Introduction
Yan Xuetong

The Chinese Journal of International Politics (CJIP) is pleased to present this collection of recent scholarship on the relationship between China’s rise and international norms. Since its founding in 2006, CJIP has been at the forefront of publishing the latest scholarship from inside and outside of China on the political, strategic, economic, and social effects of China’s rise and a key theme throughout has been the relationship between China’s rise and international norms. Since its inception, CJIP has been a key venue for both Chinese and international scholars writing on various aspects of China and international norms and this volume brings this scholarship together as a service to students of China and China’s international politics. As of July 2012 CJIP has been listed in the Social Science Citation Index (SSCI) and the editors are happy to present this selection of articles that have played a crucial role in allowing the journal to gain acceptance into the SSCI.

This reader presents a total of 11 articles that have been published between 2007 and 2012 in CJIP on various aspects of China and international norms. These articles are divided into four sections, each focusing on a different aspect of China and international norms: (1) Evolution of International Norms; (2) China’s Participation in International Organizations; (3) International Norms and China’s Domestic Politics; and (4) China’s Rise and International Norms.

Part I Evolution of International Norms
The first three articles focus on theoretical analyses of the evolution of international norms by Yan Xuetong, Xu Jin and Takashi Inoguchi.

Borrowing the concepts of ‘Wang’ (Human authority), ‘Ba’ (Hegemony) and ‘Qiang’ (Tyranny) which were popularly used by Pre-Qin Chinese philosophers, Professor Yan Xuetong’s article, “International Leadership and Norm Evolution” proposes a theory that the three types of international leadership of human authority, hegemony, and tyranny have correlations respectively with the international norms of morality, double standard or power. The type of leading states determines the direction of the evolution of international norms, while their own actions impose the major impact on the evolution of norms. While most previous studies
analyzed strategic paths for leading states to shape international norms, this article, based on the societal phenomenon of the weak imitating the strong, studies the modeling role of great powers' actions in the evolution of international norms. Accordingly, this article argues that international norms are not evolving in any particular direction because the types of world leading powers shift irregularly. Based on the assumed power-gap change between China and the United States in next four decades, this article suggests that the evolution of international norms will continue to be directed by the United States in the next 15 years but it will be influenced more by China after 2025.

Why did not states begin systematically to develop laws of war until the second half of the 19th century? What factors make the laws of war effective? Xu Jin's article “The Evolution of International Laws of War” addresses these thought provoking questions. The author argues that changes in value rationality determine the general direction of changes in the laws of war, and that instrumental rationality drives specific norm changes. The liberalist trend of ideas and their manifestation in politics gradually changed the value judgments of Western countries as regards appropriate degrees of violent behavior, to the extent that they established laws towards the end of the 19th century setting limits on violence in war. As the product of modern Western humanistic philosophy, however, laws of war have a limited scope of applicability, particularly in contexts outside of the western tradition.

In his article “World Order Debates in the Twentieth Century: Through the Eyes of the Two-Level Game and the Second Image (Reversed)”, Professor Takashi Inoguchi presents a somewhat unorthodox grand framework under which to understand world order in the extended 20th century period 1890–2025. The author applies, amid deep globalization, the two-level game and the second image (and second image reversed) games—two concepts formulated during the period of growing interdependence and strong demarcation among nation states. His focus is on the state strategies of leading powers, and how these strategies are sustained and modified in response to dissident challenges at home and abroad. Taking these strategies one by one, colonial indifference to people’s wars sows the seeds of imperial decline by allowing the conflicts generated by colonialism to ferment. Humanitarian assistance initiates the process of national liberation and independence by encouraging target groups to organize themselves and to build self-confidence. Humanitarian intervention sets the stage for imperial decline by draining the
resources necessary to carry it out. After discussing certain dialectical moments when the state strategies of leading powers change, that is, from balance of power to collective security and from collective security to primacy, the author speculates, with the help of historical insights drawn from the 13th century Mongol global imperium, on what happens after primacy.

**Part II  China’s Participation in International Organization**

The second set of articles, three in total, all deal with the dynamics of China’s participation in various international organizations and include pieces by Li Xiaojun, Joel Wuthnow and Chen Dingding.

Traditional economic approaches to cooperation theory find it difficult to account for countries’ decisions to join international institutions when there are no sufficient or strong material motivations for doing so. Li Xiaojun’s article, “Social Rewards and Socialization Effects: an Alternative Explanation for the Motivation behind China’s Participation in International Institutions”, adapts the socialization theories in international relations as an alternative explanation for what motivates countries to cooperate. Using China as the main case study, the author hypothesizes that a country is most likely to join an international institution that has a central position in the international institution network, and has a large membership that includes peer countries. Hypotheses were tested using the centrality measures of social network analysis according to China’s participation in 100 or more Inter-Government Organizations (IGOs) over the period 1978–2000. Results suggest that the sociological argument combined with the more traditional economic approach presents a more complete range of possible causal processes at work behind and inside international institutions.

Making monolithic characterizations of the PRC as either cooperative or confrontational, based on China’s participation in UN Security Council deliberations on ‘pariah’ states, is difficult. In Joel Wuthnow’s article “China and the Processes of Cooperation in UN Security Council Deliberations”, the author assesses the effectiveness of three explanations in accounting for China’s mixed record of cooperativeness: the willingness of sponsors to make sufficient concessions, changes in underlying preferences regarding the means and ends of intervention, and the application of political pressure. The author finds that each model can help to explain outcomes, with the qualification that the usefulness of Western pressure is highly limited.
Dr Chen Dingding argues in his article, “China’s Participation in the International Human Rights Regime: A State Identity Perspective”, that the changes in China's relationship with the international human rights regime result mainly from those in China's identity, as redefined and revaluated by Chinese leaders in the late-1970s, and in its relationship with the external world, especially the West. Chen does not suggest complete absence of international influence on China's changing behavior, or that an identity-based explanation accounts for all variations in China's human rights foreign policy. The main argument is rather that China's changing human rights foreign policy must be understood under the broader context of its changed identity and relationship with the external world. China's new identity as a ‘modern socialist state’ has indisputably consolidated China's position within the international human rights community. The article moreover shows that structural factors alone do not explain the changes in China's approach to human rights; rather, that it is agency on the part of the Chinese state that plays the crucial role in the process of identity change and subsequent changes in human rights policy.

Part III  International Norms and China's Domestic Politics
This section explores how international norms shape decision-making in China’s domestic politics and include two articles by Wang Ronghua and Chen Hanxi, and Yu Hongyuan.

Why are certain international institutions confirmed by China's national legislation, while others are not? And why do international institutions at times influence national legislation, and at others have no effect? These are the questions that Wang Ronghua and Chen Hanxi pose in their article, “International Institutions and Chinese Red Cross Legislation”. The authors argue that it is a country's relationship with international society that influences its perceived legitimacy of international institutions and their norms. Status-quo countries generally have a positive interpretation in this regard, and are willing to accept the restrictions that international institutions impose. This acceptance creates internal and external pressure to internalize the institutions, which in turn promotes changes in the domestic legislative agenda. The authors' examination of changes in China's relationship with the International Red Cross Movement over time show that China's antagonistic relationship with a Western-dominated international society before 1971 negatively affected her perception of the legitimacy of International Red Cross norms, and consequently impeded Chinese Red Cross legislation. However, improvements in
China's relationship with the international society during the early 1990s, promoted her internalization of International Red Cross norms, and eventually Chinese Red Cross legislation. This achievement owes much to the International Red Cross principle of unity, which is consistent with China's national sovereignty and territorial integrity. This consistency enabled smooth implementation of Chinese Red Cross legislation.

The impact of international institutions on national government policy transformation is the core issue of Yu Hongyuan's article, “International Institutions and the Transformation of China's Decision-making on Climate Change Policy”. The author raises three main modes in which international institutions promote governmental policy transformation. Foremost is the influence of international environmental agreements on national foreign policy; second is the requirement that domestic governmental departments and authoritative channels correspond to those of the international system; and third is the significant influence that new domestic policy coordination has on government power distribution structures throughout the policy-making process. Corresponding to international political mechanisms inevitably streamlines existing policy-making apparatus. Yu Hongyuan takes as an example the influence of the global environmental system on China's environmental policy-coordination, and the changes it has brought to policy formulation process. The author raises, on the basis of documentary analyses and in-depth interviews, aspects of the impact the international environmental system has on the China government policymaking process. Yu finds it manifest in modes of achieving agreement on departmental proposals, in freer information exchange and the active pursuit of a consensus. The article concludes that the perceptible streamlining of policy making of China's new environmental policy-coordination system enables the government successfully to establish a base on which to abide by its commitments to the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change. The government may then uphold its major role within international environmental cooperation, simultaneously maintaining China's sovereignty.

**Part IV China's Rise and International Norms**

The fourth and final section includes scholarship and debate on China’s rise and international norms and includes articles by Barry Buzan, Zhang Yongjin and Barry Buzan, and Qin Yaqing.
China’s relationship with international society has gone through several phases over the past two centuries. Since the shift of policy in the late 1970s away from revolutionism, China and international society are closer now than ever before. But policies that have worked for China since the late 1970s may not be applicable to the next 30 years. In his article “China in International Society: Is ‘Peaceful Rise’ Possible?”, Barry Buzan proposes that China must now consider the kind of international society and the most desirable regional–global balance it wishes to promote. Continuing a peaceful rise is possible but will not be easy. It requires China to think hard about certain aspects of its national identity, and to take the lead in resolving its troubled relationship with Japan.

In their article ‘The Tributary System as International Society in Theory and Practice’, Professor Zhang Yongjin and Barry Buzan interrogate the Chinese tributary system as an enduring historical puzzle through an analytical approach that is heavily influenced by the English School of International Relations and richly informed by the constructivist insight of fundamental institutions of international society. The authors make three key arguments through this interrogation. First, the tributary system is not only a structure of strategic interaction and economic exchange between Imperial China and other participants in the system, but also as an articulation of the existence of international society in East Asia, constitutive of a social order in East Asian history and politics. Second, as international society, the tributary system has its own social structure, which embodies complex social relations among participating and constituent states and a bundle of shared and common institutions that helps to define norms of acceptable and legitimate state behavior. Third, the tributary system, as a historically and culturally contingent social order in East Asia, is a resilient institutional innovation by East Asian states as their collective solutions to a wide range of perennial problems in inter-state conflict, co-existence and cooperation. Their broad aim in conducting this interrogation is to contribute to developing historically sensitive International Relations (IR) theorizing and theoretically informed world history.

In International Relations, the question of global governance has become a main issue that has given rise to numerous research programs and products on the question of how to govern. In his article ‘Rule, Rules, and Relations: Towards a Synthetic Approach to Governance’, Professor Qin Yaqing argues that governance requires both rules and relations. Rule-based governance is
extremely important to make actors’ expectations converge, to encourage institutional cooperation, to maintain order, and to enable governance to be workable and effective, because individual rationality—the premise of rule-based governance—is human. At the same time, relational governance is perhaps equally important in our world today. The reason is also clear: relationality, the premise of relational governance, is human too. The unconsciously exclusive emphasis on rule-based governance, as the existing IR literature on global and regional governance has shown, might neglect social contexts, relational processes and human practices, thus missing significant factors in this area of intellectual exploration and practical exercise of governance. Based upon the comparison, the author puts forward a synthetic model, which combines the two approaches, for more effective governance.

Combined, these eleven articles provide a well-rounded and eclectic mix of Chinese and international scholarship on the historical evolution of international norms, of China’s impact on international norms as well as how such norms have impacted China domestically, and finally on the relationship between China’s rise and international norms. The editors’ are confident that this compendium will offer much of interest to new readers of CJIP as well as to those who have followed the journal since its founding in 2006. The editors of CJIP thank all of you for your support and look forward to many more years of learning with and from each other about China and its evolving role in international politics.