HOW TO DEAL WITH THE RELATIONSHIP OF THE STATE GOVERNANCE AND THE GLOBAL GOVERNANCE? THE ECOLOGICAL INTEGRATION THEORY: THE GOVERNANCE LOGIC OF AN ECOLOGICAL ACCOUNTABLE GOVERNMENT

LING XU

Associate Professor of the School of Public Administration of Guangzhou Unviersity ,China
E-mail: xuling_1@126.com

Abstract - With the development of Globalization, the relations of state governance and the global governance are becoming closer and closer. Not only the academic world but also the fields of government practice are looking for an effective way to deal with relationship of the state governance and the global governance. In this paper, we aim to set up an ecological integration theory to solve the problem. Firstly, we give a literature review about the relation theories of the state governance and the global governance, then figure out the shortcomings of the existing theories. Secondly, we put forward the ecological integration idea according to the ecological accountability government. Finally, by using the wisdom of Chinese traditional ecological culture, we argue that the communalism is the logic premise of the ecological integration theory, and mutual aid and friendship are the best alternative for the global governance.

Keywords - Global Governance, Ecological Integration Theory, Ecological Accountable Government, Communalism.

As global issues becoming increasingly prominent, countries around the world are aware that relying solely on the strength of a country is very limited. All countries in the world need to reach a tacit understanding in global governance, form a thought of the global destiny community, so as to ultimately achieve effective global governance through international mutual assistance and cooperation. In this process, how to deal with the relationship between national governance and global governance has become the focus in academia and government practice.

I. THE EXISTING THEORY OF THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN GLOBAL GOVERNANCE AND NATIONAL GOVERNANCE WITH ITS LIMITATIONS

The positioning of the relationship between global governance and national governance has a direct impact on the logic and direction of global governance. Adhering to different relational positioning theories will lead to different governance behaviors and attitudes. At present, the relationship between the two governance can be roughly divided into the following three points of view:

First, some people insisted in monism. They believe that national governance and global governance are integrated: either national governance is subordinate to global governance, or global governance is subordinate to national governance. Among them, a part of monist holds that state governance is higher than global governance, which is the concentrated reflection of nationalism or realism. They hold that the effective realization of national interests is the primary goal. When there is conflict of interests between national governance and global governance, the latter must compromise and concede to the former. When formulating policies, priority should be given to national interests. While other monists hold that global governance is superior to national governance. When conflicts or contradictions arise between the two, national governance must comply with the interests of global governance. It is often reflected in small countries or countries on the edge of the world, which are often in a "governed" position in global governance because of their own strength and level.

Second, some believe in dualism. The dualists of national governance and global governance regard them as two parallel levels of governance or two different dimensions of governance. They hold that the important responsibility of sovereign States lies in the effective governance of their own countries. As for global governance, it is another governance task to be undertaken out of a sense of global justice or conscientiousness without affecting their own governance. Therefore, for dualists, the two governance are different kinds of government responsibilities and mission. They think that when a sovereign country has no time to take global governance into account, it would tend to focus only on its own governance. What's more, someeven oppose national governance and global governance, believing that there is a trade-off relationship between the two: global governance is the burden and depletion of state governance, which will hinder the effective achievement of global governance in turn.

Thirdly, others prefer the dualistic coordination theory, which advocates balancing and coordinating global governance and national governance as a relationship remedy and link based on dualism. They hold that global governance and national governance are inseparable even though they are two different dimensions and levels of governance. It even advocates cooperation and coordination, emphasizing consultation and dialogue between the two kinds of

governance. Effective national governance can promote the responsibility of the state in global governance, and positive global governance behavior can also create a healthier environment and betterimage of national governance, which are mutually reinforcing and inseparable.

No matter the existing monism, dualism or dualistic coordination theory, they fail to give satisfactory answers to effectively deal with the relationship between national governance and global governance. Monism overemphasizes the importance of one side of global governance or national governance, requiring unconditional compromise or concession between one side and the other when conflicts of interest or contradictions are found. This is not a healthy or scientific relationship positioning, either in the actual level or in the natural level. Dualism overemphasizes the separation of national governance and global governance. Because of the dualistic opposition idea, sovereign states often take a retreat attitude towards the role of global governance. It also leads some countries to use the guise of global governance to maximize their own interests in the global market as a rule-maker. Global governance has essentially become a way and means of seeking national interests. About dualistic coordination theory, although it is a repair and suture to dualism, emphasizes the consultation and cooperation between national governance and global governance, so as to alleviate the situation of dualistic opposition and separation, but it still does not break away from the whirlpool of dualistic separation, and still regards global governance and national governance as two different levels and systems of governance. Once there is binary division, there will be antagonism and competition between the two stakeholders. In fact, in dealing with the relationship between national governance and global governance, we can integrate the holistic thinking and vision to fundamentally solve the conflict and opposition between them.

The conflict and antagonism between global governance and national governance also reflects the lack of a higher level of governance pattern and thinking in both of it. Therefore, the ecological integration theory of eco-responsible government emerged as the times require, which provides a new and viable governance logic and path choice for the effective integrate of the two governance.

II. THE PROPOSAL OF THE THEORY OF ECO-RESPONSIBLE GOVERNMENT

The theory of eco-responsible government is a new idea of government responsibility. It regards the pursuit of ecological justice as the goal and mission of government governance, guided by the concept of administrative value of "rational eco-man", and advocates that the government's ecological responsibility should be regulated and implemented by contract.

2.1. Ecological Justice of Eco-responsible Government

The "ecology" of rational ecological man is mainly embodied in the definition and pursuit of ecological justice. Firstly, the dimension span of ecological justice is from environmental justice of shallow political ecology to balanced justice of deep political ecology. It not only sticks to the just extension of the protection of natural environment and natural resources, but also keeps balanced and sustainable development in the development of politics, economy, culture and society. Second, the spatial span of ecological justice: it is the integration and compatibility of national justice and global justice. When we introduce the perspective of global governance, the boundary of ecological justice has expanded from the internal justice of sovereign countries to the level of global justice. Eco-justice emphasizes not only the balanced development at home, but also the balanced development of international politics, economy, culture and society. Thirdly, for the time span of ecological justice, it not only seeks the fairness and justice of contemporary people, but also seeks the inter-generational fairness and justice. Fourthly, about the inter-group span of ecological justice, it pursues fairness and justice among different interest groups, focusing on the fairness and justice of strong groups as well as on the protection and fairness of the interests of vulnerable groups. Fifth, it upholds the idea of "de-anthropocentrism" and emphasizes the fairness and justice among different species on the earth in the span of ecological justice.

2.2 The Administrative Value Concept of "Rational Ecological Man" of Eco-responsible Government

The administrative value concept of "rational ecological man" includes two aspects: ecology and rationality, among which ecology is the goal and rationality as the mean. Ecology is the moral expectation of government governance. While seeking ecological justice, it also follows the basic principles and ideas of ecology, such as "diversity leads to stability", "win-win" positive effect, and the non-linear coherence and synergy within the system. At the same time, the "rational ecological man" also advocates the establishment of the administrative value norms of the friendly human destiny community through "rationality", which coincides with Cai Tuo's "rational global governance" viewpoint. Rationality in the administrative value of "rational ecological man" mainly includes three levels: value rationality, institutional rationality and practical rationality. First, the value rationality means that we should start from globalism and actively create the value and cultural norms shared by the community of human destiny in the process of global governance. In addition, we need to take into account the cultural value characteristics and individuality of sovereign countries in a

compatible manner. Second, the institutional rationality denotes that the government responsibility, guided by the administrative value norm of the human destiny community, should be regulated by the way of rule-making and system-designing: not only should we respect the autonomy of the system design of sovereign states and the original rules of international governance, but also we should rationally expand the mode and rules of international Co-governance of the human destiny community.Last but not least, the practical rationality ask for proceeding from the actual situation of each country, according to different stages of development, different capabilities and levels, different cultural traditions of each country, and consider the role of each country in global governance rationally at the operational level of global governance.

2.3. Division of New Responsibility System of Eco-responsible Government

The theory of eco-responsible government reconstructs the division of government responsibility system in a new way. Traditional government responsibility system generally includes the responsibility of politics, economics, culture and society. With the increasing pace of the construction of ecological civilization, many scholars add ecological responsibility to the traditional responsibility system, but this ecological responsibility is only a narrow sense of ecological responsibility, which emphasizes the responsibility of the government for the protection of the ecological environment, far from the definition of ecological responsibility in the ecological responsibility government. The ecological responsibility in the eco-responsible government is a broad definition, which is the concentrated reflection of the whole government responsibility. It follows the idea of dividing subjective and objective responsibilities, but they have subordinate relations rather than as parallel divisions: subjective responsibility is the premise and basis of objective responsibility, and objective responsibility is the embodiment of subjective responsibility. Under the guidance of such thinking, the ecological responsibility of eco-responsible government mainly includes three levels: the ecological moral responsibility of government, the responsibility of government posts and the responsibility of civil servants posts. Among them, the government's ecological moral responsibility belongs to the category of subjective ecological responsibility, and the idea of ecological justice (balanced justice) is its soul and essence. On this basis, two objective ecological responsibility levels, government post responsibility and civil servant post responsibility, are further derived. The objective ecological responsibility is to realize the externalization and embodiment of the ecological subjective responsibility in the post responsibility of a specific government and each civil servant.

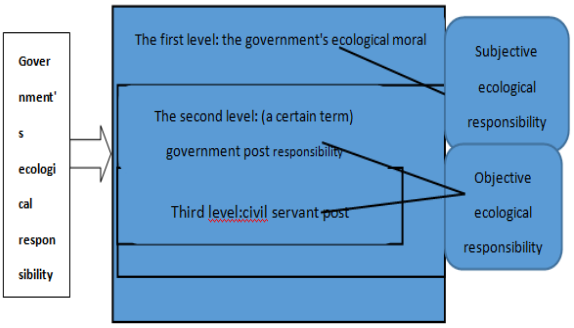


Fig. 1 The division of government responsibility system of eco-responsible government

2.4. Contractual Path Regulation of Ecological Responsible Government

Eco-responsible government takes contract regulation as its way and choice to realize its responsibility. In essence, it is a kind of contractual responsible government. Eco-responsible government advocates that the government's ecological moral responsibility should be focused on the government's ecological post responsibility and the civil servant's ecological post responsibility through the three levels of moral contract, political contract and administrative contract. Firstly, moral contract, which is the superior contract of the eco-responsible government, aims at the effective investigation of the government's ecological moral responsibility; it mainly involves the legitimacy of the state (government), which as a contract signed between the state (government) and the people. In the concrete operation, the government's pursuit of ecological justice must be embodied in the form of law or even constitution, which is also the basis for the government's ecological moral responsibility investigation and liquidation. Second, political contract, which is the middle contract of the eco-responsible government, further pushes the government's ecological moral responsibility to the lock-in and investigation of the government's ecological post responsibility by combining the effective governance of a government under the premise of the government's ecological moral responsibility; it mainly involves the legitimacy of a government as the contract signed between a state (or a public) and a government. When a government is in power, it must take the oath of office by the head of government, and promise the people publicly that it will follow the content of the governing program, such as the practice contract. In this regard, the policy program of a government has become the basis for the effective liquidation of the government's ecological post responsibility. The third is the administrative contract, which is the subordinate contract of the eco-responsible government. It is the embodiment and implementation of the government's ecological moral responsibility and the government's ecological post responsibility in the civil servants'post responsibility. It mainly involves the legitimacy of the civil servants as the contract signed between the government and the civil servants. Before each civil servant takes office,

he or she must have a clear list of post responsibilities. It is the refinement of the government's ecological moral responsibility and the government's ecological post responsibility combined with the specific post basis of civil servants. Then, the list of post responsibilities of civil servants becomes the premise and basis for the liquidation of civil servants'ecological post responsibilities.

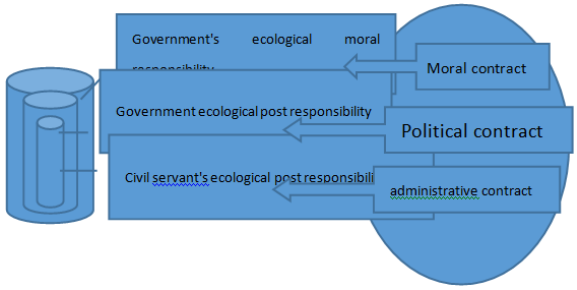


Fig. 2 Analytical Diagram of Government Ecological Responsibility System and Contract System in eco-responsible government

The eco-responsible government advocates the integration design of "concept-system-operation mechanism" to ensure the re-locking and implementation of the government's ecological responsibility. The thought of ecological justice (balanced justice) is the soul and keynote of the eco-responsible government. On this basis, the governance logic and thought of ecological integration theory are formed, which provides a new logic and thinking for solving the contradictions and conflicts between national governance and global governance, even between central government and local government governance.

III. ECOLOGICAL INTEGRATION THEORY OF ECO-RESPONSIBLE GOVERNMENT AND ITS GOVERNANCE LOGIC

3.1 Ecological Integration Theory Based on Ecological Justice

Faced with the relationship between global governance and national governance, theeco-responsible government advocates the ecological integration of global governance and national governance as well as local governance, regional governance and border governance through the theory of ecological integration. In addition, it also achieves intergenerational governance in time dimension, species dimension, domain dimension, group dimensionand other ecological integration of multi-dimensional governance. This kind of ecological integration theory is the concentrated embodiment of the ecological justice thought of the eco-responsible government, whose embodiment in the following aspects:

First, conceptually, we should pay attention to the harmony and compatibility between national governance and global governance, and effectively solve the conflict of interests. Ecological holism, different from the original monism, holds that all types of governance have their focus and importance, and there is no distinction between superiority and inferiority. Regardless of national governance, global governance or regional governance, they should take ecological justice as the dominant factor and form an organic governance system that promotes and supports each other. Eco-justice integrates all kinds of governance forms, aiming at and directing the overall interests of the community of human destiny, and skillfully resolves the conflicts of interests arising from the dual division of national governance and global governance or under the guidance of the single dominant ideology.

Secondly, in terms of system, we should integrate national system and international governance rules in a holistic way to resolve system conflicts. In the process of system design, if there is a contradiction between national system and global governance rules, we should advocate that ecological justice should be taken as the standard of measurement, and rational adjustment and perfection should be carried out from the thinking of "rational ecological man".

Thirdly, in principle, the ecological integration between national individuality and the commonness of human destiny community should be realized. In ecological thinking, an important principle is "diversity leads to stability". According to the theory of ecological integration, first of all, we should build a unified community of human destiny values, which is the construction of the common level; secondly, we must also consider the preservation and compatibility of the national or national personality level. Everything of the national belongs to the world, and vice visa. Under the consensus of great unity, we should retain our characteristics and individuality, thus to realize the two-way interaction and integration between the two governance.

Fourthly, in terms of thinking, we advocate the win-win "positive relationship" thinking. In order to change the original binary thinking, we should consider that there is a zero-sum relationship between global governance and national governance. According to the theory of ecological integration, there should be a positive relationship between things: effective global governance is conducive to the renewal and upgrading of national governance; the modernization of national governance can effectively promote the improvement of the ability and level of global governance, and so on. The thinking of holistic governance requires the formation of benign interaction among various elements, which is of great significance for shaping a global order of sharing, co-existence and co-existence.

3.2 The Logical Prerequisite of Ecological Integration: Communitarianism

In the existing theory of the relationship between global governance and national governance, whether

monism, dualism or dualistic coordination theory, they could not effectively straighten out the relationship between national governance and global governance. The reason lies in that they have great limitations in governance logic. Nowadays, mainstream cosmopolitanism has been branded with liberalism. Due to the limitations of the governance logic of liberalism itself, global governance has many discomforts and difficulties in practice. Thomas Pogge believes that contemporary cosmopolitan theories have three common features: individualism, universality and universality. He believes that the ultimate concern unit or starting point of cosmopolitan theory is individual rather than family, nationality, country, population, etc. On this basis, he emphasizes the equality of status and universality of status of everyone as the ultimate concern unit. However, the governing logic of liberal cosmopolitanism based on individualism could not provide an effective solution to the conflict of interests between national governance and global governance. When conflicts of interest or contradictions occur, nationalism will become the pronoun of individualism in reality. Effective protection and Realization of national interests often become the goal and mission of western countries'governance. Global governance is only a new means and way for Western countries to enslave and rule developing countries and third world countries. Global interests always have trade-offs and compromises in front of national interests. The traditional global governance logic based on individualism exposes its fatal flaws in regulating conflicts of national and global interests. First, in the dimension of governance, it tends to emphasize the pursuit of national and regional interests, neglect global and collective interests, and lack of overall and global thinking. Secondly, in terms of time dimension, people tend to focus only on the pursuit of the interests of contemporary people or their own, lacking intergenerational equity and long-term sustainable development thinking. Thirdly, in the dimension of species, human-centeredness is often dominant, lacking in the pursuit and reflection of interspecific justice. Fourthly, in the group dimension, the interests of the strong groups are often the dominant, lacking the care and support for the interests of the vulnerable groups. Fifthly, in the logical dimension of governance, state governance and global governance are regarded as two opposing types of governance, or they are blindly dealing with the compromise of one-dimensional interests, lacking the integrated thinking of benign interaction. Liberal cosmopolitanism, with individualism as its logical starting point, overemphasizes the importance of individual rights and affects the overall interests and the pursuit of justice.

The fatal logic flaw of liberal cosmopolitanism leads us to find an effective prescription. Communitarianism is a political trend in the West in the late 20th century. Its main representatives are Michael Sandel, Alasdair MacIntyre and Michael Walzer. Communitarians all unanimously advocate the significance and function of community to individual existence. Sandel believes that members of a society are bound by a sense of community. These members will recognize the importance of a sense of community, which is determined by their status as members of the community. McIntyre argues that the individual's personality and moral choice are not the result of innate individual rational choice, but determined by the social practice experience and specific historical and cultural traditions in which the individual participates. Walzer explored the importance of the community of commentators from the perspective of distributive justice. In his opinion, the goods allocated by each person are the result of the co-creation of the community and members of society. Then, the justice of distribution of goods is not necessarily carried out in isolation, but is affected by certain social practice conditions and environment. Communitarianism emphasizes the importance of community. We have further enlarged the concept of community from the original view that "the state is the most important community in human society" to the level of human destiny community and even to the global destiny community. In pursuit of the overall and long-term interests of the global destiny community, we should have the thinking of "rational eco-man", and proceed from the actual situation and capacity level of each country to realize the ecological integration of global governance, national governance, as well as intergenerational governance and interspecific governance. However, there are also some scholars who view communitarianism as opposed to cosmopolitanism. Ian Cooper, for example, argues that the essential difference between cosmopolitans and communitarians is that the former believe that only individual autonomy has internalized value, while the latter attaches some internalized value to collective autonomy. He draws such a conclusion with his heart because Cooper understands that cosmopolitanism is a liberal cosmopolitanism starting from individualism.

eco-responsible government advocates community cosmopolitanism. With the continuous development of global governance and the construction of human destiny community, even the global destiny community, cosmopolitanism based on Communitarianism will have stronger vitality and guiding value. With the fatal defect of governance logic exposed by liberal cosmopolitanism based on individualism and autonomy, communitarianism effectively compensates for this weakness. If liberal cosmopolitanism with individualism as its keynote is understood as the product of Western culture, we can see that cosmopolitanism with communitarianism as its keynote has much in common with the Oriental wisdom of Chinese traditional culture. The thinking of communitarianism is similar to the spirit of collectivism in traditional Chinese culture and the idea

of governing the country with the family. The administrative value concept of "rational ecological man", as a concept of community cosmopolitanism, emphasized in the eco-responsible governmentaims at realizing the interaction and integration of global governance, state governance, local governance, border governance, border governance and other multi-dimensional governance systems in such a political and ethical background.

3.3 The Way to Realize Ecological Integration: Mutual Assistance and Friendship

The administrative value concept of "rational ecological man" of the eco-responsible government is the concretion of the essence of traditional Chinese culture of "harmony between man and nature" and "co-governance of the family and the country", which coincides with the proposition of communitarianism. Among them, the most important manifestation is the thought and feelings of "mutual assistance". Communitarianism advocates that mutual assistance is an interactive process with the active help of the initiative and the reciprocal help of the passive as its content. Based on the characteristics of communitarianism, such as giving (friendliness), multiple behaviors, differences in degree of mutual assistance, positive and negative bi-directions of types, we further draw the mutual aid logic of ecological integration theory: first, it is family-style mutual assistance. The concept of "governing the country together" has been further promoted to the mutual-aid governance logic of the global destiny community. In Chinese traditional culture, the family and the country are integrated. It advocates the spirit of collectivism to resolve the contradictions and conflicts of interests between part and whole, individual and collective (family and country). Second, it is sustainable mutual aid. The logic and behavior of mutual assistance in the eco-responsible government is not a single one, but emphasizes multiple, even sustained, mutual assistance. At the same time, the relationship between roles with active and passive of the two parties are not unchanged, and it is possible that the donor of the last time will become the recipient in the next time of mutual assistance. In addition, this kind of mutual assistance isan irregular interactive process rather than the logic of "transactional and cooperative" in which the last offer of help to exchange for the next one. Third, it is two-way mutual assistance. The eco-responsible government has the moral expectation of benevolence. It is a kind of spirit and emotion to give help. It does not take the other party's return as the premise and basis of motivation. However, objectively, the acts of the donors often lead to grateful returns of the recipients. In this process, we can understand it as a two-way interactive process, in which the performance of mutual assistance may be different or degree may not be equal, but the consensus and mutual respect formed in mutual assistance become the key and foundation of effective governance. Fourth, it is positive mutual assistance. The eco-responsible government advocates creating a good governance atmosphere through positive mutual assistance. Positive mutual assistance is similar to "rewarding virtue with virtue" in Chinese Confucianism.

Through positive mutual assistance, both donors and recipients will adopt a positive attitude to form a virtuous circle of interaction, mutual support, solidarity and friendship. At the same time, we should also avoid the negative mutual assistance behavior, that is, the "direct complaint" in Confucianism. In order to achieve good positive mutual assistance, we can also effectively guide the choice of schemes of the actors by means of transposition thinking or consideration from the perspective of the other party from the Chinese Confucian code of conduct "do not impose on others what you yourself do not desire"in dealing with each other's relations. Fifth, it is rational mutual aid.

The administrative value concept of "rational ecological man" of eco-responsible government advocates rational mutual aid logic. The donors must proceed from their actual abilities and situations to treat others rationally. The weak are often the status of the recipient; the middle ones, not too strong or too weak, are more likely to play the role of self-help and rule cooperator; and the strong usually become the donor or the main responsibility bearer. No matter how the future pattern of strength or weakness or situation changes, the logic of rational mutual assistance will still play a role and impose influence. The traditional global governance logic is the self-help logic based on individualism, which also leads to the realistic and nationalist orientation of many governments in the process of governance. We can regard it as a kind of western governance thinking.

On the basis of absorbing the wisdom of Confucianism in China, eco-responsible government emphasizes the logic of mutual assistance of collectivism and communitarianism, and pays attention to the long-term advice of the interests of the global destiny community as a whole. It is the reflection of the Oriental philosophy of life, as well as the wisdom of China and China's right plan for Contemporary global governance.

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