 1987; 1990).

Alliances play a central role in theories of international relations and can be considered a kind of security system Considered collective. (Emerson,1991:\*). In general, alliances are created based on 4 elements, which are: From: 1-The nature of the threat that creates the alliance and is the main factor in motivating alignment. 2-The unifying characteristics that make up such alliances.

3- Why and when do allies accompany each other. 4- Threatening the goal and what should be done. (Quirk,2014:1-2). In general, the issue of the coalition is very important because each country must have a good understanding of how long and with what Remain a united country. And its main purpose is to combine the abilities of the member in a way that promotes the relevant interests. (DWIVEDI,2012:224-225). Iran is a powerful security player with abundant energy reserves China, which is a strong economy, needs a lot of energy, so these two are good supplements To create an alliance.

The importance of the policy of looking to the East in the post-Islamic Revolution was due to two general factors:

#### Appeal

The first political factor in Iran's alignment and alliance with China is Iran's unwillingness to accept the existing order between International returns. After the collapse of the Soviet Union and the consolidation of the United States as the apparent winner of the Cold War Its attempt to shape a new order, Iran's foreign policy due to its principles and values could not Adopt modern international order and mechanisms. Thus challenging this new situation that is at stake It was a strong coalition, forcing Iran to move towards cooperation and interaction with countries that Several were in the Eastern Bloc in the past; But in the current position of the international order based on unilateralism The United States was unhappy. (2010, Hunter). The Islamic Revolution in Iran was accompanied by a transformative change in China. The symmetry of these two developments is the relations between the two countries Entered an era with a new nature. With the Islamic Revolution, Iran's foreign policy changed and with the slogan no East, not West, was on the path of revolution. On the other hand, in China in December 1978 and at the third session of the Congress The 11th Communist Party changed its grand strategy from revolutionary to developmentalist. In a symbolic way The place of Iran and China in international politics changed. The symmetry of these two developments gave ideology a great role in The relations between the two countries should not play a role, and mainly material interests should bind them together. From the realists' point of view, one of the important characteristics of governments is "rationalism". According to them, governments are wise actors are. That means you choose the best option (Haji Yousefi, 2002: 1008). In other words, governments are considered rational actors whose behavior is based on Cost-benefit occurs, which means cost-material benefit. As a result, their "logic of action" is also logic The result is based on maximizing benefits and minimizing costs (Shariatinia, 2012: 185). Based on The realistic view of countries is involved in a cycle called the "systemic cycle of power" in which each Which units are divided into two general categories based on their position on the distribution of power in the international system The current situation and the revisionist are divided (Ghasemi, 2012). It is normal for governments to be in any of These categories face common interests and threats; This is a kind of overlap Provides foreign policy for them. The main slogan of the pro-government states is to maintain the current security situation They do the job by maintaining their position within the system. ( Mir, Hosseini, 2015: 1). Countries that have politics Pursue revisionism in the power cycle, confronting strategic actions of other satisfied powers They encounter the power cycle, so to transition from this stage and go to the upper points of the cycle are required to design There are specific regional and global diplomacies that make this transition possible. (Ghasemi, 2013). Buzan Bari with two characteristics or in other words, by answering two questions, it is possible to formulate revised governments with Hafez. Distinguished the existing from each other; First, whether the country's position in the international community Satisfied or not? Unfortunately, does this country accept or challenge existing international institutions (Shariati Nia, 2012:186) According to the above two questions, Buzan divides the revisionist states into three categories pulls; 1- The revolutionary revisionist governments of this group seek to maximize opportunities Use power and control and organize power, position, influence and interests to their advantage (mir Hosseini, 2014). These governments deny the ideological foundations of the basic institutions of the international community They lay the foundation for the existing order as well as the form of the international community. governments Orthodox: Such states are satisfied with the institutional structure and content of the ideas of the international community, but the situation and They do not accept the existing power classification and are dissatisfied with it. 3-Reformist revisionist governments: this A group of governments, for instrumental and computational reasons, accept some institutions of the international community, but in return for others. Institutions resist and seek reform, while at the same time seeking to improve their position in this society. are. (Shariati Nia, 2012, 187-186). China is a reformist reformist state that wants to change the international order But not through collapse, but from within the existing systems embedded in this international order. It is a review of parts of the system while accepting parts (Center for Strategic ResearchDefense, 2015). In other words, this country is the ideological foundation of the main institutions of the international community and for economic reasons It accepts the market but resists liberal political rules. But at the same time seek to upgrade its position in The international community. (Buzan, 2010 : 13). Hence, this country also bases its foreign policy on "emergence Peaceful »founded until its emergence led to the collapse of the international system and the formation of a completely different system Don't be. In Iran, if we analyze the statements of the first person of the country, Iran is a revolutionary revisionist government Does not accept at least part of the international system in speech. (Strategic Defense Research Center, 2015). The Islamic Republic of Iran has a value system based on Islamic rules and principles in its foreign policy The importance of values is that they can be the basis of many behaviors and attitudes in foreign policy and the reasons And justify many goals and caches to policymakers. When a large number of values are placed in a network of causal and interrelated relationships, it is actually a kind of overclocking They show coherence, precedence and latency, in which case we are talking about a value system. (Mohammadi, 2011:21) This value system is compatible and convergent in some cases or international rules and norms, and in some Lands conflict with them. If the most important feature of

Iran's foreign policy is being Islamic and revolutionary Let us know that Iran has a special mission, commitment and role in its foreign policy, which challenges it with the structure. The international system puts. Some of these intellectual values of Iran are: independence, freedom, justice, the right to self-determination, solidarity and unity. The oppressed, the awakening of Muslims, the legitimacy of deprived nations, the pursuit of rights, cooperation, assistance and, on the other hand, struggle Against power-seeking, plunder, coercion, monopoly, foreign base, aggression, colonialism, ignorance, division imperialism, And (Mohammadi, 2011: 31). In this context, in the first decade after the revolution and until the end of the Iran-Iraq war, Iran can be considered a revised government. He considered it a revolutionary demand. Because this country is openly seeking the horizontal foundation of the existing international order and the transformation of form and form It was the international community. In this context, in the first decade after the revolution and until the end of the Iran-Iraq war, Iran can be considered a revised government. Considered a revolutionary because it openly undermined the existing international order and changed its form. It was the international community. With the beginning of the construction period, Iran's approach to the international community began to change and this country is on the path of transformation The transition to a reformist government culminated in a change of approach during the reform government. But with the coming to power of the ninth government in Iran, once again the approach of Iran's foreign policy towards the international community Revolutionary revisionism changed (Shariati Nia, 2012: 188). In other words, the Islamic Republic of Iran Internationalizes the "system of domination" and considers it an oppressive system that has a domain. There is a wide range of threats against Iran and it believes that this system is to secure the interests of the dominant Western governments They do not want others to participate in this system. Hence Iran's strategy of "resistance" in the areas It is different in this international order, but from China's point of view, the international system is a complex system of behaviors Traditional does not answer that. Therefore, a new approach is needed. In this regard, China in the field of culture, Economic, security and other areas have tried to use approaches such as dialogue, adaptation, reform and cooperation. Finally, it can be said that Iran considers international order as a strategic threat, while China considers it as one Opportunity - Threat is considered "opportunity" with priority. Hence in terms of strategic concerns and concerns of the two countries They have obvious differences with each other (Defense Strategic Research Center, 2015). In addition to the international level, regional conditions are also a kind of stimulus to Iran's attention to the East, the isolation of identity The Islamic Republic of Iran in the Middle East (Sari al-Qalam, 2005) and the high mobility of major powers in the Asian region Central Brotherhood of (Kazemi and Arghavani, 2012) The fields of comprehensive cooperation between Iran and the countries of the region Takes. (Haji Yousefi, 2005) In this regard, Asian convergence could be considered as a comprehensive identity field with The presence of stronger partners is a cover for identity recovery and elimination of unwanted isolation in the surrounding environment for Iran (Ahani, 2009) These two general factors showed that the policy of looking to the East according to the nature of the ruling political system Iran had a logical and implicit justification. (Hunter, 2010) The first factor influencing this change goes back to the course of Iran's foreign policy in the years before 2005. the door Officials of the new government see the policy of looking to the West or de-escalation during the presidency of Mohammad Khatami, especially in The discussion of the nuclear talks did not go well. The first factor influencing this change goes back to the course of Iran's foreign policy in the years before 2005. the door Officials of the new government see the policy of looking to the West or de-escalation during the presidency of Mohammad Khatami, especially in The discussion of the nuclear talks did not go well In this sense, international and regional challenges, Iran's foreign policy and in the light of the nuclear program towards A distinct look encouraged in advance. (Sarmand and Arghavani, 2012). In the eyes of Ahmadinejad's government decision-makers The United States and the West were an existential and strategic threat that was expected to change with the behavior of the West and the formation of Iran Fair relations were considered futile. (Haji Yousefi, 2012) The result of this difference in approach and the responses received from the Arabs is the mental context of strengthening the view of the East in the field of relations Foreign provided Iran. The second factor influencing the Ahmadinejad government's specific reading of the policy of constructive engagement Returns. The policy of constructive interaction in the formal interpretation that is influenced by the vision document of the Islamic Republic of Iran with the aim Bringing Iran to the first economic, scientific and technological position in the region with Islamic and revolutionary identity is inspiring In the Islamic world and constructive interaction in international relations (Vision document of the Islamic Republic of Iran on the horizon of 2026) It was compiled with a different reading as active, dynamic, influential, directional and conscious political employment Accurate knowledge of the political equations of the international community, leaving the position of the accused and being in the position of the plaintiff, entering It is defined in the field of world politics as a powerful actor by passing the stage of de-escalation. (Mohammadi, 2008). The reference to a strong entry into world politics indicates that in the context of the activism of Iran and other countries Developing does not conform to the regional and international interests of the great powers of the system, the existing order can not be orderly Be just and in line with world peace, hence the necessity that units and powers dissatisfied with Resist the order on one front. Therefore, this doctrine in its separation of levels International level, developing world, Islamic world, Middle East level and world level neighbors in Developing relations with Asian countries, including China, with the aim of forming the Asian pole in the existing system Knows important. (Mohammadi, 2008)

## **Attention to the Third World**

Another effective component of Iran's comprehensive strategic alliance with China. Change Orientation of Iran's foreign policy from considering interaction and bargaining with the West to expanding relations with those Countries that are called "developing" in terms of the economic and political characteristics of the "Third World" or "developing" It is

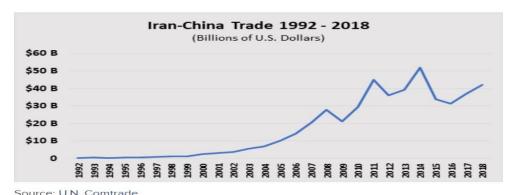
another that strengthened the view of the East in Iran. Attention to the Third World is another effective component of Iran's comprehensive strategic alliance with China. Change Orientation of Iran's foreign policy from considering interaction and bargaining with the West to expanding relations with those Countries that are called "developing" in terms of the economic and political characteristics of the Third World It is another that strengthened the view of the East in Iran. However, the orientation of the Third World led to the expansion of relations with African countries and Latin America (Haji Yousefi, 2012) But the critical aspect of this approach to the existing international system, especially in the theoretical field Iran focused on deepening relations with countries such as China and Russia, as in the field of international economics In addition, both sides have a common approach to the need to reform the international economic system and adjust it Emphasizes the need to increase capacity to play the role of economically emerging countries or Now they are known as emergence. While Iran and these countries according to their historical approach in foreign policy to The Third World pays special attention to the situation in African and Latin American countries by providing a pragmatic view. It does not follow the ideological and regime change of the Western countries towards the Third World Another factor that led to an increase in Iran's attention to the East is the intersection of strategic opportunities between the two sides There were strategic opportunities between Iran and the East for each other. While looking to the East, Iran exemplifies opportunities such as the rise of power and the cohesion of Eastern civilization It followed its economic and political convergence during the same period with major Eastern countries such as China and Russia Areas such as security, energy and geoeconomic and geopolitical position through the expansion of relations with Iran They followed. (Adami, 2011) On the other hand, the existence of some potential areas from China creates the conditions for This increased the importance of this country in Iran's foreign policy at this time In addition, the intersection of some of China's foreign policy strategies with the policy of looking to the east of Iran provides the necessary context To promote cooperation between the two sides. Putting the axis of trans-regional diplomacy on the political agenda China's foreign policy at this time was the first axis of Chinese policy that could indicate the importance of Iran Be. From the last years of Jiang Zemin's rule, especially during the Hu Jintao period, he was backed by success in Regional diplomacy as well as responding to the strategy of interacting with the great powers and following the expansion of needs and necessities Multilateralism, diplomatic relations with multilateral initiatives and economic cooperation beyond neighbors It spread to different regions. (Lanteigne ,2009). The main purpose of this policy, sometimes referred to as the "mesmerizing invasion", is to promote the power of the term. China is meeting needs and ultimately competing with the United States in areas where it has traditionally had influence. has it. (Such as Latin America and the Middle East) Implementation of this policy, which is more through concluding agreements There were bilateral or multilateral relations with Iran, paving the way for the presence of Chinese investment companies Laying the groundwork for ensuring security and stability in the region with the aim of stabilizing energy supply, providing models of economic development Competition was linked to the Western model, arms sales, and ultimately the conquest of the vast consumer market. Oppose US unilateralism and balance with this country Opposition to US unilateralism is another important factor in Iran's comprehensive strategic alliance with China. Success China in the field of economic development over the past decades and also Iran's frustration with the West, especially during the crisis The nuclear issue intensified Iran's inclination towards the East, especially China, so that Iran accompanied The country's politics became But despite these hopes, Beijing maintains its interests by strengthening relations with the West He saw that he somehow used the Iran card to play with the West. In other words, Iran is always in the breast Basic power and political rivalries between China on the one hand and Western countries, especially the United States on the other – face Is compromised; On the one hand, it is considered as the winner of China in the game against the Arabs To use it to gain points (Barzegar and Hosseini, 2012: 73). It is noteworthy that China in some cases of the nuclear program as a lever to advance foreign policy It has exploited itself, especially in relations with the United States and the West. For example, China's participation in the transfer of some Nuclear technology to Iran and helping to build them is an issue that China is reacting to in response to US behavior It has deliberately sold arms to Taiwan and is demanding concessions from the West through the Iran Card Has been (Saghafi Ameri,2007: 52). It is noteworthy that China in some cases of the nuclear program as a lever to advance foreign policy It has exploited itself, especially in relations with the United States and the West. For example, China's participation in the transfer of some Nuclear technology to Iran and helping to build them is an issue that China is reacting to in response to US behavior It has deliberately sold arms to Taiwan and is demanding concessions from the West through the Iran Card Has been (Saghafi Ameri, 2007: 52). However, China provided assistance to Iran in the form of a nuclear program. (Kemenade: 2009: 68) Parties in In 1985, they signed an agreement that marked the beginning of 12 years of nuclear cooperation (Davis, 2013: 25) In the regional relations of the two countries in the Middle East geopolitics, it has also been observed that China leverages Iran. It uses US policies in the Middle East to counter US pressures and policies The Middle East and the Persian Gulf, in line with the country's efforts to gain a hegemonic position in the world Becomes; Therefore, the efforts of other powers, including China, to exert influence in the region, are a step towards balancing It is against the United States and its policies. In the meantime, however, the entanglement of relationships and the enjoyment of interests Common in a globalized space, it reduces the level of competition and reduction of great powers and in return the level of cooperation Has increased, but this means eliminating their worries about the complete superiority of one actor over others Cast and dominate an area. (Alaei, 2013). In the field of economics and economic cooperation, China is trying to take a cooperative approach at the level Pursue the region and the world, but what has been the main and constant concern of this country is the preservation of its territorial integrity (restoration Taiwan and other regions) and oppose the US hegemonic presence in the Middle East. Important variables in politics China's Middle East, dependence on Middle East

energy resources, economy and support for stability in the Middle East (Ebrahimi And Rezaei, 2014). Hence over the past few years due to domestic, regional and international factors and conditions A new era began in Tehran-Beijing relations, so that from Iran's point of view, Beijing is the only choice and communication channel. It was considered a country with the outside world. From China's point of view, Iran could be in line with this Middle East policy The country is a counterweight to unilateralism and potential US threats to China, hence its expansion Cooperation with Iran in various fields, Beijing sought to take advantage of the country's opportunities, facilities and capabilities To balance against Washington and on the other hand to ensure its energy security. The 25-year plan of joint cooperation between Iran and China is a draft agreement and negotiations between the republican system Islamic Republic of Iran and the People's Republic of China to invest in Iran's oil industry, National Iranian Gas Export Company, The National Iranian Petrochemical Company is Iran's infrastructure and military, security, cultural and judicial cooperation. The Petroleum Economist claims that the investment is equivalent to 380 to 400 billion US dollars. A significant portion of this Chinese investment in the first year of the 25-year contract with them to the oil industry And Iranian gas is injected and the rest is done in stages and according to the agreement of the two sides by Beijing in Iran. (Https://www.petroleumeconomist.com) The beginning of the discussion of this agreement during the visit of the President of the People's Republic of China Xi Jinping to Iran in 2015 It is part of China's new Silk Road project. He came to Iran after the signing of jcpoa and is waiting China went to enjoy the main benefits of the agreement (Wuthnow, 2016: 1) since 1398 The document was seriously discussed and several draft texts were exchanged between the two countries. Finally Hassan Rouhani The President of Iran presented the final draft of the 25-year plan for comprehensive cooperation between Iran and China on July 24, 2017 The Cabinet reviewed and approved. At that meeting, the Iranian Ministry of Foreign Affairs was instructed to negotiate The final agreement with the Chinese side, based on long-term mutual interests. will be signed by the parties. (https://www.tabnak.ir/fa/news/986274) According to Gholamreza Ansari, Deputy Minister of Economic Diplomacy Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Islamic Republic, this document is not only economic and the final document in "various judicial sectors, "Parliament and ... two countries have entered." According to him, the goals of this document will be completed in 25 years and transactions with the currency of China are to be completed It means "Yuan should be done. In the context of US sanctions against Iran in order to apply a strategy of pressure. The maximum has reached its maximum and has led to the economic crisis in Iran, a long-term agreement with China is a lifeline for Iran in the face of growing economic sanctions and could lead to policy failure Maximum pressure on US President Donald Trump to surrender to Iran. (Farnaz Fassihi Myers,2020:200) As a spokesman for the Iranian government stated in support of the agreement: "US policy It has failed to isolate Iran and sever our international relations.", (Tehran, A. correspondent in 2020). From the point of view of the Washington Post, the policy of maximum US pressure against Iran after the withdrawal of this country from jcpoa in Adopted in 2018, coincides with the trade war with China, pushed Iran to China and Iran to save Their economies and China work together to expand their the Middle East and achieve energy (Https://www.washingtonpost.com) in the context of US sanctions against Iran in line with The application of the maximum pressure strategy has reached its maximum and has led to the collapse of the currency, a longterm agreement With China, from the point of view of its supporters, is the way to save Iran's economy. From the point of view of the Washington Post, the policy of maximum US pressure against Iran after the withdrawal of this country from jcpoa in Adopted in 2018, coincides with the trade war with China, pushed Iran to China and Iran to save Their economies and China work together to expand their influence in the Middle East and achieve energy security (Https://www.washingtonpost.com) in the context of US sanctions against Iran in line with The application of the maximum pressure strategy has reached its maximum and has led to the collapse of the currency, a long-term agreement With China, from the point of view of its supporters, is the way to save Iran's economy. According to Time, however, this agreement will not be as fruitful as it is said for Iran, nor this country. It is crucial in China's energy supply and paving the way for the new Silk Roadmap, however The agreement shows the limitation of the effectiveness of Trump's policy of maximum pressure to surrender to Iran. (Https://time.com/5872771/china-iran-deal) According to statistics provided by Kepler, Iran's oil sales fell by 400,000 barrels per day after the US withdrew from the jcpoa nuclear deal It has been found that this figure is lower than the volume of Iranian oil sales during the Iran-Iraq war. This is while the sale of Iranian oil after the agreement of jcpo is about 2 million and 800 thousand barrels per day have been. On the other hand, as the main buyer of Iranian oil, after not extending the exemption for the purchase of The United States stopped buying oil from Iran. (https://www.tabnak.ir/fa/news) Even in parts of In 2019, Iran also experienced the sale of oil below 10,000 barrels per day, accordingly According to some experts, the government budget deficit in 1980 is at least 200,000 billion tomans It is estimated that this seems to be the main reason for the government's borrowing of 10,000 billion tomans from the bank Is central. (Https://www.eghtesadonline.com) On November 14, 2009 Hassan Rouhani due to budget deficit The government acknowledged 300,000 billion tomans and said: "The highest tax revenue projected for next year It is 150,000 billion tomans, but 450,000 billion tomans are needed to run the country, and now we have to ask 300 Where should the remaining one thousand billion tomans be brought from? "(Https://www.tabnak.ir/en) A 25-year strategy between Iran and China was made public in March 2017 by a member of the presidium of the parliament. More details of the deal were revealed in September last year by the Petroleum Economist website. (Https://www.tasnimnews.com) The Economist Petroleum report states that the Chinese A \$ 280 billion strategic partnership agreement with Iran is set to take place in Iran's oil and gas industry Invest. Also, the Chinese side \$ 120 billion in the field of development of production and transportation infrastructure in Iran Invests that a significant portion of this investment will be made in the first five years and The rest is periodically injected into Iran's industry and transportation sector based on an agreement between the two countries. The Chinese side buys oil and gas from Iran with a 30% discount and a two-year repayment period, and Can repay in Chinese yuan. Two-thirds will be in cash and one-third in the form of goods Services. (Wang , Fei- Ling, 2014,). Under the agreement, also Chinese companies in all Related projects in Iran have priority.

#### Iran's economic goals from relations with China

One of the enduring features of the West complex interaction as maintaining existing order with the revisionist governments of the era Since World War II until now, the use of economic tools to put pressure on these actors and in The ultimate change in their behavior has been the change of regime in these countries. During this period, a wide range of countries Iran and China have each been to some extent subject to sanctions, China Under Mao, it was subject to sanctions that included the communist camp. On the other hand, Iran in three decades In the past, it has always been subject to Western sanctions. Naturally, in the 1980s and 1990s, when the West enjoyed a hegemonic position in the world economy, options It was not far behind Iran, so it tried to replace Europe with the United States in the 1990s In slow economic interactions, an attempt that ultimately failed. On the other hand, from the mid-1990s and especially from the beginning In the new millennium, China quickly emerged as a major power in the world economy and in a short time became the second The world economy became. The emergence of China as an economic power created a strategic opening for Iran to Be able to withstand the crushing pressures of the West; Iran has also become important to China in recent years for a variety of reasons has found. For example, Iran has a strategically important position in the China Belt and Road Initiative. (Fulton 2019: 8,). Or in terms of expertise, Iran is in a very good position, which can have a positive effect Have in China design. (Anderson, 2019: 8) trade relations Evidence of this claim is the multiplication of the volume of bilateral trade in recent years. In 1994, the volume of trade

Bilateral was \$ 448 million, up from \$ 2.3 billion in 2001 and \$ 2010 in 2010. Reached \$ 30 billion. (Business Embassy Report of the Iranian Embassy in China, 2010).



Trade between Iran and China from 1992 to 2018

Mehdi Safari, Iran's ambassador to China, estimates that the volume of trade relations between the two countries will reach 50 billion in the coming years The dollar will arrive (Safari, 2010). China is currently Iran's largest economic partner. 2020,29, Keller). This cooperation is also in the

non-oil sectors, for example, in the Chinese auto parts sector Are the largest suppliers of auto parts in Iran (Joharchi, 2016:126) with the reduction of Iran 's trade relations and West Iran-China trade relations expanded rapidly (Walsh2018: 5) It is natural that such growth It has no economic logic. In other words, the market logic and the complementarity of the economies of the two countries are decisive It was not, but political logic and moreover the inevitability of Iran and the lack of other options, this unusual growth Has caused. Another is that the rapid growth of economic exchanges with China is to the detriment of the country's economy and in nature Iran's level is the sheriff of development, but when it comes to the survival of political systems, other priorities They are practically marginalized. The volume of trade relations between the two countries since 2005 has been more than 30% every year compared to the previous year It has increased. At present, Iran is China's second largest trading partner in West Asia and the Persian Gulf China is also Iran's first trading partner. In recent years, given that China has implemented major engineering innovations in Iran, products and films Mechanical and electronic and factories, one of the largest export items (approximately fifty percent of its export volume to It has been our As such, light industry machinery, hardware, automobile, chemicals, textiles, Agricultural machinery and food are Iran's most important imports from China, and crude oil is still around Eighty percent of our country's exports to China. In addition, you can find items such as: Minerals and minerals, petrochemicals, raisins, pistachios and saffron. Thus, the volume of trade relations Except for one or two cases, Iran and China have always been increasing by more than 30% per year Apart from the selling price of oil to China, it has a special feature. (Adibi, 2012, 204) In 2005, the value of China's imports from Iran fell by 42 percent, to less than The year 2008 is coming. The main reason for this is the 48.7% decrease in value due to the decrease in the price of crude oil for export It is Iran. (Wuthnow, Joel, 2016) In 2106, China's trade balance with Iran was positive at \$ 1.6 billion in China's favor. Although over the years the value of China's imports from Iran has often been higher than the value of its exports to Iran, but in 2015 and In 2016, this trend changed and the trade balance of goods became positive in favor of Jane. (Zimmt, Raz, Kanner, Israel, Ish Maas, Ofek and Avidan, Tal ,2017). According to the International Trade Center, the value of China's exports to Iran in 2016 was 4.16 Billion, mostly passenger cars and motor vehicles with a cylinder capacity of up to 1,000 It becomes 2000 cc. China's imports from Iran this year were about \$ 14.8 billion, which is more than 63% of it is related to crude oil imports. Regardless of crude oil imports of Chinese goods from Iran in this The year was about \$ 5.5 billion. (Baker, Peter, Eric Schmitt and Michael Crowley ,2019) Iran-China trade has dropped significantly in 2019, with more than 36 Iranian exports to China Percentage decreased to 13 billion and 434 million dollars, and China's exports to Iran also decreased by about 31% to \$ 9.590 billion (Wuthnow, Joel 2020) China owes the most to Iran. China's largest oil debtor to Iran with more than \$ 22 billion Over the years, the country has tried to settle its debt by exporting goods (Ashley 2014, Tellis seeks to tighten US sanctions against Iran, China National Petroleum Corporation (CNPC) and company Sinewick will stop buying oil from Iran. Sinewick has been requesting to buy oil from Iran since September Had reduced by 50%. (Westcott, Ben and Alkhshali ,2019). In the first half of 2019, China's exports to Iran fell by 46 percent and only \$ 4 billion and 552 million Iran has and China's imports from Iran have decreased by 28% and reached 8 billion and 131 million dollars.( Yacoubian, Alex ,2019). Therefore, it can be said that China strengthens its economic relations with Iran Iran strengthened (Osman,2017:24)

#### Oil and Gas

Decades and economic progress have had a profound effect on China's fossil fuel consumption. Demand this Fossil fuels grew by 4% annually. Demand for coal, on which 67% of China's energy depends Has had an annual growth rate of 12% since 2001. China during the same period, a nine percent growth in demand for oil and Demand for natural gas has also grown by 15 percent. (Rosen and Houser 2007,). China is currently the second largest consumer of energy after the United States. Consumption only from 2001 to 2005 China's energy grew by up to 60 percent, accounting for half of global energy consumption(2006,Downs). Downs According to the International Energy Agency, China will have 20% energy demand by 2030 It will occupy a world that is larger than Europe and Japan together and the United States as the largest The energy consumer will surpass.

800 Ethylene consumption (right axis) 700 Crude oil consumption 70 600 60 500 ption (right axis) 300 30 Refined oil consumpt 20 200 100 10

Figure 5. Petroleum and petrochemical demand in China.

Source: KAPSARC workshop presentation.

China needs roasting and petrochemicals by 2045

The main rationale behind China's cooperation with Iran is not just gas and oil supplies, but trade opportunities For Chinese national oil companies; Because Iran is one of the few countries in the Middle East that goes to China Has given the right to trade in the field of upstream activities. China has been a pure importer since 1993 Oil was converted and imported 40% of its oil consumption to cover 40% of its consumption needs. Construction. With China's oil demand growing by 13 percent, it is becoming the world's largest consumer It is an oil energy supplier. (IEA, 2005) The Iranian government also expresses its willingness to cooperate

with China in the energy sector (2014: 37, Ralph), energy interaction between the two sides has been going well for years, China continues Is the largest buyer of Iranian oil. (Congressional Research Service, 2020:45). US sanctions on Iran were a good opportunity for China; Because Iran in the field of oil exploration and Oil infrastructure has struggled with the negative effects of sanctions and wartime damage. China imposes proposed reconstruction of oil facilities and participation in joint exploration and development of oil and gas fields Gave the new to Iran. Finally, in 1997, the two countries signed a cooperation agreement in the field of oil exploration In 1988, one of the subsidiaries of Civic Company, Shangli Oil Company, a complete set of transferred completely Chinese equipment to Iran. (Mola Hassani, Valashjerdi, 2016, 21). August 25, 2000 China National Petroleum Corporation signs its first gas drilling contract with Iran But in a way, China's biggest success is the October 2004 Preliminary Agreement between Sinopec and The National Iranian Oil Company (NIOC) said that Civic should expand the Yadavaran oil field and, instead, After the end of the operation, the National Iranian Oil Company for 25 years at a market price of 150,000 barrels of crude oil Sell the day to China. In June 2005, China National Petroleum Corporation won a tender to expand its oil block in western Iran. In addition, in March 2004, the National Rong Company for Women agreed with Iran to supply 110 million tons of liquefied natural gas. Buy natural from Iran for 25 years; A contract worth approximately \$ 20 billion. China is also an active participant in the development of the Caspian Sea oil and gas and the modernization of Iran's facilities in Neka and Sari and other areas. Neka Sari Pipeline in 2003) by a consortium of companies China was built under the management of Sinopec and China National Petroleum Company. In addition, China agrees to transfer oil and gas By Iran from the Caspian Sea to the southern ports of Iran for sale to Asia and Europe. China from Germany and Other major European powers, which were Iran's largest trading partner until 2006, surpassed it. In 2007, Iran's trade volume grew by 27% to \$ 15 billion China's activities in Iran, in addition to pipelines and engineering services for drilling wells, include upgrading its upper section China also became Iran's largest trading partner in 2007 and was one of the few countries Which violated the issue of US sanctions against Iran, which had imposed an investment of more than \$ 20 million (Xin, 2007). The economic relationship between Iran and China is influenced by complex factors that must be analyzed Iran-Jane economic relations. On the one hand, the demand for energy during the post-reform period, and especially since the decade It increased in the 1990s, requiring energy from various regions, including the Middle East. On the other hand, Jane bonds has a deep economy with the United States that prevents it from taking radical approaches to it. Need China is boosting energy due to its rapid economic growth, which is why Jin is trying to In any case, supply the supply of crude oil in the future. In addition, China wants to strengthen its relations with Iran in order to Strengthening its presence in Central Asia aims to access the energy resources of the Caspian Sea. China 's energy supply from The Caspian Sea reduces China's reliance on oil imports from the Arab Gulf states. more than Fifty percent of China's crude oil was imported from the Middle East in 2008. This is while the International Energy Agency said that by 2015, about 70 percent of China's oil imports will come from the Middle East, up from 44 percent in This number will reach 2006. Iran is the second largest country in the world in terms of gas resources after Russia, and it is not without reason that in March 2004, State-owned company Zhuhai Generong 25-year contract to import 110 million tonnes of liquefied natural gas (in meters) Signed from Iran. In the same year, Jane agreed to import \$ 20 billion worth of liquefied natural gas from Iran Buy over the next 25 years. (2004, Wright) In general, Asian countries in trade with Iran of trade unions Europe is overtaking. In July 2008, after three Security Council resolutions imposing sanctions Approved for noncooperation, Beijing announced that it was pursuing a \$ 70 billion plan to develop the oil field Reminders instead are 10 million tons of liquefied natural gas. The central pillar of the new 25-year contract between Iran and China is spending \$ 280 billion to develop Iran's oil, gas and petrochemical sectors. This amount will be paid initially for the first five years of the contract. But according to this memorandum, payments The next one will be paid in each 5-year period according to the agreement of the two parties. An investment of 120 billion Another dollar has been signed to upgrade Iran's transportation and production infrastructure, again at the beginning Each five-year period will be paid by agreement of both parties. At the same time also agreed production in oil fields West Karun in Iran to increase by 500,000 barrels per day by the end of 2020. The ultimate benefit of this agreement for Iran is that China has agreed to import Iranian oil in violation of sanctions America increase. China's customs data show that the country has more than 925,000 barrels of crude oil from Iran In July, it increased by 4.7% on a monthly basis. (Yang Sheng and Liu Xuanzun, 2020). Finally, it can be concluded that China, due to mutual interests in relations with the United States and Iran, tries to play (It has) a middle role that is in the interest of this country. Iran is also trying to do this due to its policy of looking to the east The Chinese want to use it to their advantage in expanding oil resources and carrying out development projects.

#### **CONCLUSION**

Or the occurrence of the Islamic Revolution of Iran in 1978 under the leadership of Imam Khomeini of Iran in terms There was no politics in the power puzzle of the United States and the West. Imam Khomeini with victory The revolution has one of its main goals to cut off the hands of foreigners from the country and try to realize the right The oppressed said. Therefore, Iran was in the position of a revisionist government that fell to the ground Westerners' game is crooked. Therefore, Iran tried to work with other countries such as Russia and China Build closer ties as America's competitors. In recent years in Iran and China They faced inappropriate treatment from the Western world, especially the United States. America Campaign Under (It) started with the title of maximum pressure against Iran and its goal was to bring Iran to the negotiating table explained. At the same time, the United States launched a trade war against China in order to prevent an escalation Prevent China's growing power. With this move, the United States came closer to each other in the country Be able to work together to control these conditions. China and Iran are both seeking to change the situation They exist and their coexistence is a kind of attempt to coordinate in order to oppose It is smarter with American unilateralism. China is the second largest economy in the world that needs millions of barrels of oil per day, and Iran is a country It has abundant energy resources that can respond well to the needs of this country. On the other hand to increase its exports, China needs to create new markets for itself that Iran can (It can) be a very good economic market for China.

#### **REFERENCES**

- Hunter, Shireen T. (2010). Iran Foreign Policy in the Post-Soviet Era, California
- Buzan, B. (2010). "China in International Society: is Peaceful Rise Possible?", The Chinese Journal of International Politics, 3 (1): 5–36.
- Lanteigne, Marc. (2009) Chinese Foreign Policy: An Introduction, London and NewYork: Routledge
- Ghafouri.Mahmoud. ,2009, "China's Policy in the Persian Gulf,,Middle East Policy, Vol, XVI, No,2, Summer
- Kemenade, Willem van,2009, Irans relation With China and The West Cooperation and Confrontation in Asia,NETHERLANDS INSTITUTE OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS "CLINGENDEAL".
- Davis, Marybeth, 2013, CHINA-IRAN: A LIMITED PARTNERSHIP CENTRA Technology, Inc.
- https://www.petroleum-economist.com/articles/politics-economics/middle-east/2019/china-and-iran-flesh-out-strategic-partnership
- Wuthnow, Joel (2016) "Posing Problems without an Alliance: China-Iran Relations after the Nuclear Deal", Columbia-Harvard, February 12, 2016URL: https://cwp.sipa.columbia.edu/news/posing-problems-withoutalliance-china-iran-relations-after-nuclear-deal-cwp-alumnijoel
- https://www.tabnak.ir/fa/news/986274
- Fassihi 'Farnaz' Myers 'Steven Lee (2020). "Defying U.S., China and Iran Near Trade and Military Partnership". The New York Times.
- Tehran, A. correspondent in (2020). "Iran government squeezed over 'secretive' deal with China". Al-Monitor.
- https://www.washingtonpost.com/opinions/global-opinions/our-maximum-pressure-on-iran-failed--unless-the-goal-was-to-help-china/2020/07/20/484ae90a-c847-11ea-b037-f9711f89ee46\_story.html
- https://time.com/5872771/china-iran-deal
- https://www.tabnak.ir/fa/news/986274
- https://www.tabnak.ir/fa/news/991928
- https://www.eghtesadonline.com
- https://www.tasnimnews.com/fa/news/1398/
- Wang, Fei– Ling (2014) Chinese Ministry of Commerce Repor. Journal of Contemporary China Volume 23, 2014 Issue 90
- Fulton, Jonathan, 2019, CHINA'S CHANGING ROLE IN THE MIDDLE EAST, Atlantic Council RAFIK HARIRI CENTER FOR THE MIDDLE EAST.

- Andersen, Lars Erslev,2016, CHINA AND THE CHALLENGES IN GREATER MIDDLE EAST, DIIS.
- Keller, Siora Hélène,2020, Understanding the Sino-Iranian Relationship under the Influence of US Sanctions, Aalborg University University of International Relations Beijing.
- Joharchi, Sahra, 2016, A Tacit Alliance: The Political Economy of Iranian-Chinese Relations, Nottingham Trent University.
- Walsh, William John, 2018, Essays on Economic Sanctions, UNIVERSITY OF MINNESOTA.
- Zimmt, Raz, Kanner, Israel, Ish Maas, Ofek and Avidan, Tal (2017) "China-Iran Relations following the Nuclear Agreement and the Lifted Sanctions: Partnership Inc", Strategic Assessment, Vol. 20, No.2, July
- Baker, Peter, Eric Schmitt and Michael Crowley (2019) An Abrupt Move That Stunned Aides: Inside Trump's Aborted Attack on Iran, The New York Times, September 21, 2019 https://www.nytimes.com/2019/09/21/us/politics/trump-iran-decision.html
- Wuthnow, Joel (2020) Will China strengthen Iran's military machine in 2020?, The National Interest, January 16, 2020 URL: https://nationalinterest.org/blog/middle-east-watch/will-china-strengtheniran% E2% 80% 99s-military-machine-2020-114681
- Ashley J. Tellis, (2014) Balancing without Containment: the American Strategy for Managing China (Washington, D.C.: Carnegie Endowment for International Peace.
- Westcott, Ben and Alkhshali (2019) "China, Russia and Iran hold joint naval drills in Gulf of Oman", CNN, December 27, 2019. URL:https://edition.cnn.com/2019/12/27/asia/china-russia-iran-military-drills-intlhnk/index.html
- Yacoubian, Alex (2019) "Iran's Increasing Reliance on China", The Iran Primer, The United States Institute of Peace, November 15, 2019. URL:https://iranprimer.usip.org/index.php/blog/2019/sep/11/irans-increasingreliance-china
- Osman, Romana, 2017, China's soft power: an assessment of positive image building in the Middle East, Leiden University.
- Congressional Research Service, Iran Sanctions, 2020.
- Yang Sheng and Liu Xuanzun (2020) "Iran shows calm in attacks", Global Times, January 9, 2020.URL: https://www.globaltimes.cn/content/1176189.shtml FOI-R--4976--SE 44 (44
- HobbesT, homas, Leviathan, printed for Andrew Crooke, at the Green Dragon in St. Pauls Church-yard 1651.
- ORSI, DAVIDE, AVGUSTIN, J. R. & NURNUS ,MAX , Realism in Practice,2018, E-International Relations PUBLISHING.
- Cox, M, R. Campanaro, with, Introduction to international relations, 2016, Published by: University of London.
- Brown, Chris with Ainley, Kirsten, Understanding International Relations, 2005, PALGRAVE MACMILLAN.

- Burchill, Scott, Linklater, Andrew, Devetak, Richard , Donnelly, Jack, Paterson Matthew, Reus-Smit Christian and True Jacqui, Theories of International Relations, PALGRAVE MACMILLAN, 2005.
- Mearshiemer, John, THE TRAGEDY OF GREAT POWER POLITICS,2001, W.W. NORTON AND, COMPANY, NEW YORK, LONDON.
- WALTZ .KENNETH N, Theory of International Politics, Addison Wesley Publishing Company, 1979-
- Raymond Aron, Peace and War: A Theory of International Relations (Garden City, NY: Doubleday & Company, 1966).
- Walt, S. M. (1990). The Origins of Alliances. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press
- Emerson, Ordeshook, Alliances in Anarchic International Systems, California Institute of Technology.
- Quirk,2014, INTERNAL THREAT ALLIANCES: GREAT POWERS, FRAGMENTED ALLIES, AND ALLIANCEMAKING IN THE POST-COLD WAR ERA, Baltimore, Maryland.
- SARITA DWIVEDI, DR. SANGIT, ALLIANCES IN INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS THEORY, International Journal of Social Science & Interdisciplinary Research Vol.1 Issue 8, August 2012.
- Charles CL, Kwong Dean, 2020, Chinas Belt and Road Initiative: A Political Economy Perspective, University of Hong Kong.
- Haji Yousefi, Amir Mohammadeh (2002), Waltz Theory and Iranian Foreign Policy: A Comparative Study of the Cold War and Post-Cold War, Foreign Policy Quarterly, No. 64, Winter, pp. 103-1005
- Shariatinia, Mohsen, (2012), "Determinants of Iran-China Relations", Foreign Relations Quarterly, Volume 4, No. 2, Summer, pp. 189-210
- Ghasemi, Farhad, (2012), "A Theoretical Approach to Regional Diplomacy: Revisionist Units in Cycling" System of Power ", Quarterly Journal of Strategic Research Institute, Volume 4, Number 4, pp. 7-34.
- Mir Hosseini, Seyed Mohsen, (2014), "Security Theories and the Status of Security Studies: The Lesson of the National Security System and http://www.siasatmadar.persianblog.ir Regional », taken from
- Shariatinia, Mohsen, (2012), An Analysis of Chinese Policy in Syria, London: International Center for Peace Studies Strategic Defense Research Center, (8/9/2015), The Strategic View of the Islamic Republic of Iran and China to th Existing Order Available at: http://mtrd.ir/page
- Mohammadi, Manouchehr, (2010), The Future of the International System and Foreign Policy of the Islamic Republic of Iran, Tehran, Ministry foreign Affairs
- Sari al-Qalam, Mahmoud, (2005), Foreign Policy of the Islamic Republic of Iran, Theoretical Barbini and Coalition Paradigm Tehran, Strategic Research Center
- Akhavan Kazemi, Massoud, (2011), Shanghai Cooperation Organization Geostrategic Significance, Asian Studies Quarterly Central and Caucasus 15, Volume 4, Number 55.

- Haji Yousefi, Amir Mohammad, (2002), Waltz Theory and Iranian Foreign Policy: A Comparative Study of the War Cold and Post-Cold War ", Foreign Policy Quarterly, No. 64, Winter, pp. 1005-1030
- Ahani, Ali, (2009), Asia Convergence Perspective, Foreign Policy Quarterly, 23rd year, No. 3.
- Sazmand, Bahareh, Arghavani, Fariborz, (2012), Iran, China and the Challenges of Inclusive Cooperation, Quarterly Journal of Politics, Volume 43, Number 3, 2012
- Mohammadi, Manouchehr, (2008) The Future of the International System and Foreign Policy of the Islamic Republic of Iran, Tehran, Ministry foreign Affairs.
- Adami, Ali, (2010), The strategy of looking to the East in the foreign policy of the Islamic Republic of Iran, views and contexts and Opportunities, Quarterly Journal of Political Studies, Year 7, No. 7.
- Alaei, Hossein (2013), "Iran's Position in the Middle East Security Environment", online news, available at http://www.khabaronline.ir/detail/284991
- Ebrahimi, Shahrooz and Rezaei, Fatemeh (2014), "China's Middle East policy in competition with the United States." Site Insight, accessible at http://www.basirat.ir/fa/news/272253
- Adibi, Jalil, (2011), Economic Relations between Iran and China: Project Cooperation, Abrar Contemporary Tehran
- Mullah Hassani, Ahmad; Valashjerdi, Mohammad (2015), "Iran's relations with China after the Islamic Revolution", Discourses. No. 37.32.
- Hurley, John, Examining the Debt Implications of the Belt and Road Initiative from a Policy Perspective, CGD Policy Paper 121 March 2018.