

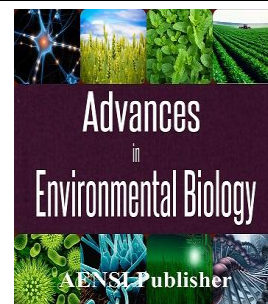


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Soft Power and International Position of States in the Geometry of Global Power (Case Study: Islamic Republic of Iran and China)

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ABSTRACT

During 21st Century, We Witnessed New Figures of Power that the States Use Them to Enhance Their World, Regional and even Domestic Positions Without Resorting to Tools of Force. On the other hand, Globalization and Technological Revolutions of New Age have had a Significant Effect on the Power, Capabilities, Ideas, Priorities and Interest of States and Individuals and Consequently, International Security, Beside Change in Previous Hierarchical Discipline and Formation of New Identities. One of the Representations of These Revolutions is the Emergence of a New Dimension of Power Called as "Soft Power" in the Field of States Powers wich Emphasize on the Effect on Ideas and Influence in the Hearts and Minds. In this Direction, China and Iran have Increasingly used this Form of Foreign Policy Power and Consequently, Change in it's Position in Global System. Therefore, the Assumption of this Paper is that the Dimensions of Soft Power have had a Positive Performane on Improving the Position of China and Islamic Republic of Iran in Global System.

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INTRODUCTION

The Emergence and Development of Information, Electronic, Social and Media-Based Networks Represent the Beginning of a New and more Complex Age in International Relations. Meta Technologies or on the other hand, New (Novel) Information-Communication Technologies wich have been Developed from the Early of 1990 Decade,Entile the Acceleration of Institutional Changes, Increase in Intrernational Interactions and Change in the main Concepts of International Relations Such as the Power, Security, etc. Consequently, both Practically and Theoretically, They Revolutionized the Field of International Relations. One of the Areas of this Revolution which Caused a Transformation in the Action of International Actors, Especially Great Actors, was the Area of Power which Accordingly, a New Dimension was Created within a Soft Framework, such that in Contemporary International System, Implementation of Soft Power is regarded as one of the Determinant Tools to Realize the National Goals and the Provider of National Goals of the Countries. Among these; Western Countries, Especially the Inventors of this Concept have Always Attempted to Dominate their Perceptions from this Powe (Norm, Values and Culture) in the Literature of this Area. But in Direction of Making the Soft Power as Native, China and Islamic Republicof Iran Attempted to Exploit it to Enhance their Domestic Norms and Values. In this direction, After Victory of Islamic Revolution, by Invention of Concepts wich were Always the Semantic Empowerment of the Regime, Islamic Republic of Iran has Always tried to Mobilize the Resources and Possibilities According to these Concepts, and by Proposing itself as a Model and Issuing this Item, it has Tried to Exercise its Soft Effects at the Best. On the other hand, Exploiting from the Culture, Values and Traditional Doctorines of this Country, Chinese Elite Attempt to display their Soft Power on the World Scence. Accordingly, their agreed upon this: "Victory against the Enemy and Control on it without War is the Victory and Peak of the Skill" (Jing Lee, 2011: 28). Regarding this, a question which is asked in this Research is that what Role ha Chinese and Islamic Republic of Iran Soft Power Played in Changing the Position of these Countries in the Global System? To answer this question ; First, the Concept of Soft Power and its Dimensions are Examined.

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Following it, the Dimensions of Soft Power of Iran and China are Evaluated regarding these Dimensions. Finally, beside showing the Effect of the Dimensions of Soft Power these Countries on their Countries on their Position in World (Global) System, We terminate the Issue by Presenting some Guidelines.

Theoretical Bases:

Fundamentally, Since Tosidid, the Power has enjoyed high Importance in Political Science and International Relations. But its different forms and Dimensions and Sophisticated Mechanisms to exert it have less been addressed. It means how these different forms of Power relate to each other and Conform to each other. But as W. Galli has said this in a famous sentence: "The Power is a disputable Concept because it has various Appearances and Manifestations in different forms. Therefore, there is no the same definition and understanding of it" [48].

In this direction, Theoreticians of International Relations Presented different forms of Power which Common forms of it include:

- *Compulsory Power:* In view of Barnett & Duvall [5], the Compulsory Power emphasizes on a range of the Actor's Relationships which allows a actor to shape other Situations or Actions directly. This Weber's definition of Power defines the Power as the Ability of a Actor into some Social Relationships which is Placed in a Situation where defines its desires as the ability of a Actor in the Social Relationships and it is in a Situation which Imposes its desire despite the other Party's Resistance. The Problem which exists in this Realistic Approach of the Power is that it looks at the Power based on the Capabilities and Resources and more emphasizes on its Systematic Dimension.
- *Structural Power:* It Includes mutual and direct Construction of Actors Abilities. This Power addresses the Structures or mutual Relations Constructed by Structural Situations which determines what kind of Social Entities are the Actors. Like Instrumental Power, Structural Power doesn't address the States and Companies. It Transforms the Possibilities, Information Technology, Knowledge and Ideas, Structures and Consequently, Human Behavior.
- *Institutional Power:* There is Control on others through Social means, by distance and indirectly. Here, the Conceptual emphasis is on formal and informal Institutions which are an Intermediate between A and B. It acts through the Regulations and Procedures which define that Institution and Creates a Limitation for the Action and Situation of Actors Entities. This Perception of Power is Closer to Liberal and Institutionalism-Liberalism Perception.
- *Productive Power:* It is the distributed Social Inter-Intellectual Product in the System of meaning and Concepts. For Example, it determines the Orientations of Social Activities in Special directions. It means what is Legal and whose Recognition is Important. On the other hand, Productive Power is the Production of Subject through the distributed Social Relationships [5].
- *Supra Power:* This form of Power is Originated from the Works of some Sociologists such as Tom Burns which was extended by James Rosenau and Stephan Krasner. This Concept means to have the ability of a Actor for Controlling Opinions, Norms, Consequences and indeed, it is the Control of Behaviors.
- *Smart Power:* This Kind of Power which was Proposed after Soft Power, includes the Capacity and Ability of a Actors for Competent Combination of the Elements of hard and Soft Powers such that they Reinforce each other mutually and Cause to Develop its goals in International and Regional Environments Effectively and Efficiently [51]. And...

Soft Power:

Soft Power was Initially applied by Joseph Nye in his book Called as "The Commitment for Leadership", in 1990. He Placed this kind of Power against hard power (Concrete Resources such Military and Economic) which is based on Military Force, Economic Sanction and Terror. In View of Nye, when the policies of a Country are Manifested as Legal near the others, Soft Power of that Country increases. This form of Power acts often indirectly and through shaping the Environment and it takes a long time to be useful and effective. In this Respect, Controlling group media, beliefs and ideas at world level are very important [43].

He firstly Conceptualized the Soft Power in Contrast to Commandship Power on the other's in order for what you want. In View of Nye, Soft Power Occurs when a Country Makes other Countries to want something which they want. Moreover, exerting Soft Power involves to determine the Blueprint and Structure of the Situations in World Policy such that it makes the others to be Changed in Special Situations [39]. In Fact, if a Country Presents some Values which cause to Absorb and Attract other Countries, and the others desire to follow it, that Country enjoys Soft Power, its Leader will need less Cost to perform its domestic and foreign Policies [40].

In his View, Soft Power of a Country is Fundamentally based on three Source: Culture where it is Attractive for the others; Political Values when they are met inside and outside the Country; and Foreign Policies when they are Regarded Legal and have Ethical Glory. Expressing that Power Resources for Attraction

of ideas are the Ability to shape International norms Corresponding to Social norms and Leadership in Information Age, he regards the economic efficiency and promotions and namely, the motivations as Components making Soft Power as an exception [40].

Nye Introduce kinds of non-governmental Actors –From Non-governmental Organization to Artificial Communities and Networks which are Created by Information Revolution-as holders and actors of Soft Power. In his View, many Organizations have Soft Power by themselves because they attract the Citizens to Coalitions which exceed from National Borders [40].

In respect of the Relationship between Soft Power and Hard Power, Nye Emphasized on inseparability of Hard Power and Soft Power. But some others Justify Nye,s Classification in respect of Hard Power and Soft Power by a Critical Approach. This Classification depends on the bed such that each power Source can be both hard and Consequently, Soft [28].

On the other hand, the Connection between Soft Power and Hard Power Confirms Key Predicate of Bilateral Firmness of Material and Semantic Structure of Constructivists and somehow along with the Identity, it is one of the Dimensions of Soft Power in the Association.

In Respect of how Soft Power can be Changed into Satisfying Policy-Making, Nye Illustrates the Criteria of Soft Power, Attractiveness, Satisfaction, Membership and Outrunning wch many Analysts have Disagreement on it.

Therefore, New Approach of Integration of Soft Power into the Concept of Identity is Desired by the Constructivists. Essentially, the Identity is an Intellectual Characteristic or at the unit Level wch Stems from the Perception of Actor from itself [49].

To explain the Quality of Formation of Interests, the Constructivists emphasize on Social Identities of Actors including the individuals and Countries. In their View, the Interests are resulted from Social Relations. The Interests Cannot be Explained in the form of Pre-Social. Identities are the Manifestation of Individual Conditions through which the Agents Communicate together. Since these Conditions cause the Actors find themselves in Special Situations, such that they define their interests [49]. In Fact, the Draws the World of International Relations as a Constructed World. Intersubjectivity Structures Play a Role to Reinforce it and in the Identities of Actors, their Interests and their Interactions. This is the Procedures of Actors which shapes the Structures. It Reproduces them and/or Transforms them. Regarding to this Matter, entering the Concept of Identity, New Procedure adds a New Dimension to the Dimensions of Soft Power. That is Economic Dimension. This means the perception of Countries from each other and Common Intersubjectivity meanings is both Motivational Factor of an States and Actors and the Constructor of an Identity Model. Accordingly, it presented a positive Perception and Image of economic Development of the Country, the Growth and Development resulted from it. It Affects on the Minds and Hearts of other Citizens to Achieve and Acquire that Model. On the other hand, Psychological Dimension Resulted from Economic Development Creates a Model (Pattern) of Soft Power as far as it is changed into Common InterSubjectivity Meaning wch even can purify other Dimensions of Soft Power. Therefore, According to this View, although the quantity of Economic Growth and using Economic Possibilities for Punishment are Considered as hard tools of Power, the Image resulted from this Growth and the Possibilities are of Resources of Soft Power at a higher level if they are Processed Positively. Of Course, Military Power is exceptionally based on this rule because the performance of forces and Military Weapons as well as the outcome resulted from the wars have not shown that the Nature of Military Power, Military Developments and Exerting Military Power in Crises will ultimately Influence the Minds and Hearts of Individuals and States.

Soft Power Dimensions of China and Islamic Republic of Iran:

According to the Nature and Available Conditions, each form of Power has some Components and Dimensions. In this direction, within the domain of Soft Power, different Theoreticians and Analysts presented special Classifications in respect of the Dimensions of Soft Power which there is always a disagreement on them. In the present research, following the Approach of Article, the Soft Power Dimensions of China and Islamic Republic of Iran are divided into four general Dimensions:

A) Cultural including some products such as the production of Movies, numerous books, number of Cinema halls and the number of Newspapers, Journals and Magazines.

B). Political including the model and form of Political System, Political Stability, Political Ideology and active diplomacy in International System.

C). Scientific including Scientific Position and Rank, the quality of research and Development, the rank of higher Education Centers and the number of Collegiate educated Students.

D). Economical including Enjoyment of Economic Growth and Social Welfare, Production of inspired Economic thought and model, the Attractiveness of Goods and Economic Products and the Like. These Dimensions have some subsets for creation and development of Soft Power of two Countries wch are addressed in the following:

Cultural Dimentions:

Cultural Dimension is one of the most important Dimentions OF Power, in relation to the Identity of a Prominent Role which Plays to Influence the Individuals gradually. The Connection between the Identity and Culture is deep such that the Identity is often regarded as a Cultural Phenomenon. In fact, the Connection between the Culture and Identity is influenced by some kind of Dialectical Relationship. Most theoreticians regard a position Independent from the Identity for the Culture because of it's Excellent Role in relation to itself and the other [3]. Therefore, the Complex Issue of Culture should be addressed in Combination of Cultural Identity. Accordingly, the Culture generally and Cultural Identity specifically along with Exclusive Characteristic and Functions on one hand as a threatening Source and on the other hand, as the amplifier of Social system besides the Economics and Politics are proposed as one of the important parameters of Soft Power Resources. During a few last decades, Cultural Identity has connected the policy Scope to Culture and/or sometimes it caused a conflict between them [4].

In the Case of China, Wang Hung in his Paper Published in 1993, Concludes that the Culture is the Main Source of Soft Power of a State [29]. In this respect, Chinese Analysts believe that Chinese Traditional Culture was particularly known as the most important source of Soft Power for Chinese People. It is based on this Hypothesis that it show a long- non-stope-history, an extensive range of traditions, Symbols, written works and the Background of this land. Thir Justification is that Chinese traditional Cultural Values by "Accomodation", in the Main Core, is the basis of Chinese Cultural Attractiveness during the age of Cultural Multiplicity and Globalization. On the other hand, during modern history when Western Rationalist, Materalist Culture Simultaneously with industrial Development and Advancement caused many problems such as destruction of Environment, Confusion in Social Ethics and Regional and International Conflicts, Chinese Traditional Culture by giving priority to "Humanity" and "Accomodation between the Nature and Human" can present Substitute Approaches in response to these Problems. In this way, Chinese Culture is placed in a Best Position in Post-industrial and Post-information World [30].

According to the report by UNESCO's Statistical Institution in 2005, Chinese International Excutives of Goods and Services selected in 1994-2003, Stand on Fourth Rank in the World in terms of the Earning Obtained from Exporting Cultural goods and Services. Total Income of Chinese Cultural Exports in 2002 was 27.5 Billion Dollars. In Respect of Cultural Exports, just England, United States and Germany had higher Income Compared to China. Also, According to Statics, China Stands on the first Rank in Audio-Visual Media which is one of the Fast Growing Cultural Products in the World. It is Second in Plastic Arts. It Stands on Seventh Rank in the World in terms of exporting (Publication of) Books and other printed Products [14]. In addition, China's share from American Cultural Products Market in 1994 was only 3.8 percent (636 Million Dollars). But in 2003, it increased to 8.30 percent (equivalent to 2.4 billion dollars). But in the Publication Area which is the essential component of Cultural Products, Statistics show that China has a Meaningful Cultural Imbalance in Publication Enterprise. For instance, China Exported 3.2 million dollars Books in 2006 while it imported 180 million dollars Books at the same time. In the same match, China Exported 8.20 million dollars Audio-Visual Products while it imported 8.30 million dollars at the same time. Accordingly, Import to Export Ratio for Audio-Visual Products is 8.1. This Ratio Represents that China's Commerical-Cultural Deficiency this Market is Meaningful and Important (Basic Facts about China's News and Publication Bussiness in 2006, 2007). Moreover, Chinese State Suggested to set up 5000 Confucius Institutions all over the World up to 2010 to Perform an Ambitious Plan (www.gov.cn,3/2/2007), such that the number of Confucius Institutes Abroad reached 155 in may 2007 and it increased to 209 in November 2007 (The Giant's Need Give's Birth to a Speed of Confucius Institute, 2007). Final Goal of Confucius Institute is to Proceed Chinese Culture and to Promote Chinese Culture in the World [9].

However, the Issue of Cultural Soft Power has often been Changed into Significant dissatisfaction of Chinese People about missing the Competition in International Business of Cultural Products. For example, in 2004, China Imported 4068 kind of Goods from the United States and Exported just 14 kinds of goods. It Imported 2030 kinds of Goods from Britain and Exported just 16 kinds of Goods there. It Imported 694 kinds of Goods from Japan and Exported just 22 Cases. Also, in 2005, in the Business of Intellectual Property Rights with the Unites States, the raito of Imports to Exports was 4000 to 24 [30]. In Fact, China has a Significant deficiency in the Business of Cultural Products, although it is changing into a Global Company. In fact, although Traditional Culture of China has yet Attractiveness in Eastern Asia, Cultural Attractiveness of Contemporary China and as a result, Chinese Approaches in respect of World Problems-from Atmospheric Changes and Environmental Protection to Communicable and Pervasive diseases –that Lacks Ethical Power-is Limited Exremely [29].

In Respect of Islamic Republic of Iran, it can be said that during 14 past Centuries, Shi'ism was Changed into the National Sign and Cultural Identity of Iranian People. It was well Integrated into Iranian Noble Thoughts and Sometimes into their Myth and Exceeded from a mere Religion. On the other hand, Shi'ism gave direction to Social and Political Behaviors of Iranian People. It filled out all Aspects of their Lives [20].

In the same direction, after Victory of Islamic Revolution, the Soft Power of Islamic Republic of Iran's Political System, i.e., Religious Democratic Theory, Ethics-Based and Martyrdom Culture, and the Principles of Independence and Liberty [22]. The Intergration of Ethics and Religion, Closeness between the Religion and Society and Correlation and Cultural Independence are the most Important Capacities of Iranian Cultural Identity of Islamic Republic [38].

The Contemporary Cultural Identity of Iranian People should be Addressed Considering a Coordinated Approach and According to Power Distribution in Resources of Islamic, Iranian and Western Identities [46].

Political Dimension:

Another Dimension which is related to Culture Dimension through the Identity, is Political Dimension. In relation to Political Dimension, as it was expressed, many factors are proposed as Subsets of Political Soft Power which are Illustrated as two Secondary Components of Political Ideology and Diplomacy and Active Participation in International Organizations and Institutes.

As the Religion became Important in Recent World Developments and it was Posed as a Political Ideology, some Theoreticians of International Relations noted entering the Religion in Theory-Making Field of International Relations as "Return from Exile". In this direction, some Theoreticians such as Friedrich Kratochwil and Vendulka Kubalkova Emphasize on the Necessity of new Social Understanding of the Religion. Kubalkova Talks about the Establishment of International Political Theology Field which Means to Implement Religious Concepts as Social Forces. In his view, Withdrawing Rational Choice Theory, the Religion is Placed at the Center of Social Arrangements or Social Structure [45]. Kratochwil attempt to show the Ability of Religion in Shaping the Concepts of "Self" and "Society" and how it can encourage both Peace and War. In his view, in the past, The Religion was Compatible with Modernism and Real Religion is the same. Therefore, Fundamentalism is not returning to the Pure Religion, but it is a New Interpretation and Influenced by Threats which the Minority Identity Feels it from Secularization Process [32]. By this Interpretation and highlighting of Semantic and Social Dimension of Religion, the Relationship between Ideology and Soft Power can be evaluated.

In Relation to Ideology, what should be Mentioned is that the Attitude and Worldview of China towards the World are different from Western View. As Joseph Nye pointed that if we regard the Religion as "Theology Related to a Creator-Exalted God", Confucius Customs are never Considered as Religion [56]. In fact, Regarding more Advanced Ethics, Super Civil Organization (based on merit not support), a practical Philosophy as well as Relying on Wisdom not God-being, the Confucianism Realize their Political, Legal and Economic Developments. For this Reason, some Analysts believe that Chinese Ideology is a Mixture with half of it is Eastern and the other half is Western. They call Chinese Agents as "Christian Confuciuses" [56].

In addition, it should be said that the Legitimacy which was achieved by China after Tian-an-Men Event, Caused that today, the power of China is regarded as less Frightening and there is more a positive Image from it. However, Significant Lack of China's Assistance in Political and Liberal Values, Stubborn Costs of the Country Pursuing Economic Growth and Social Justice Caused that the Statements of Deng Xiaoping are True about China which Says: "China is both a big Power and a small Power" [53].

Another Component of Political Soft Power of China is its Capacity in Institution Building and Active Participation in International Organizations, Diplomacy and Changing China into a "Responsible Shareholder" in International System. In this direction, as Huan Points, the Emerging Political Soft Power of China Emphasizes on Important age of Strategic Opportunity with Accordingly, China should Attempt Seriously to Guarantee Four Scopes Including International Peaceful and Stable, Friendly Neighborhood based in the Surrounding Regions, Cooperation based as well as Friendly Concrete and Media Scope [30]. For this Same Reason, Johnson believe that at Present, China Respects to International Organizations more than the Past. It is a Reason for China has not the Revisionist Ambitions of Empire.

As a Permanent member in Security Council of United Nation Organization, the Signer of a High Number of International Compacts and Covenants and a Member in many International Organizations, China is an Effective Country. In domain of disarmament and Weapons Control, China has almost Signed all Contractssuch as Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT), Comprehensive Nuclear Test Ban Treaty, Convention on the Prohibition of Chemical Weapons, The Biological Weapons Convention, Convention on Conventional Weapons. Also, despite Sustaining China,s Inefficiency in respect of Intellectual Property Rights in Domestic Law, China is one the Members of Universal Organization of Intellectual Property, Bern Convention for the Protection of Literary and Artistic Works, Madrid Convention on International Registration brands, Universal Copyright Convention and Agreement on Commerical Aspects of Intellectual Property Rights that is Managed by World Trade Organization (WTO).In this direction, although the United States often Attracts to the Background of Human Right in China, China has Signed more International Contracts about Protection of Human Right than the United States. Most importantly, the Participation and Membership of China as the Second Disseminator of Greenhouse Gases in the World, is Placed in Contracts and Institutes related to Environment which Represent the Contradictory Role of China in this Respect. On the other hand, Active

Participation of China in International Contracts in Respect of Warming the Earth, United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Changes, and Kiyoto Protocol have Verified some Kind of Diplomatic Achievement and Enjoyed the Praise and Encouragement of the Developing and Developed Countries. This same Issue have Provided China with an Unprecedented Opportunity to Improve and Enhance the Prestige of this Country and to Attract the Support of Developing Countries beside the Development of it's Bounds with the Developed Countries. On the other hand, Some Countries, Particulary in Post-Kyoto Negotiations such as Bali Summit in 2007 and Bangkok ConferenceT Introduced China as a Country where Exploits somehow the free Riding Strategy by Attending in International Conferences because of Increase in dissemination of Greenhouse Gases. For Example, in Bangkok Conference, Since the Dissemination of Carbon Dioxide by China Increased by 9 Percent in 2007 [7] some Participants regarded China as the "Biggest Barrier" in the Process of Common Practices but Different of Contries because of decreasing Greenhouse Gases [57].

In the Issue of Islamic Republic of Iran's Ideology as a Dimensions of Soft Power, the Attractive and Powerful School, Historical Background and Civilization Background, the Strength to Promote Behavioral Models and Values, etc. can be Indicated. In Fact, in this respect, one of the Reasons for Attractiveness of Islamic Republic of Iran,s Political System among the Muslims and Poor People all over the World is the same Component of Independence, Liberty and Principle of neither East, nor West in Foreign Policy that is Resulted from the Opposition to Dominated System. Of Course, Independence and Liberty don't mean the Acceptance of Military, Economic and Cultural Dominance of Allied Countries. Also, it is not regarded as an License for Radical Nationalistic Thoughts and Violation of the Rights and Liberty of others [22]. In this direction, Principal 11 of Constitutional Law Emphasize on the Attempt of Islamic Republic of Iran to Create Coalition and Convergence in the World the by the goal of Unity to formation a Nation and Imammat System and Rejection of Political System based on Nationalism [19].

In the Field of Diplomacy, the Strength of Persuasion of other Nations from the angle of having the Ability to shape their Own Ethical Reliability in this way represent the Obvious Confirmation of Political Soft Power [46]. Information and Communication Capability of Traditional Media of Islamic Republic of Iran to transfer the Massage of Revolution to the Muslim Audience and Poor People all over the World can be Regarded as Cultural-Political Diplomacy wich Manifests the Position of Soft Power in the Process of Settlement of Islamic Revolution's Foundations in Iran [46].

Scientific Dimension:

Scientific and Technical Dimension is another Effective Component of Soft Power. In relation to China, in 1994, during National Educational Meeting, Jiang Zmin Emphasized on "Peaceful Development" which was Invented by Western Countries and Stressed that Education is a Fundamental Issue in relation to General Status of Socialistic Modernization and Historical Fate of Socialism. Accordingly, return from Economic Development to a new Process which is Originally Based on Technological Progress, will be the Main Strategy of China. This Transformation and Substitution Improves the quality of Labour Force. It gives Priority to Education and Enhances National Level of Knowledge, Ethics and Culture [8]. These Suggestions are involved in General Lines of Reforms and Educational Development of China which describes the details of General Goals of Educational Development. This Plan which was Announced in 1990, designed 211 Projects for the first time to Enhance Chinese Universities to the highest Ranks [10].

In the Early of 1994, Chinese State Performed 211 Projects which was the biggest Direct Investment of Chinese State during the History of Peopl's Republic of China [10]. Also, in 1995, Jiang Zmin Imposed his Personal Attitude on Educational Strategy of China by Inventing the Concept of "Making Young the Country through the Education and Knowledge". In this way, Modernization of the Country was Changed into a new Strategy for the development of China through the Knowledge and Education. Afew years Later, Zhou Ronji who became deputy President Later, Expressed that Performing Modernization Plan of the Country through the Knowledge and Technology is of Vital importance for National Development and Modernization [9]. From 1996 to 2000, China Invested more than 18 billion Yuhan (202 billion Dollars) in this Project. In 1998, after Jiang Zmin Recall, Minister of Education, Performed 985 Projects to Enhance a number of Chinese Elit Universities to World Rank in which the State Allocated Significant Amounts to afew of these Elite University. Accordingly, 34 top University of China wich Received Financial Resources by 211 Projects, received a three-year Grant from 200 million to 801 billion Yuhans [9].

Also, China Exercised "Cooperation Strategy" with the goal of more Encouraging of Foreign Students for Education in China. In this direction, After the Success of Foreign Students Admission Process during Cultural Revolution, China Recruited Student Exchange Plan. This Process Causes not only helping the Allied Country in training talent Students, but also it Facilitates the Understanding of Friendship between Chinese People and People of other Countries. For this reason, from 1979 to 1984, the number of Foreign Students Reached 1800 Persons [9]. Because of these Collective Centralized Attempts, the number of Foreign Students in China Increased to 162615 in 2006 from 52150 in 2000.

Generally, Over the Years, China was Changed into a Country in which higher Education is Promoted and Flourished, Now, 18 Million Students are Studying in higher education Institutes. In addition, 1.8 million Educated Students in Complementary Education were Produced in 29 Last Years [11]. Therefore, during less than 30 Years, China Outstripped the United States as a Country with the biggest University Student Population. At Present, it is the Fourth Largest Destination for International Students [9]. However, it should be Said that dispatching Chinese Students to Western Countries and Inequal Distribution of Foreign Student's Admission discloses this point that Educational Influence of China has Strongly been Limited to the Surrounding. For example, in 2004, more than 114700 Chinese Students who 91 Percent of them were Studying by Personal Cost, went Abroad for Education. But just 25100 Persons Returned to the Country, although this Brain Drain has not Changed Significantly Since then (China Education Yearbook, 463). In 2006, 74 percent of Foreign Students in China Came from Asia. Among them, Korean Students Constituted about 50 percent (China Education Yearbook, 346). Also, in 2007, about 100000 Chinese Students were Studying in Australia. This has Changed China into the biggest Source of Foreign Students who are Studying in Australia [47].

Another Component of Scientific Dimension of Soft Power is the Research and Development (R & D). Today, Investment on the Research, Development and Scientific Progress is Regarded as one of the Important Dimensions of Soft Power of Countries. In this field, some Countries are Effective where are always seeking for using New Technologies and have Active Research and Development Centers Compatible to New Global Criteria.

During 10 Recent Years, China State Invested on the Section of Technical Knowledge and Researches very much. In this way, it was Emerged in the International Relation Scope with more Strength and has Spent an Extremely high Cost, although Research and Development Estimation and Comparison in China are very Difficult [54]. According to Statistics, Research and Development Costs of China between the Years of 1995 to 2005, have Increased 220 percent and or in Average, 21 percent Annually [27]. In addition, in a Study which was Examined According to the number of Papers on Population, Total number of Scientific Products and Papers in Journal and Meeting, Out of About 1.1 Million Papers Represented per year, the United States and Japan Allocated first and second Ranks to themselves by 329000 Papers and about 78000 Papers, Respectively, China has the Sixth Rank in terms of the number of Papers and Scientific Products. Of Course, some Factors Reduced the search and Development Situation in China. First, China has Spent very Low Expense in the Sector of Basic Costs. Basic Costs less than 6 percent has Allocated Research and Development Costs to itself. Second, Research and Development has less Role in Value-Added of high Technologies such as Aero-Space Industry, Medicine, Computer, Equipments, Electronic and Communications Compared to other OECD Countries.

The Attempt to make the Science as Native which began Since 2009, is the most important Step to use the Scientific Source of Soft Power by Islamic Republic of Iran. Incremental Production of Scientific Works in this field along with Student Exchange to Realize this Goal Represent the Homogeneity of Development of Scientific and Cultural Soft Power. In Addition, in Iran, Research and Development Play a Scientific Role to Create Technology and to Accelerate the Development. In 2010, the number of Iran's Papers was about 21000. It has Allocated 22nd Rank to Itself in this Table. Of Course, According to the Last Ranking of *Scopus* documental Base in 2011, Iran Stand on 16th Rank in the World in terms of the Science Production in the World. In term of the number of Researcher, Iran has 350 Researcher as each one million Persons, while this number is 7600 Persons for the United States and it is 6050 Researcher for England. The Share of Research in Iran Constitutes .56 Percent of GDP [27]. The most important Problems related to Research and Development in Iran include not being the Research and Development as a part of Culture, Weakness of Communication, Weakness of Human Force, and Financial Problems [27].

Table 1: The Costs and the Share of World Research and Development in 2009.

Region	R & D Cost (billion dollars)	Percentage of R & D Costs in the World	Percentage of R & D Costs from GDP
Continent of America	428.9	38.1	2.28
America	376	33.4	2.79
Asia	383	34	1.91
China	141	34	1.28
Japan	142.8	12.7	3.41
India	24.1	2.1	.78
Europe	175.5	24.5	1.69
Other Countries in the World	385	3.4	1.21
The whole World	1125.9	100	1.94

(Source: Grueber, 2009).

Economic Dimension:

Another Dimension of Soft Power which as a direct Relationship with the Identity, Culture and Politics of two Countries, is Economic Dimension of Soft Power. What should be mentioned in respect of Economic Soft Power of China is that in Development Literature, China is regarded as one of Development-Oriented States,

since essentially Political Factors which were always the Motivation and Speed Force of Strategy of Strategic Development of these Countries, have been shaped through the State Structures. These factors often include Nationalism, Regional Competition or Foreign Threat, Ideology and the desire of "Reaching" to the West [37]. Although such States have Generally operated in Social Contexts, since Rise the Growth and Development of these Countries, Civil Society was broken into small parts or it was weak to being with. Therefore, Development-Oriented States have Operated as Strong State and used their Infrastructure power for Influence and as Centralized, Coordination of the Activities of Civil Society in direction of their Own Construct [37]. Because of Suppressive Characteristics and Occasionally Fierce Features of Civil Rights despite their Extensive Legitimacy due to the Permanent Performance in Presenting the Developmental Goods, these States are not Democratically Attractive States. Some of them Terrible Records in their Workbook (at least when they are placed against Liberal Standards) [37].

In respect of Economic Development of China, it should be Mentioned that from the late 1970s, China Exercised a Modernization Plan for which waited for a long time. This plan was going to Concentrate on Agricultural, Industrial, Defensive, Knowledge and Technology Sectors. At that time, Leaders of the Country and the State Machine Performed everything with Enthusiasm to get rid of Material Poverty after Industrial Revolution. They Attempted to Solve the Problem of Food and Clothes deficiency and Achieve a "Global Freedom from need and Poverty" in China. In this direction, Deng Xiaoping Specially during 1990s, Encouraged some Chinese People who wanted to be rich, to become Rich "rudely". During 1990s, despite the damage which was happened because of Tian An Men Event in 1989, China Concentrated on Economic "Reconstruction" as before. Its Party and State Attempted to Overcome Political Challenges by Concentration on Economic Development instead of Furthering the System Reform and to Solve Social Problem of China. In this direction, at Last, Chinese Economy Experienced a "Great Leap". In this way, its Economic Growth direction was Stabilized for more than two Decades. For this reason, Internationally, when the Successful China was introduced into World Economy, World Society Evaluated it as a Masterpiece and a Great Growing Geopolitical Power. Within this Framework, Ramo Coin the Disputal word of "Pekan Consensus". In fact, Pekan Consensus again "Washington Consensus" which was a Standard Reform Package to help the Crisis-Experienced Countries, was a new Development Model which described the Effect of China's Experience on Developing Countries in Africa, Asia, and Latin America. He Anticipated that Pekan Consensus will become a Super Substitute for American Development Model. At the Same time, many of Developing Countries were Interested in Chinese Experience. Among this, the Innovation of View to Eastern Zimbabwe can be regarded as an Example of Economic Growth direction in China.

In addition, for Recognition of the Growing Economic Power of China and its Resistance against Economic Crisis, this case can be indicated that in 2008, GDP (Gross Weight Domestic Product) of China reached 4.32 Trillion Dollars by a dazzling Growth. In the same Parameter, America Achieved a Volume of 14.20 Trillion dollars. According to the Report by World Bank, in 2009, GDP of China by 8.7 percent Growth against 2.4 percent deficiency in GDP of America Reached 4.7 Trillion dollars against 13.8 Trillion dollars of the United States. It means that GDP of China in 2008 was 30 percent of GDP of America. But this Value increased to 33.9 percent in 2009 (Yan, 2010: 256). This Dazzling Growth and Development during Recent Years Caused the Role of China in the area of International Economy shall more be Accepted by the West and Consequently in 2009, it was Changed into the biggest Commercial Partner of America. The Expansion of this New Model of Economic Development Called as "Pekan Consensus" Model resulted in Increasing China's need in Energy. As a result, different Strategies were Considered to Supply it from different Areas in the World [10]. In fact, during 30 recent Years, Chinese Economy has had an Average Growth of 9 percent Annually. This Value is 3 to 4 Times more than the Growth of World Economy within this time [52]. Such developments Caused Jeffrey Sax, the Economist, describes the process of China's Development is the "most Successful History of the Development in the World's History" [56]. The set of these Factors Caused the Economic Development of China is Inspirational for Some Countries in the developing World. In fact, China's Success Provides a Model Based on it, China is Hopeful and Attractive for many People of Developing and Newly Industrializing Countries. But despite Multilateral Attempt, some Factors, Caused China is not Able to Expand the Soft Power Multilaterally through the Development Model. These Factors of China's Development Failure as the Effective Model of Soft Power Include:

A). China has repeated many of Old Values, Strategies and Policies which before it, other Industrialized Countries had tested them. Instead of Learning from the Slips which were Regrettable, China has Travelled Its own Way. For example, despite China's Commitment to Observe Environmental Issues in direction of Economic Growth, this Country has paid on Excessive Environmental Cost for its Development and was rapidly Changed into the most Pollutant Country in the World.

B). Unbalanced Development is China's Economic and Political Development. It means Economic Transformation of China have Occurred rapidly but the Speed of Political Changed towards Democracy in Chinese Style has been Slow. In this direction, at International Level, the Conclusion of Economic Contracts with some Countries where are Accused to Violation of Human Right and the Crimes against Humanity (such as

Sudan and Zimbabwe) had a Negative Effect of China's Image on International Society and on the Role of its Soft Power [56]. Also, in the West, many People believe that the Acceptance of Chinese-African Model and Negative Outcomes.

C). Direct Foreign Investment has Proceeded the Economic Growth of China. But the Policy of Absorption of Foreign Investment and Exploitation of it has Changed China into the Producer of Products which have Cheap Value-Added. In fact, the Share of China's Exports under Control of the Complexes Possessing Foreign Investment has had a Growth of a 6 percent during the Years of 2005 and 2006 [15].

D). Since China Follows a Dependent Economic Development direction like other developing Countries, its Economic and Social Vulnerability has become Perfectly Evident in the World Field. Therefore, the Security and quality of Products made by China have Damage China's Popularity as a quality Factory [15]. The same Problem Caused that China doesn't Incline to Issuance of its Development Model. It Claims Humbly that It Respects the Options of other Countries. The Reason for this View is that China's Model is Incomplete and is Contradictory with the Western Model which Encompasses its Liberal –Political Economy and Rushes to it. These Factors Altogether Caused Friedman Interpretes China's Economic Power as "Paper Tiger" [17].

In respect of Economic Dimension of Iran's Soft Power, what Should be Addressed is that Present, because of Sanctions and Economic Mis-Management, this Dimension of Power has been Challenged somehow such that the Effectiveness of Iran's Economic Soft Power cannot be Discussed. Therefore, what is Regarded as Important and Vital in this Respect, is to make Indigenous thought of Development and Return to some Intrinsic Development. Making the Development Indigenous will not be necessarily an Obstacle on Western Concepts of Development, but it Indicates to a more Realistic Attitude on Western Social Science in Lieu of a Reflector of the Special Geographic and Historical Context [37]. In this direction, the Approach which Iran can Emphasize on it as a Development Model to Create Soft Power, is an *Combination of Equitable Development and Self-Reliance Development Approaches*. The Combination of these two kind of Approaches Presents a Model which on one hand, it emphasizes on Supplying the Essential Needs of Human-Beings in direction of Economic Growth and on the other hand, it Emphasizes on Economic Growth and Development based on Native Resources, Possibilities and Industry and Consequently, on Self-Dependency and Self-Reliance. At present, although Economic System of Islamic Republic of Iran has been Fluctuated due to the Sanctions and Mis-Management Resulted from the Subsidy Targeting and Privatization by Extrapolating the Divine Religion, but the Semantic Structure of Islamic Republic of Iran can Provide an Opportunity to Mobilize and Equip the Economic Resources and Consequently, to Present a World Model for Economic Development.

Soft Power of China and Islamic Republic of Iran as a Index of World Position:

In Discussion about the Soft Power, the Position of these two Countries in International Relations reminds somehow the Delivery of Good in World Governance and Stability of Hegemonic, the Identity is one of the most Fundamental Concepts such that the Perception of others and others Countries in respect of Identity Bases of these Four Dimensions of Soft Power can play a Key Role in determining the Position of these two Countries and Changing the Balance of Behalf of them. In this Relation, one of the Important and Relevant Issues in respect of the Identity Issue in view of Constructivists is Fluidity and or on the other hand, the Evolution of Identities.

Under Conductive Conditions, the Identity can be Fluid. The Important Task of Constructivist is that that they can explain this Change and Fluidity. Since in View of them, the Identity is a Social Identity. It means that Construct itself, the other is also Constructed. This is why in View of them, the Perception of Actors of the Self, Interests and Goals is Variable. Following the Formation of a New Identity, New Interests are also Proposed for a State. Among this, Social, Political and Economic Contexts are very Structured and Balanced and the Opportunities and Limitations are Inequally available for the Actors. Therefore, while it is possible the desired Contexts assist Rich and Wealthy Actors to Progress their Interests, it is also Possible to Create Serious Obstacles on Poor and Low-Power Actors to their Strategic Intentions to the same Extent [23].

Regarding the Evaluation of Soft Powers of Iran and China, it can be said that this Power Resources are not Virtually Attractive, Satisfactory and Elegant. They don't Produce the Attractiveness and Overrunning, but they might be Resulted in Hatred, Disgust, Hostility and even the Conflict. For Example, Katzenstein and Keohane Conclude that Public Culture of United States helps to some Extent Anti-American Feelings in Some Region of the World [32].

The Reasoning of most People is that Soft Power is some part of "Comprehensive Power" which a Great Country should Possess. On the other hand, a World Power should be one of Global Culture Centers in which the Ideas, Values, Social Life and Beliefs are Attractive. They are also Attractive for People of other Countries. Globalized Cultural and Ethical desires for International Society, the Position of its Great Power is Impossible to be Accepted by other Countries. It can even hardly Sustain its Development. Therefore, the necessity for Flexibility and Global Governance of a Country in the International Politics is to Possess Hard and Soft Powers Simultaneously which are Changed into the Important Indexes of International Position and Influence of a Country. There is a question here that whether is something Non-American which is Virtually Attractive for

American People who in View of Stanley Hoffman "They Believe in their Ideologic Suoeriority" ? [44]. In Veiw of Nye, during 21st Century, just the United States and somewhat Liberal Democracies Possessing the Developed Economy can have Potential Force and Resources of Soft Power. More importantly, for Successful Changing of such Resources into Real and Stable Soft Power which is Effectiveness on World Politics, Just these Countries have the Ability and Willing to do so. The Description of Robert Kahan in this respect that "American People come from Mars and European People come from Venus" [31], Confirms the same Statement. But in contrast, since 2004, all Chinese Interpreters Agree on Soft Power of the United States has been Damaged. This Issue Created an Opportunity for China to Improve its Image [14].

In this direction, China has Attempted to make its Soft Powers based on Domestic and International Agenda Bilaterally Supported by Balance among the Power, Acceptance and Pursuing the Change through Cultural Influence, Economical Diplomacy and Institutional Participation. Accordingly, its Foreign Policy Strategy addressed Global Governance and Leadership in the Future [26]. In the same Respect, China was Greeted by the United States for being Changed into a Responsible Shareholder [58]. In the Saying of Iain Johnston and Daniel Stocmann, even after the Year of 2003, although research data showed that Pekan Residents had a deep doubt towards America which Attempted to Withdraw Searching for Superpower Position for its Country [25]. In fact, China Followed a Foreign Policy which its Goal was to Soften the Competitive Power Policy and Concurrently, Change in its International Relation during early Years of 21st Century, China's Soft Power Observed a Significant Growth, Particularly in SoutEast Asia and many of Developing Countries in Africa and Latin America.

In Generall, there are two Paradox View in relation to China's Movements and Strategy and its Future Role in the World Scope: First View was Proposed by Mearsheimer. He Illustrates that if China Continues its Significant Economic Growth during the next decade, it can Generate a Giant Military Power. As the United States is Dominant on Western Hemisphere, China can Dominate on Asia. He Adds: If the Survival is Ultimate Goal of China, Like America, China will Seek to Maximize its Power since this Country has no Option Except this. The Same Issue Causes that China Challenges the Superiority and Dominance of America on International Discipline [37]. Another View was Proposed by Robert Zoelick to the Former Deputy Secretary of State of America who has been Longlasting as a Responsible Shareholder in China, beyond a mere Member in International Society and Cooperates with us to Sustain Internationl Discipline which has made Possible his Success [58]. But what China's Performance shows is that although this Country Intends to Achieve the Leadership Position in Global Governance, the direction where it takes step in it at present, is a middle direction which includes the Mid-Combination of Four Strategies including Hegemonic Ascendency, Challenging the Status que, Attempt for Compatibility to the Dominant Power and Closed & Skillful Development [9] to Creat the Equilibruim and Balance in the Existing International Discipline. Therefore, as Berjiniski Concludes that China Plays more the Role of a Participant rather than a Challenger [9].

In respect of the Position of Soft Power of Islamic Republic of Iran, it Should be Said that the Condition and Situation of Islamic Republic of Iran is such that it necessitates Vital, Security and Foresight Necessities. It addresses both kinds of Hard and Soft Powers. The Maintenance of National Sovereignty, Political Independence and its Territorial Integrity in Turbulent Region of Middle East are Impossible without Hardware Planning. However, Communication Revolution and being Influenced the Perception and Recognition of Human-Being through Visual Observations, doubles Paying Attention to Soft Power. In this relation, the Goals of Islamic Revolution and the Orientations of Islamic Republic of Iran in the Light of Monotheistic Worldview have a Cultural and Axis of Justice Nature. This Spectrum of Goal will be Effective by Creating New Structures, Effective Teaching of Religious Doctrines and Expanding the Islamic Culture [20].

In fact, Soft Power of Islamic Revvolution of Iran is not only Effective on Islamic Countries, but also it is Effective on other Countries. On one hand, regarding Islamic Revolution is the Offspring of Soft Power, Parallel to a 20-Year Perspective Documents, Islamic Republic should be Inspriational, Active and Effective in Islamic World. By Reinforcement of Religious Democracy, Efficient Development, Ethical Society, Modernism and Intellctual and Social Dynamics, it should Influence Islamic and Regional Convergence. By Enhancement of its Soft Power and Empowerment of its Component, it Should Achieve National Interests as well. On the other hand, Islamic Revolution by an Islamic Nature, has been the Factor for Mobilization of Iranian People and Divine Leadership. In this direction, Islamic Ideology is a Factor which directs towards God, Spirituality and Islamic Values. It has been and is an Inspirational Factor for Liberty of other Nations. Therefore, Islamic Revolution of Iran can be Regarded as the Manifestation and Realization of Soft Power, i.e., the Ability to Influence the Other's Behaviours without Threat or Paying a Concrete Cost. Confirming the Values of Revolution by Liberal Movements, Proliferation of Religious Democracy Model, welcoming Poor Nations and Increasing their Enthusiasm can be regarded as some Examples of this Soft Power in Ideologic Scope [46].

Conclusion and Presentation of Guidelines:

In the Present Research, besides the Definition of Soft Power, Its Components were Addressed in Four Dimensions, and its Parameters for both Countries were evaluated. The Goal of this Research was to discover

the Similarities and Difference between these two Countries in enjoying the Soft Power and the Method to Exercise it and then, the Effect of it on their Position in Global System. What is deducted about China is that this Country has Abundant Innovative and Inspirational Ideas for Human and Social Development. Therefore, to increase its Soft Power, it Requires first; to Follow a real and Scientific development which can help Solve the Puzzle of China's Soft Power through removing China's Crises (such as the Destruction of Environment). Second, it Seek for a Practical and Efficient Solution to Reform its Political System to Transfer more Authorities to Chinese People. Third, it seeks to decrease the Extensive Gap between itself and the World, a Value which is generated as the Result of Friction between China and African Countries as well as South-East Asian Countries in respect of the Sovereignty, Sovereignty of Law, Good Governane, Respect to Human Right and Essential Freedoms and Protection of Them. Lastly, China should Apply its Scientific Development Achievement to show that it not a Authorative Modernity. In Respect of Islamic Republic of Iran, it should be said that in Domestic Dimension, Economic Development and Addressing the Citizens Needs and in Foreign Dimension; through increasing Bilateral and Multilateral Constructive Cooperation, it can be resulted in the Enhancement of Soft Power. In Economic Dimension, the Attempt to decrease the Country's Dependence on Oil Sale and Increasing the Country's Income through Non-Oil Exports and Pursuance of Positive Interaction with World Economic System are Regarded as the most important Factors to Reinforce the Soft Power. Therefore, Considering Comparative Analysis which emphasizes on one Special Similarity and/or one Special difference, what is True about these Two Countries is that if the Positive Cases of Political and Cultural Ideology of Iran's Soft Power are Supplemented by China's Economic Soft Component, an Overlapping Soft Power is Generated which can be regarded as a Substitute for Contemporary Soft Balance and at a higher Level, as the Global Governance.

Some examples of this Overlapping can be Observed in Similarity of China-Iran Function towards the West Intervention in Internal Crisis of Countries as well as the Support of these Two Countries from each other when they Encounter with Internal Crises. During these Crises, both Countries have always Disagreed on Powers Intervention into Domestic Affairs of these Countries and Insisted on Respect to their Sovereignty. Syria Crisis is one of the most important International Crises of International Politics during Recent Years which show this Overlapping very well. On a more Macro Level, the view of Iran and China on Power Distribution at International and Regional Levels as well as their Attitude towards the Institutes of International Society can be Regarded as Possessing International Overlappings. Both Countries are Dissatisfied with Monopolar International Discipline and the Approach of Power Distribution into it. They have regard the Hegemonic Ambition of some Countries as one of the Threats for National Security. Economic Interactions of this Two Countries and Multiplication of Bilateral Trade Volume can be a Witness for this Claim. In 1994. Bilateral Trade Volume was 448 million dollars, while this number reached 2.3 billion dollars in 2001 and it 2010, it reached 3 billion dollars. The Set of these Factors can be a Landscape from the change in the Position of these Two Countries for Challenging the Existing World Discipline and directing the Global Governance on behalf of themselves by Creation of a New Soft Balance.

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