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JKEC: Reviewer Invitation for Avoiding the dangers created by institutional change in China

1 message

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CC: pkostis@econ.uoa.gr

Dear Dr Sriyono,

As the Editor of the journal Journal of the Knowledge Economy I want to ask you if you could review the article "Avoiding the dangers created by institutional change in China" for a possible publication in our journal.

This is the abstract:

Institutions are effective means by which human societies resolve conflicts over the use of scarce resources and maintain social stability. To find suitable principles to guide institutional evolution, we reviewed examples of recent institutional evolution in China to seek guidance for the evolution of other modern institutions. China's experience demonstrates that a neutral policymaker capable of limiting the government's power to decide who will benefit from policy changes, as was done by China's successful State Commission for Restructuring the Economic Systems from 1982 to 1997, is crucial for successful institutional design. To cope with the complexities of policy development and institutional change, China's central government should re-establish a neutral policymaker whose goal is to balance the benefits among all stakeholders. In the constantly changing modern economic environment, a country's ability to implement institutional reforms is crucial to maintain economic growth and promote the welfare of its citizens.

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With kind regards

Dr. Pantelis C. Kostis Associate Editor

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Journal of the Knowledge Economy Avoiding the dangers created by institutional change in China --Manuscript Draft--

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How can a Country be Governed by Its People?

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The authors declare no conflicts of interest. The manuscript has not been previously published and is not undergoing review by another journal.

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Abstract: A country that includes People's Republic in its name nominally belongs to its people, but because states cannot spontaneously self-govern, governance must be implemented by government agents who are capable of resisting the temptation to abuse their power. It is therefore necessary to find ways to limit selfish behavior by government officials and reduce the gap between the rich rulers and their partners and the ordinary people to a tolerable degree, thereby allowing the governors to provide social stability and to stimulate social and economic development. China's experience demonstrates the crucial importance for successful institutional design of a neutral policymaker that is capable of limiting the government's power to decide who will benefit from policy changes, as was done by China's successful *State Commission for Restructuring the Economic Systems* from 1982 to 1997. In addition, governments must promote innovation, both economic and scientific, for their country and people to prosper. Lessons learned from this period will help China to restore social equity and will be of interest to countries that want to learn from China's experience. **Key Words:** Governance; Institutional change; Neutral department; Poverty; State agents.

Introduction

Nations are self-governed, independent territories in which the people, the corporations, and public wealth are protected by a complex combination of formal and informal institutions (Cao 2015). A country with People's Republic in its name nominally belongs to its people, a belief that has been recognized by historical figures as different as Jean-Jacques Rousseau, Confucius, and Mao Zedong. However, states are complex systems that cannot spontaneously self-govern, so governance must be implemented by government agents. For a fair and equitable system, these agents must be capable of resisting the temptation to abuse their power, and this is only possible if leaders can expect to receive greater long-term rewards from good service than from corruption (Myerson 2011). This is particularly true because government agents can obtain a monopoly by exercising military power or by controlling elected officials, who face the challenge of balancing the needs of the public with the demands of one or a few groups and alliances that form what many political philosophers and economists, including Karl Marx and Max Weber, referred to as a "ruling class" (Olson 1993, Myerson 2011, Stovel et al. 2011).

Government represents the means by which a state exercises its power to protect its citizens, enforce the laws that ensure social stability, and collect and spend tax revenues. Given the flaws in human nature, property rights cannot be effectively implemented without a government or some similar body that provides guidelines for the creation and preservation of these rights, and that enforces the guidelines in an equitable manner. However, there is an economic incentive for those who form the government to exploit their power, including their information advantage over non-members of the government, for private gain, resulting in economically inefficient outcomes (Stovel et al. 2011). Hence, governments throughout history have frequently failed to provide an efficient structure capable of supporting stable economic development. Instead of acting as a service organization whose primary goal is to

protect the public interest, governments have often behaved more like organized criminals(North 1990, Olson 1993).

Governments, whether autocratic or democratic, tend to operate based on short time horizons, both because of the short lifespan of most dictatorships and because of the short terms of elected officials (e.g., a maximum of 8 years for an American president). As a result, government officials must often accomplish their personal goals within a short time, and those who confiscate private goods, repudiate loans, debase their country's currency, and create unmanageable levels of debt or inflation have historically been too numerous to count (Olson 1993). Because of this bad behavior, critics in the news media, philosophers, economists, and even scientists must repeatedly remind their governors that governments should exist to serve the people. Despite the countless historical examples of bad outcomes for corrupt governments, which should provide a lesson to modern governments, it is still difficult to find mechanisms that guarantee functional and egalitarian legal and monetary systems that support a vigorous economy (North 1990).

Although violence and torture have traditionally characterized many autocratic governments (Bhattacharjee 2007, Stone 2009, Schulz 2016), these crimes have a different nature in more democratic governments; the nature of governmental robberies from the governed people tends to be based on more indirect instrumentalities. How a country can be governed by its people in a way that will minimize these abuses is still an issue that must be solved by the current society. To provide insights to guide the development of an acceptable strategy, we reviewed the actions of China's government since China's opening to the west in 1978 because western examples are familiar to most readers. These examples reveal the factors that seem to be common to all cultures and some aspects that are unique to China's culture.

50 The bumpy road to governance in China

To promote economic development, China has implemented a series of economic reforms since 1978, when Deng Xiaoping hosted an economic reform conference. After this conference, the central government tried to establish a "supervised" market economy to replace the centrally planned economy that had existed since the establishment of the People's Republic of China in 1949 (Wu 2007). The reform was designed to be gradual, with the goal of ensuring social stability. As part of the reform process, the central government gradually gave local governments certain powers, such as taxation and land sales to provide revenues that would support local development, rather than continuing its former total control of the economy (Zheng et al. 2014). The reform, which has been referred to as "decentralization", represented a continuous bargaining process in an attempt to reach a compromise (Shah et al. 2010) that would minimize the damage caused to powerful stakeholders within the government or the Chinese Communist Party who might otherwise try to block the reforms. Balancing the interests of the governments and people has been a key component of the economic reforms.

In the 1980s, Deng Xiaoping established the *State Commission for Restructuring the* Economic Systems (SCRES) to coordinate the actions of local stakeholders with those of the central government and thereby promote the reforms. This department was responsible for policy development, but had no executive power; its mission was to draw up the overall design for reform of the national economic system, guide the relevant departments and regions to develop their own reform plans in accordance with the overall design, promote the reforms, and implement pilot projects to test and demonstrate the proposed reforms. As an independent policy-making department, SCRES played a relatively neutral role; rather than favoring any one stakeholder, its goal was to balance the government's ambitions (economic development) with the needs of the people (improvement of livelihoods and quality of life). During this period, governments emphasized improvement of livelihoods to ensure that

this goal received equal priority to economic development per se. As a result, policies more favorable to citizens were introduced more often. These included the introduction of a minimum purchase price policy for crops (to protect farmers), testing of a rural pension insurance system (to provide rural residents with an income when they were no longer able to work), and a strategy for rejuvenating the country through improved education and a greater investment in scientific research (Cao 2016). Because of these policies, government revenues had increased to 7.6 times their 1978 level by 1997, versus an increase of 23.0 times for citizens. The ratio of governmental to civilian revenues decreased from 0.57 in 1978 to 0.23 in 1997 (China Statistics 1978-2021).

China's socioeconomic growth under the new system was spectacular (Wu and Yao 2015). Unfortunately, SCRES was terminated in 1997 after Deng Xiaoping died, and China's reforms transitioned into another phase that emphasized economic development, and especially improvements in GDP, without explicitly accounting for the needs of citizens to earn a living. In the absence of effective supervision from that point forward, government officials were unable to resist the temptation to exhibit predatory behavior that increased the government's share of society's total income. Because of the loss of the neutral role served by SCRES, every department of the central government and local governments accelerated the decentralization process in an effort to develop their own plans and exercise their own powers (Zheng et al. 2014). Policy makers received little monitoring because there was no replacement for SCRES that could recommend a better balance in how the benefits of development were divided between the government and the people. Instead, there was a strong economic incentive for members of the government to exploit their power, including their information advantage over citizens who did not work within the government or have strong government ties, for private gain, resulting in economically inefficient outcomes (Stovel et al. 2011).

It is not too strong a statement to say that some governments or government officials behaved more like organized criminals than like protectors of the people (North 1990) as a result of the people's loss of power to monitor their activities (Shang et al. 2019). This has led to a series of undesirable consequences that couldn't be ignored. As shown in Figure 1a, the Government of China's proportion of total income was lowest in 1997, but sloped rapidly upwards thereafter until Xi Jinping became China's president in 2012. This finding was supported by the rapid growth in China's GDP and its M2 money supply since 1997. After accounting for inflation, China's actual GDP in 2020 equaled 11.7 times the 1997 value, and M2 increased to 23.0 times the 1997 value (China Statistics 1998-2021). This behavior, in which the government maximized its own benefits through taxation and the creation of more currency; unfortunately, per capita net urban and rural income increased at a much slower rate (Fig. 1a).

113 Undesirable consequences

114 —*Corruption of government officials*

Governments tend to exhibit a certain form of predatory behavior (Olson 1993). Their primary goal is to take control of the state and guide the economy to increase their share of revenue (North 1990). To maximize their interests and conceal any unethical behavior, governments can expend copious amounts of money on infrastructure construction or implement a mix of monetary and fiscal rules that control the exchange of valuable resources, reform educational and healthcare systems, and even lower tax rates (McCabe et al. 2017, Stovel et al. 2011). These investments motivate citizens to work harder and invest their money in the economy (North and Thomas 1971, Ogilvie and Carus 2014), which results in a more vigorous economy and higher tax revenues for the government over time (North 1990). This may not be a problem when the tax burden is shared equitably by all members of society and when the government's goal is to benefit society as a whole. Unfortunately, this is not

always the case. In many cases, policies evolve to create exchanges primarily between the
government and rich taxpayers, with the latter benefiting disproportionally from the exchange
(North 1990, Cao 2015). To gain more revenue from taxpayers, governments stress the
economic aspects of development, which primarily benefit the rich, rather than the aspects
that focus on improving human welfare and that primarily benefit the poor.

When government power isn't constrained, there's a risk that members of the government or the civil service bureaucracy will apply their powers in ways that benefit themselves or their colleagues, and that fail to protect the people who should be protected by the government; in effect, they neglect the state to benefit the government. This approach sends the wrong message about government ethics, and this can lead citizens to believe that such inappropriate behavior is the norm and is officially sanctioned. For example, policies, laws, and regulations that combat environmental pollution or improve food security can be difficult to implement because they reduce the potential profits of rich industrialists (Luo et al. 2013). As a result, government officials are corrupted by wealthy industrialists who provide bribes designed to perpetuate their industry's economic advantage, causing both these enterprises and the government to lose the confidence of the public (Shang et al. 2019). Because of the perceptions of a huge potential benefit from becoming a government official, an average of more than 59 candidates have applied for each government job in China since 2003. In contrast, an estimated shortage of 2 million laborers in Guangdong Province means that 85% of enterprises in this province cannot operate at their full capacity (Cao et al. 2009). During China's ongoing reform process and its opening up to the West, the central government gradually implemented "decentralization" (Wang and Ma 2014), which provided local governments with the right to independently make certain decisions and manage their

local economy to primarily promote economic development (Sheng and Webber 2017).

150 Although this strategy greatly stimulated economic growth, abuse of this power led to the

creation of abnormally rich or powerful stakeholders (Wu and Wang 2013, Zhao 2006).

Moreover, the personal wealth of certain officials is frankly astonishing. For example, Zhou Yongkang, a former senior leader of the Communist Party, took advantage of his position to get more than 1 billion RMB to himself (Branigan 2015). The current income gap between social groups such as urban and rural residents (Fig. 1) is the result of such unethical wealth redistribution. In 2019, government officials violated the Central Committee's Eight Rules of Conduct 136,307 times, which equals 5.6 times the 2013 level (China Statistics 1979-2021).

—Social insecurity

Since 1997, local governments have been allowed to retain some tax revenues to fund their operations (instead of sending all revenues to the central government), and tax revenues have grown faster than GDP. From 1997 to 2012, government revenues increased to 13.6 times the 1997 level, versus only 5.9 times for all citizens net income (Fig. 1). As a result of the government's monopolization of land sales, land-transfer fees grew to 76% of the total income of regional governments in 2017 (Cai et al. 2019). Unfortunately, local governments have had a strong incentive to focus on urban areas (which have larger and more powerful economies than rural areas) and to ignore side-effects of development such as rural poverty because the national economic reforms emphasized GDP growth (Cao et al., 2009). The gap in net per capita income between urban and rural populations has increased sharply, from 209.8 RMB per year in 1978 to 26,703 RMB in 2020. China's Gini coefficient crossed a warning threshold of 0.4 in 1994, reaching 0.49 in 2001 and 0.47 in 2020 (Fig. 1). It was much higher than the corresponding values in most other countries. If the gap is allowed to continue growing, it may have serious negative consequences.

Because public tolerance for income inequality is very fragile (Fukuyama 2011), the widening gap between the rich and poor will have a negative impact on social stability that may block social and economic progress (Cutillo and Ceccarelli 2012). This may, in turn,

lead to crime, social unrest, possibly violent conflict (Cao 2016), social insecurity, and even environmental or economic crises, including famine (Bowles 2012). One useful proxy for the level of social insecurity is the relationship between various socioeconomic parameters and the crime rate. Through correlation analysis, we found that the proportion of total income accounted for by government income was significantly negatively correlated with the crime rate ($R^2 = -0.75$), the Gini coefficient ($R^2 = -0.84$), and the M2/GDP ratio ($R^2 = -0.91$) between 1978 and 1997, during a period when SCRES played a relatively neutral role in China. This showed that during this period, the government acted more strongly on behalf of the interests of its people. After 1997, however, the correlations between the proportion of the total income accounted for by government income and the crime rate increased and changed from negative to positive (R^2 =0.98), with similar changes for the Gini coefficient (r=0.72), and the M2/GDP ratio (R^2 =0.85) (Fig. 2), which indicated that the behavior of the government promoted social instability and national insecurity during this period.

Although correlation does not prove causality, Chinese history suggests that when crime rates rise to a certain level, accompanied by growing conflicts between different components of society (e.g., rural vs. urban residents, the rich vs. the poor), this may lead to increased violence and even civil war because poverty reaches such an extreme level that the poor feel that they have nothing left to lose (Hou and Hou 2002, Cao 2015). When these problems are accompanied by additional stresses such as climate change or invasions by other nations (or the modern equivalent, rapid influxes of refugees), the resulting serious social problems can lead to wars, famine, and even the sudden collapse of a regime or a civilization (Feng et al. 2019). The historical record contains abundant evidence of such collapses from prehistoric to modern times (Weiss and Bradley 2001, Zhang et al. 2007, Barnosky et al. 2017). Such disruptions lead to unnecessary suffering, tragedies, and a tremendous waste of human and material resources (Wang et al. 2010, Bowles 2012). Not surprisingly, capital often leaves

countries in search of more stable countries when faced with continuing or recurring dictatorships; this is true even when these countries have relatively little capital and thus the potential for a high return on investment of this capital, and when the more stable countries are already relatively well supplied with capital and thus offer only modest rates of return (Olson 1993).

—A lack of scientific innovation

Scientific innovation is well known to promote economic growth and improve the quality of life. However, scientific innovation in China has lagged behind that in Western countries. Because of the command and control system that China has implemented since 1949, science in China has, like most other aspects of society, been centrally controlled, which greatly impedes innovation. This includes the educational curriculum and the research agenda for university professors. The problem is exacerbated by China's weak attention to science and lack of respect for scientific research. For example, China's government makes no clear distinction between science and technology. Almost all scientific research projects in China require researchers to meet the government's defined needs for the country rather than prioritizing the interests of researchers, and this has led to overemphasis of technology and a lack of attention to science. Unfortunately, a purely scientific interpretation of natural and social phenomena cannot account for the goals of government departments that focus on human concerns. Although science represents a powerful tool for seeking truth, it must find ways to adopt a human-centered perspective; at the same time, China must include that perspective in their approach. China has repeatedly emphasized harmonious development and has opposed voices that contradict the official position, and this has hindered scientific development, which (at least in the Western model) thrives on the conflict between ideas and on resolution of this conflict as the available knowledge improves. Because such conflict is opposed by China's central government when it appears to undermine social harmony, and

because different voices can be politicized, Chinese scholars have been reluctant to adopt the Western model. Therefore, despite China's important achievements in technology, Chinese researchers have not been recognized internationally for their scientific innovation.

China's higher education is an extension of the administrative governance system for universities (Lagrotteria and Besescheck 2012). The structure of this governance system, and the content of the courses that are offered, is determined almost exclusively by China's Ministry of Education. Thus, the approach resembles a command and control system, in which almost all essential decisions are made by the Chinese government instead of by the universities themselves (Garda 2008). There are few chances for teachers and students to propose or participate in innovative activities, and this prevents students from developing a desire to innovate or the skills to do so. This has created a problem: without any training in innovation and the relevant skills, many Chinese university graduates lack the ability to think critically and to innovate despite their university education (Loyalka et al. 2021). Despite China's splendid achievements in terms of the number of educated citizens, many problems have emerged and come to the attention of the public (Garda 2008). For example, improving China's international competitiveness requires innovative ideas by highly trained workers who can fill key positions in the industries that are driving China's growth (Zhong 2011, Lagrotteria and Besescheck 2012).

Once students leave university to seek employment, there is an opportunity to correct this problem. China's government has aggressively promoted economic and industrial development, including by means such as giving private enterprise considerable freedom from centralized control. As a result, enterprises can offer their employees powerful incentives to innovate. For example, a new institution named *shared property* emerged in Shenzhen City in 1994 (Cao et al. 2022). Under this institution, knowledge workers participate in developing the enterprise's policies and in return, receive a share of an

enterprise's profits, which provides a powerful incentive to develop innovations that will improve those profits. It can also promote the desire to remain an employee, since workers lose their share of the enterprise's profits when they leave; this has the additional benefit of increasing retention of essential knowledge by the enterprise. In addition, China's government declared Shenzhen a special economic zone, in which enterprises received considerable freedom to innovate and test the safety of embracing an economic model closer to that of Western cities. As a result of these innovations, Shenzhen has become one of the world's most innovative cities, with dramatic effects on its economic development. Shenzhen's GDP increased to 43.6 times its 1994 level (63.5×10^9) to 2767.0×10⁹ RMB in 2020, versus only 31.4 times for Beijing (from 115.0×10^9 to 3610.3×10^9) during the same period (China Statistics 1979-2021). Although the shared property rights institution has proven to be effective in promoting technological innovation, it has not been directly adopted in Chinese scientific research or in university education departments because it has not been proven to work in those contexts in China, and because some government officials worry they might lose their right to control Chinese scholars. However, given that most Western universities succeed both economically and in producing innovative graduates, and given that many have successfully implemented a form of profit sharing (i.e., through university-industry cooperation), it's clear that China should apply the lessons of Shenzhen to Chinese education.

270 How China could be governed better by its people

Government represents the means by which a state exercises its power to protect its
citizens, enforces the laws that ensure social stability, and collects and spends tax revenues,
but governments have frequently failed to provide an efficient structure capable of supporting
both stable economic development and a safe and productive environment for their citizens
(Cao 2015). In theory, if not always in practice, any country with "People's Republic" in its

name belongs to its people and not to its government. Preserving this relationship requires the development and protection of institutions that treat everyone equally and fairly. To achieve this, governments must remember that they serve the people, and the people must have means to ensure that their government honors this commitment. In the context of this paper, there are several things China can do to achieve this goal: constrain the government's power by implementing a neutral policymaker, permit monitoring by the people, and provide much more freedom to universities and their scientific researchers. In the rest of this paper, we will discuss how these suggestions can improve China's situation, thereby providing examples that other developing countries can follow.

—Neutral policymaker

To constrain local governments and reduce corruption, China is testing an approach to federalism that they hope will be more diverse and flexible than the Western example (Ip and Law 2011). As in the case of American federalism, which has been described as "a laboratory of the states", Chinese provincial governments are free to experiment with innovative solutions to their local problems (Roland 2004). However, what is missing from this laboratory is government oversight to ensure that the needs of all stakeholders are met, and particularly the needs of citizens, who have been given insufficient priority in recent decades. To provide this oversight, China should promote supervision of its institutions by the people, but without eliminating the central government's role, which would stimulate resistance from government officials. To accomplish this will require a compromise solution that simultaneously solves the problem of corruption in local governments (through monitoring by the people), achieves a balance between centralization and decentralization in a way that protects citizen rights, and maintains the country's political stability.

To accomplish this, we recommend the restoration of SCRES or an equivalent department that is independent of the State Department, which is responsible for policy implementation (Fig. 3). As in the past, this neutral policymaker can formulate but not implement policies. The institutional changes that they promote should ensure that everyone benefits, not just some people (e.g., the government, rich and powerful citizens). To accomplish this, it will be necessary for SCRES or its replacement to listen to the advice of sociologists and other experts to ensure that the consequences of social policy choices will be clear. In this consultation process, policy-makers must understand that different stakeholders require different forms of persuasion to participate in a new institution. It may not be possible to achieve an optimal solution, but it may be possible to achieve a win-win solution in which all stakeholders believe that they will share at least some of the benefits (Cao 2016). This approach should support decentralization, so that local institutions can evolve in response to unique local constraints, while ensuring ongoing monitoring to prevent abuses by local governments. The central government can then focus on coordinating the efforts of local governments (i.e., to ensure that they do not ignore national priorities defined by the central government and that they think about the consequences of their actions outside their local boundaries) and on international affairs that affect the nation as a whole. Furthermore, small-scale demonstration projects such as the Shenzhen special economic zone must be used to follow Deng Xiaoping's policy that practice, not ideology, is the only way to determine whether an approach can work. Successful demonstrations can reassure stakeholders that a new approach is both safe and feasible, and that managers in charge of its implementation elsewhere will have flexibility to adapt the approach to local conditions and needs. In

321 contrast, if a project fails, the failure will only affect a small project area, and the adverse
322 consequences can be fixed more easily than if the project had been implemented nationally,
323 thereby affecting the whole population.

—Monitoring by the people

Monitoring is an effective means to sustain pro-social behavior. This is because the fear of

having one's bad behavior revealed is a powerful incentive to behave in a more pro-social manner (Bshary and Grutter 2006, Milinski and Rockenbach 2007). However, supervision is necessary to control the human tendency to become greedy (Bshary and Grutter 2006). When one's reputation is at stake, both animals and humans can switch from selfish to altruistic behavior, because only altruism is socially rewarded (Milinski and Rockenbach 2007). Therefore, a government must first build a reputation for reliably rewarding ethical behavior by government officials (Myerson 2011), and must act in a way that gains the support of the majority of the population, not just a privileged few. Once this approach has been established, it becomes an inherently self-sustaining process because it is clearly in the selfinterest of the government and its officials (Dreher et al. 2015). Administrative supervision makes officials aware of the risk of exposure of their selfish behavior and subsequent punishment, and this awareness can restrain their selfish thoughts and prevent their abuse of power. Supervision can also improve the administrative efficiency of the government and reduce or prevent errors. This monitoring is most effective when government operations are transparent, so that the public can see and understand these operations. Therefore, it is crucial to strengthen public scrutiny of government workers and improve supervision of government departments and officials. As in a healthy ecosystem, there must be checks and balances, as described by the Chinese saying that "the more birds there are, the less damage insects cause".

As in the case in some Western democratic regimes, Chinese government officials often see themselves as being above the law, so supervision by the central government can be difficult. If thousands of citizens acquire the ability to monitor government operations, unethical behavior is more likely to be detected, thereby preventing or greatly reducing corruption. To improve the effectiveness of supervision, one option would be to increase the rewards for ethical behavior and for reporting corrupt activities. This revised approach should

work because it both discourages corrupt behavior (due to a higher risk of being caught) and encourages virtuous behavior (by rewarding such behavior). To accomplish this, it will be necessary to create a new institution in which government officials are rewarded for earning the respect and trust of the people they serve and thereby reinforcing the belief that the people are the true masters of the nation.

—Promoting scientific innovation

Civilization grows and improves by growing and improving the body of knowledge on which it relies. During the past century, scientific research and its application through technology have been major drivers of human and economic progress. However, governments have sometimes had a hostile relationship with science and technology, since both can undermine a government's authority, even though both can also solve problems such as climate change that threaten the government and the people it serves. Science is seen as particularly disruptive, since it challenges government ideologies and, by revealing problems with those ideologies, threatens the power of individual government officials. This can lead to government distrust of science and the implementation of measures to restrain its ability to innovate in ways that improve human lives, but that are perceived as undermining the government (i.e., that are seen as disruptive). This is also why universities are distrusted: they are seen as breeding grounds for disruptive ideas, both in the "hard" sciences and in the social sciences. To prevent disruption and maintain social stability, governments therefore strongly constrain the subjects that university researchers can study and take measures to limit innovation, particularly if an innovation might disrupt the status quo; government resistance to research is particularly strong when the research reveals the government's errors, leading to embarrassment for the officials who were responsible for the errors. Rather than working together to solve society's problems, this approach limits the ability of researchers to innovate. This has been true in China since the Communist Party came to

power. For example, before Mao Zedong became the leader of modern China, he showed considerable respect for science, believing that "only science can save China" and encouraging his colleagues in the Communist Party to embrace the innovations offered by science. However, once he came to power, it became apparent that scientists would often contradict him and reveal problems with his plans. To protect his power, he implemented policies that gave his ideological claims more weight than scientific evidence, culminating in widespread repression and violence against university researchers. Mao's legacy continues today, where it can be seen in the central government's tight control over scientific research. However, scientific and technological change are dominant factors in modern life and play a pivotal role in the growth and development of society, with scientific research essential both to understand our world and to determine how society will or should respond to our changing world. Research results provide crucial support for policy development by allowing governments to examine the impacts of policy proposals before they are implemented to prevent problems from arising, then monitoring the consequences of implementation to detect any flaws in new and existing institutions that must be fixed to achieve a policy's goals. Scientific research is like wandering through a forest at night: it requires courage, a willingness to navigate around obstacles, and a willingness to be flexible, including returning to the start of one's journey and trying again when one fails to reach the desired destination. Research is not inevitably successful, particularly when it is conducted to provide solutions to future problems that are, themselves, unclear. One important solution is to give scientists freedom to follow their desires and instincts to see where they lead; some will not find a solution to the problem they set out to solve, but at least some will, and their successes will improve society. Even failures can have beneficial consequences; as famous American inventor Thomas Edison once said about his initial failure to invent a working lightbulb, "I have not failed 10,000 times—I've successfully found 10,000 ways that will not work."

Another advantage of scientific freedom is that it can, as in the case of global climate change,
identify serious problems sufficiently early that solutions can be found. Thus, governments
must support scientific freedom even the results it will sometimes challenge their beliefs and
disrupt society.

In addition to encouraging universities to engage in more innovative research,
governments must encourage them to train students in innovative thinking. Following the
same path each time will not lead to a different destination, no matter how many people
follow that path. Universities and the government officials who control them should learn
from the examples of Shenzhen and the shared property institution to (respectively) provide
freedom to experiment and an incentive to innovate.

Perspective

The government must understand that it is only an agent for the state, rather than the state itself. Governments must therefore create an environment in which the people who generate a nation's wealth, both the owners of companies and their workers, are protected and have an incentive to work hard to improve their situation. This cannot happen when these people feel that governments exist primarily to constrain their activities and rob them of their profits. Because of human nature, the political power awarded to those who manage a state makes it difficult for governors to resist the temptation to abuse this power. This is particularly true when the short-term gains from this abuse seem to outweigh the long-term risks. Instead of acting as a service organization whose goal is to protect the public interest, governments that engage in such short-term thinking essentially behave more like irrational thieves who do not believe they will be punished than rational caretakers whose goal is to profit in the long-term by protecting the people they should serve. The periodic rise and fall of governments and even nations that have occurred throughout history have many causes, but a government that is perceived as existing primarily to benefit its members at the expense of society is more

426 vulnerable to such collapses.

Political advertising is widely used to sway the populace during elections in democratic nations. For example, Beddoe et al. (2009) found that political candidates in the United States can receive one vote for approximately every \$10 they spend; this creates a system in which elections are won by the richest candidates, which they considered to be the definition of a plutocracy rather than a democracy. Where such spending is the rule rather than the exception, and where the identity of the people who contribute this money is not easy to discern, elected officials can use their information advantage over the general public to be elected; in return for the monetary contributions that allowed them to be elected, the officials are expected to repay their patrons, leading to covert abuse of power. In the modern era of an educated population, increased involvement in social movements, and elevated cultural standards, legitimacy derives primarily from a perception that the government has a nation's best interests in mind, shares a common mindset with the governed population, and has a political track record that inspires confidence. All of these things require transparency so that the people believe they understand what is happening and can trust their elected officials because they are monitoring the behavior of these representatives. This implies the existence of feedback mechanisms by which the population can control the government and prevent them from profiting by abusing their power. This power can strengthen the social contract between a government and its people. Following this logic, a rational government that behaves in its own self-interest must do so by providing opportunities for economic development without sacrificing the needs of the people who the government represents and by increasing public confidence that anyone who strives to participate in this development will be protected by their government, thereby allowing them to improve their welfare through their own efforts.

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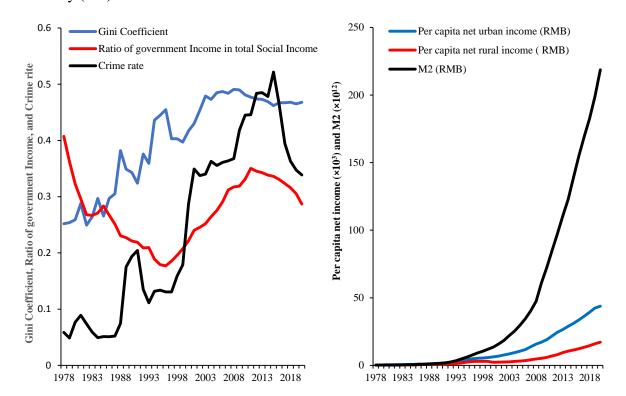
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Figure 1. The changes in the Gini coefficient, in the government proportion of total revenues, in government and civilian revenues, in per capita net urban and net rural income, and in currency (M2) from 1978 to 2020. Source: China Statistics.



0.7 0.6 0.5 0.4 0.3 0.2 0.1 15%

Figure 2. The change of the relationship between the proportion of total income accounted for by the government and the crime rate, the Gini coefficient, and GDP/M2 ratio. The shape of the dots represents different time periods: the blue dots denotes 1978 to 1996 and the red dots denotes 1997 to 2017. Source: China Statistics (1979-2021).

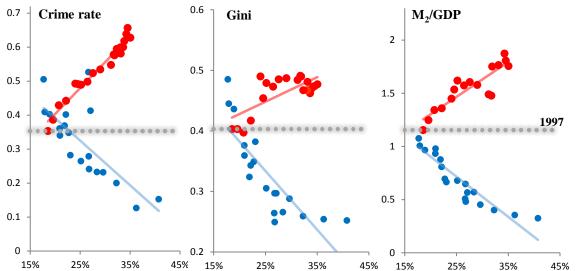
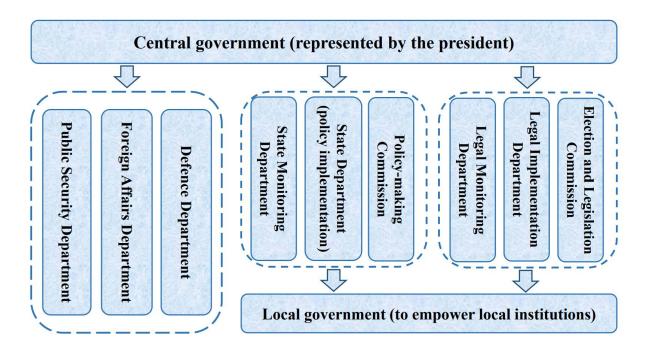


Figure 3. Illustration of a proposed institutional framework to support decentralization of power to empower local institutions, with the goal of promoting economic development, but with monitoring by the central government to mitigate corruption. This monitoring should be performed by a neutral authority (in this framework, the "Policy-making Commission") such as the *State Commission for Restructuring the Economic Systems*, whose primary goal is to balance the benefits among all stakeholders.





Dr. Drs Sriyono, MM <sriyono@umsida.ac.id>

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1 message

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This paper is a free paper or an opinion on how to avoid the dangers posed by institutional changes in China over several periods without any basis for validation Strong data from both literacy studies and empirical evidence. In addition, the components of a scientific article that must be published in a journal are not clear, for example:

1. Introduction.

In the introduction, this article does not explain the problems that are being faced or want to be researched. In addition, you are not writing this made so that this paper will not contribute but only give a personal opinion about the dangers of a condition A country run by a government that is not responsible to country.

2. State of Art And Novelty

The state of art of the article written is also unclear and too minimal references are used. This paper will be an ordinary free story script without any empirical fact support . The novelty of this paper when compared to previous similar studies is unclear.

3. Methodology

The methodology used in this article is also unusual and worthy of use in a scientific paper. Is the type of research quantitative or qualitative because each article needs to be validated by the data both quantitative and qualitative research so that the articles written are scientifically correct. Without a clear methodology, the quality of the article becomes biased, whether the article is included in the group of writing scientific articles or free articles that are not bound by the form of a scientific article.

4. Discussion

Because the type of writing is not in the field of scientific writing, the discussion is also not carried out structurally on the problems and impacts caused.

5. Conclusion

Based on these reasons, this article is not in accordance with the scope of this journal. It is recommended that the author look again at the scope and writing guidelines that have been determined

Regard, 17 April 2023

Dr. Sriyono, Drs, MM., CIQnR., CSA



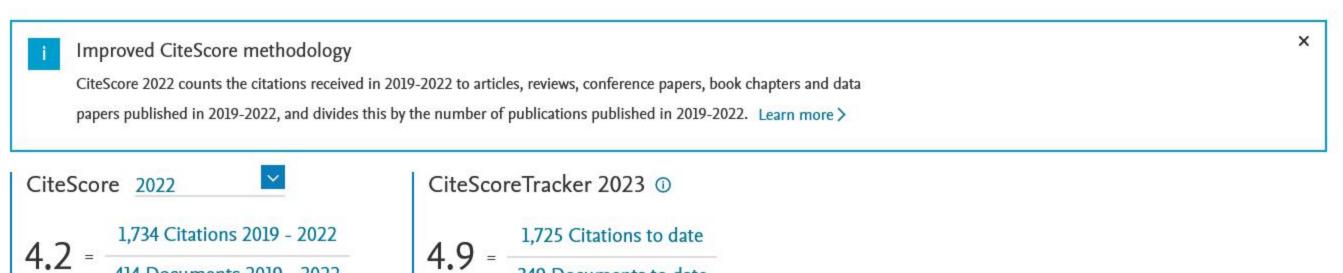
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