



universität
wien

MASTERARBEIT / MASTER'S THESIS

Titel der Masterarbeit / Title of the Master's Thesis

„Remembering the Moganshan Conference of 1984“

verfasst von / submitted by

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angestrebter akademischer Grad / in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of
Master of Arts (MA)

Wien, 2022 / Vienna, 2022

Studienkennzahl lt. Studienblatt /
degree programme code as it appears on
the student record sheet:

A 066 811

Studienrichtung lt. Studienblatt /
degree programme as it appears on
the student record sheet:

Masterstudium Sinologie

Betreut von / Supervisor:

Univ. -Prof. Mag. Dr. Susanne Weigelin-Schwiedrzik

Abstrakt

Diese sinologische Dissertation zu Geschichte und Gedächtnis beschäftigt sich mit der Moganshan-Konferenz 1984. Diese Veranstaltung junger Ökonomen und Ökonomen mittleren Alters fand auf dem Moganshan-Berg in der Provinz Zhejiang in einer Kathedrale statt. Für die Forschungsfrage ist bedeutsam, ob – die Kathedrale von Moganshan ein “lieu de mémoire” ist und wenn ja, wie dieser Ort in ein “lieu de mémoire” umgewandelt wurde und was der Grund dafür sein könnte? In dieser Dissertation werden die “Lieux de mémoire” -Theorie von Pierre Nora und Methoden wie die Dokumentar- und Literaturanalyse verwendet. Obwohl die Konferenz in China ein Tabu ist, wird davon ausgegangen, dass der Veranstaltungsort tatsächlich zu einem “lieu de mémoire” wurde und die Teilnehmer, Organisatoren und Forscher der Konferenz Gründe und den Willen haben, sich an dieses Ereignis zu erinnern. Dies zeigt der Dokumentarfilm, der für diese Dissertation verwendet wurde. Es wird vermutet, dass einer ihrer Gründe zur Erinnerung der Wille ist, Informationen über die Konferenz zu verbreiten, um den Bruch des bestehenden Tabus zu fördern und die Bevölkerung über ihren Beitrag zur wirtschaftlichen Entwicklung Chinas durch die Einführung des zweigleisigen Preissystems zu informieren.

Abstract

This sinological thesis on history and memory deals with the Moganshan Conference 1984. This event of young and middle-aged economists was held on Moganshan Mountain in Zhejiang province in a cathedral what is significant for the research question - is the cathedral of Moganshan a “lieu de mémoire” and if yes how was this place changed into “lieu de mémoire” and what could be the reason for doing it? The “Lieux de mémoire” theory of Pierre Nora and methods such as documentary and literature analysis are used in this thesis. Although the conference is taboo in China it is assumed that the venue became indeed a “lieu de mémoire” and the participants, organizers, researchers of the conference have reasons and a will to remember this event. This is shown in the documentary film used for this thesis. It is assumed that one of their reasons to remember is the will to spread information about the conference to promote the breach of the existing taboo and let the people know about their contribution to the economic development of China by introducing the dual-track price system.

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1. Introduction

China and the development of China's economy, especially its role in the world economy is at present a very relevant topic. China is one of the largest economic powers in the world. And it also holds a leading position among the developing countries of the world. Remembering China forty years ago, it becomes immediately obvious how colossal these changes were in this country and how much work was done to achieve everything that exists in our time. China's impressive success of reform and opening-up 改革开放 has attracted worldwide attention. Furthermore, foreign attention and interest in China's reforms likewise were there forty years ago. Reforms of China are the "greatest social experiment in human history in the second half of the twentieth century" (Li Tieying, 2011: p. vii). "China's economic reforms of the 1980s achieved a series of major breakthroughs, with far-reaching implications for its economic growth" (Luo, 2010. p.31). Consequently, the reform of the 1980s laid the foundation for the success we observe in China's development towards a major global economic power center as of today. China has become a powerful pole of the world economy and is now aiming at leadership in world politics.

As Zhang Xiaobo et al. (2010) stated "after the Cultural Revolution 文化大革命 (1966–1976), China was on the verge of collapse under the planned economy system" (p.3). According to Du Runsheng 杜润生¹, "one of the architects of China's rural reform, a crisis may trigger reforms" (Zhang Xiaobo et al., 2010: p.3). Top leaders in China and the masses realized when the Cultural Revolution ended "that the planned system was not a viable option anymore and there was a consensus to change it" (Zhang Xiaobo et al., 2010: p.3). So, the future reform was a collaboration between reform-oriented members of the younger and older generations of the Chinese elite and against this background, the Moganshan Conference 1984 took place. Thus, this fact is essential for the possibility of holding a conference such as in our case the Moganshan Conference 1984 held by young and middle-aged economists of China to discuss the future economic development of the country. In this way the Chinese "top leaders were

¹ Du Runsheng - The following is some information according to Weber (2021): Du Runshen "is considered to be the 'father of rural reform' in China...together with Deng Liqun 邓力群, Du was a crucial supporter of the Rural Development Group and facilitated the rise of young reform intellectuals...he withdrew from these positions in 1989 due to his support of Zhao Ziyang 赵紫阳...Du nevertheless continued his research on rural economy and policy" (pp. 274-275).

more willing to listen to different opinions and to allow open policy debate”, that is crises may give reformers an opportunity to push their reform agenda (Zhang Xiaobo et al., 2010: p.3).

The reform and opening-up or also called the Chinese economic reform began in 1978. At first, there was a rural reform, but over time there was a need for its transition to urban reform. This was exactly the time when the Moganshan Conference 1984 was held. A major step in this transition as well as in the transition from a planned economy to a market economy was the price reform. The price reform and its related issues were also one of the topics of the conference. The Moganshan Conference of 1984 is well known for the proposal of the dual-track price system which was implemented in China after the conference. In short, the dual-track price system was needed to expand the proportion of market prices and reduce planned prices in the process of transition to the market economy.

This thesis is about remembering the Moganshan Conference 1984. Its main focus is not on any economic aspects, but on remembering the conference. Thus, parts of this study will be dedicated to memory including the theory chapter which will introduce the concept of Pierre Nora, namely the “*lieux de mémoire*” translated as realms of memory². Besides the focus on memory, the thesis will also discuss the Moganshan Conference 1984, its organization, its participants, achievements, the dual-track price system as well as the circumstances of that time, since it is significant to acquaint the reader with the history of the event.

The question of what memory is and what history is along with their interrelation in our daily lives sometimes may seem very simple at first glance. It could be said that memory is firstly our ability to preserve and reproduce former impressions, experiences, as well as the reservoir of impressions stored in our mind. On the one hand, memory is undoubtedly uncontrollable, but on the other, it may depend on our will to remember or forget something. When it comes to the term “history”, it is very common that an association with science immediately may arise. However, history may not always be related to science when it comes to history as a story or narrative. It can be for example a history of a person or a family as a narrative and not related to science. In relation to science, it could be said that it is the science of the development of society, where the past is described and documented. Moreover, this is a controlled process. And for a human being their interrelation is taken for granted, since writing history requires

² This translation is taken from Nora's book where he wrote that "these three volumes of *Realms of Memory* are, in the strongest possible sense, a translation of the seven volumes published in French under the title *Les Lieux de mémoire*" (Nora, 1996: p. XV).

memory. Scientists have their own, and more in-depth explanations of this issue and various studies have been conducted in this area.

For instance, as the French historian Nora (1989) states:

“Memory and history, far from being synonymous, appear now to be in fundamental opposition. Memory is life, borne by living societies founded in its name. It remains in permanent evolution, open to the dialectic of remembering and forgetting, unconscious of its successive deformations, vulnerable to manipulation and appropriation, susceptible to being long dormant and periodically revived. History, on the other hand, is the reconstruction, always problematic and incomplete, of what is no longer. Memory is a perpetually actual phenomenon, a bond tying us to the eternal present; history is a representation of the past.” (p 8)

Since we are discussing memory, for this study, it was of interest to investigate the concept of the French historian Pierre Nora “*Les lieux de mémoire*” as also mentioned above. “‘Sites of Memory’, a concept that lies at the heart of discussions about the intricate connections and oppositions between history, the public use of the past, and the huge centrality of memory in our media-saturated environment, between places (in a concrete and metaphorical sense), events, individual and collective figures on the one hand and French collective memory, on the other” (Dan David Prize, 2014). This concept was initially limited to the context of French history, then widely and successfully extended to other national experiences.

In this thesis, an attempt is made to use this concept concerning China, namely with one specific event which occurred in September 1984 in China, Zhejiang Province 浙江省 (an eastern coastal province of China) the Moganshan Conference. It was the First Symposium of Young and Middle-Aged Economists that was held from 3 to 10 September 1984 on Moganshan Mountain in Zhejiang province. The organizers called for papers early in March and received enthusiastic replies from young economists from universities and research institutes as well as from the young and middle-aged in government departments (Zhang, 2018). It is seen as a milestone event in China’s journey of reform and opening-up. The discussion touched on many important topics for China’s future development, and it was the first time for middle-aged and young scholars to “raise their voices collectively” (Dimly lit, 2018a). More than one hundred young scholars discussed almost all aspects of China’s reforms at that time. Furthermore, the Moganshan Conference provided important policy advice for the reforms of the 1980s (Dimly

lit, 2018a). “The Moganshan Conference is best remembered for its contribution to price reform” (Fewsmith, 1994: p. 137).

What is of great importance to this thesis, is that the opening ceremony of the Moganshan Conference and the Conference itself was held in the most magnificent cathedral No. 450 in Moganshan 莫干山. On June 23, 2018, the cathedral was once again opened to the public. Though, this time it received a new name “the Moganshan Conference Site Memorial Hall” “莫干山会议旧址纪念馆” and moreover, there is now an exhibition dedicated to the Moganshan Conference 1984. This exhibition is important since it is a place where the Moganshan Conference 1984 is remembered and appreciated. The majestic architecture and detailed historical exhibitions attracted visitors from all over the world to stop there and visit it, according to the second episode of the documentary (Dimly lit, 2018b).

As already mentioned, there is a new documentary about the Moganshan Conference 1984 which consists of five episodes and will be used in this study. The whole story from the organization of this conference to the opening of “the Moganshan Conference Site Memorial Hall” is told in these five episodes, including interviews with organizers, participants, and researchers of this event.

It is of particular interest to investigate, whether this cathedral, which is the location of such an important conference, could be or was made to a realm of memory as in the concept of Pierre Nora. Based on that, the question which is raised in this thesis is, “is the cathedral of Moganshan a ‘lieu de mémoire’ and if yes how was this place changed into ‘lieu de mémoire’ and what could be the reason for doing it?”

With this aim in mind, an attempt will be made in this thesis to find out what is the process of establishing a “lieu de mémoire” or in other words, what are the conditions for the existence of a “lieu de mémoire”. And consequently, an effort will be made using these findings to figure out whether the cathedral fits into this concept of realms of memory as questioned above.

One of the important facts for this thesis is that the Moganshan Conference was tabooed³ for a long time, as many of the participants either left the country or were punished in one way or

³ The 1989 Tiananmen Movement, known in Chinese as “June Fourth” “六四事件”, was the most serious open conflict between the Chinese Communist regime and the Chinese people since the establishment of the People’s Republic of China 中华人民共和国 in 1949, and it remains politically taboo in China today (He, 2012: p. 57). The Moganshan Conference is until now tabooed due to its relationship with Zhao Ziyang who “was

the other after June 4, 1989. Despite this, participants tried to push the public acknowledgment of the importance of the conference by inserting its name in some publications. However, as it will be seen later some books in English already discussed this event, for instance Fewsmith (1994), Keyser (2003), and Zhang (2018), or even chapters written by participants of the conference such as Luo (2010) and Chang (2020) that discussed the conference in detail. Thus, a tendency is seen that over time more information appears on this topic as in these written sources and the documentary film. It should be noted that these books, information about these books appears when searching for them in Baidu. Some news in Chinese language can be found on the Moganshan Conference 1984 likewise there are short articles in English as ChinaDaily (2012), as well as some interviews in Chinese such as an interview with the researcher Liu Hong 柳红⁴ published on NetEase (2010) on the topic “Restore the obscured history of the 1980s”. Some of the articles found in Baidu written in Chinese language in China Daily that contain information about the conference are a bit longer than regular news articles and some of them include interviews with participants of the conference such as ChinaDaily (2010), ChinaDaily (2016).

This work is structured as follows, first, the concept and the definitions of the documentary film will be presented in order to be able to analyze the documentary used in this thesis. As the second step, the concept of “*lieux de mémoire*” of Nora is introduced as the theoretical framework for my analysis. The attempt is also taken to identify what are the parameters that should be there for a realm of memory to exist as well as to try to understand what the process of its establishment is. As the third step, the Moganshan Conference 1984 will be introduced as it is presented in written sources used for this thesis. This is followed by the next chapter where the conference will be discussed as it was presented in the documentary film about the meeting. Both chapters introduce the circumstances of 1984 and the Moganshan Conference as well as its achievements. This will help us to understand which meaning it has for China and

ousted in 1989 because of his conciliatory attitude towards the pro-democracy movement” (Hua, Zhang & Luo 1993: p.44).

In 1989 there were student-led demonstrations in China and college students’ strike on Tiananmen Square 天安门. This ended on the 4th of June with the People Liberation Army 中国人民解放军 firing at the demonstrators and those who were trying to block the advance of the military. There were numbers of deaths and injuries. As according to He (2012) afterwards, intellectuals and student leaders were purged, imprisoned, and exiles. And within the country itself, memory was manipulated and suppressed.

⁴ Liu Hong - a prominent researcher of the Moganshan Conference 1984, an important expert on the Moganshan Conference and the wife of Zhu Jiaming 朱嘉明, who was one of the organizers of the Moganshan conference.

for those people who took part in it. The fourth step in this thesis is to compare the two versions of sources talking about the same event to identify whether there are differences in narration. This will help to determine if the information in the documentary completely coincides with the written sources or if something is missing or, on the contrary, is present. Further, the next section of the discussion consists of two parts. The first discusses the documentary film using the information from the concept of documentary filmmaking. The second discusses the cathedral and the Moganshan Conference Site Memorial Hall as a “lieux de mémoire” using the concepts from the theory chapter. In this section, the research questions of this thesis are going to be answered. It is also important to mention not only the cathedral itself but to discuss the establishment of the Moganshan Conference Site Memorial Hall as it is currently also a part of it. Subsequently, further significant for the above questions is to analyze, given the information from Nora’s concept, the process of how the cathedral became a “lieu de mémoire” and the possible reasons for building it. The thesis will end with the conclusions drawn from my research.

2. Methods and theory

In this section the methods and the theory are introduced. The part written about methods also include the concept of documentary filmmaking. The theory discusses the “lieux de mémoire” of Pierre Nora used in this thesis.

2.1. Methods

The methods chosen for this study are documentary and literature analysis. First, a literature search is carried out and, as a second step, the literature analysis is carried out, which is composed of the content analysis and the presentation of the literature. A literature review is “an objective, thorough summary and critical analysis of the relevant research available” (Cronin et al., 2008, p.38). The aim of the literature is not only to engage readers of current literature in the key issues in the research but also to highlight gaps in this area that still need to be addressed (Cronin et al., 2008, Cohen et al., 2011 as cited in Chen 2016).

There was a systematic literature analysis using Google Scholar, JSTOR, Springer, searches in online libraries of universities such as the University of Vienna. Keywords were mostly used in English and Chinese language, such as the Moganshan Conference, price reform, the dual-track price system, Moganshan cathedral, “lieux de mémoire”, “Site of memory”, Realm of memory”.

During the search for sources, it turned out that, there were no studies that deal with my research question and the building of the cathedral of the Moganshan Conference as a “lieu de mémoire”. However, there are studies about the conference and its achievements. For instance, the study of Zhang (2018) with the title “China’s Price Liberalization and Market Reform: A Historical Perspective” mentioned the Moganshan Conference 1984 and discussed the dual-track price system. Authors like Catherine Keyser (2003) and Joseph Fewsmith (1994) also wrote about the important conference of 1984. Some other sources are of particular value since they are written by participants of the meeting and convey the information obtained firsthand. These are the chapters written by Luo (2010) and Chang (2020) in the books “Narratives of Chinese Economic Reforms: How Does China Cross the River?” and “Historical Perspectives on Chinese Economics (1949–2011)” respectively. As can be seen, all these books are mostly about China’s economy, its development, its reforms. They are significant for this thesis since the Moganshan Conference of 1984 was a part of this important process for the country. Another important source for this thesis is the documentary film on the Moganshan Conference

1984, which consists of five episodes and tells the whole story from the idea and organization of this meeting to the opening of “the Moganshan Conference Site Memorial Hall” and the exhibition, including the interviews with organizers, participants and researchers of this event, including the discussion of the reform issues, and the dual-track price system. For this reason, it is also an important source for this study since it provides us with adequate information about this issue. Furthermore, the documentary reveals information about the venue of the conference by showing the cathedral where the conference was held and narrates the story of its restoration as well as the new opening of the cathedral what is important for doing the analysis regarding the “*lieu de mémoire*”. Another important source is the one where the concept of “*lieux de mémoire*” is explained, such as the book of Nora (1996) “*Realms of Memory: The Construction of the French Past*”.

This thesis uses the documentary film on Moganshan Conference 1984 as an important source. Thus, it is significant to present specific information regarding documentary film analysis and filmmaking. For this reason, the next section is dedicated to documentary film, its definition, modes, voices, and other specific information regarding this issue. Furthermore, it is significant to find out whether films and documentaries can also be a part of the process of creating a “realm of memory”. It is assumed that the creation of the Moganshan documentary film is an important link in the creation of the conference venue as a “*lieu de mémoire*”.

2.2. Documentary filmmaking

Documentary films began according to Aufderheide (2007) in the last years of the nineteenth century with the first films ever projected, and they had many faces. In the text, the author worked on the question of what a documentary film is, and a simple answer can be that it is a movie about real life. Aufderheide (2007) pointed out that this statement is exactly the problem indicating that:

“...documentaries are about real life; they are not real life. They are not even windows onto real life. They are portraits of real life, using real life as their raw material, constructed by artists and technicians who make myriad decisions about what story to tell to whom, and for what purpose.” (p.2)

The word “documentary” appeared first in the early thirties together and is associated with the name of John Grierson who defined documentary as the creative treatment of actuality (Hardy, 1966). John Grierson was a British documentary filmmaker and producer. Citing Grierson’s definition Carl Plantinga (2005) wrote that this characterization at the same time differentiates

the documentary from fiction film, which is not thought to be mainly a treatment of actuality and from the non-fiction film, which is not thought to be dramatic or creative. Nichols (2017) wrote that it can be argued that documentary has never had a very exact definition. When the author discussed Grierson's definition, he wrote that it also "leaves unresolved the obvious tension between creative treatment and actuality", since "creative treatment suggests the license of fiction, whereas actuality reminds us of the responsibilities of the journalist and historian" (Nichols, 2017: p.18). Further, the author stated that "that neither term has full sway, that the documentary form balances creative vision with a respect for the historical world, identifies, in fact, one source of a documentary appeal" (p.18). Bernard (2010) stated that "documentaries bring viewers into new worlds and experiences through the presentation of factual information about real people, places, and events, generally - but not always - portrayed through the use of actual images and artifacts" (p.1).

Nichols (2017) discussed three commonsense assumptions about the documentary to better understand documentaries. The first is that documentaries are about reality, about something that in fact occurred. So, documentary films refer directly to the historical world. The second is that they are about real people. These people are not actors to play a role as it is done in theater or fiction films, they present themselves or play themselves. In this case, there is a direct address to the audience or camera and the people are themselves, which is very rare in fiction films. The third is that they tell stories about what happens in the real world, which relates to the storytelling ability of documentaries. Documentaries tell stories about changes that happen as time goes by, how these changes occur in narrative or expository form as well as who creates these changes. These changes have a beginning, middle, and end. Direct factual statements are informative, however not necessarily fascinating thus Nichols (2017) stated that "documentaries tell us about the world by telling stories or commenting on a situation with the tools of engagement forged by storytelling and rhetoric" (p.20).

These three commonsense definitions can now be modified into one more precise definition as stated by Nichols (2017):

"Documentary film speaks about situations and events involving real people (social actors) who present themselves within a framework. This frame conveys a plausible perspective on the lives, situations, and events portrayed. The distinct point of view of the filmmaker shapes the film into a way of understanding the historical world directly rather than through a fictional allegory." (p.23)

The problem with the definition is that the above one leaves a lot of room for creative interpretation, however when using one of the short definitions it is necessary to remember that brevity conceals complexity, and a very detailed definition does not differentiate amidst various kinds of the documentary (Nichols, 2017).

Regarding the question of who tells the documentary stories, Bernard (2010) stated that the range and width of documentary filmmaking around the world are truly amazing. In her work Bernard (2010) described that:

“Some documentary filmmakers work within production houses or stations; many more work independently, with varying degrees of financial and technical support from national or local governments, commissioning stations or broadcast venues, and/or foundations and corporations. Some filmmakers work to reach regional or local audiences, including community groups; others strive for national theatrical or broadcast release and acclaim at prestigious film festivals; a growing number put their work online, reaching virtual communities.” (p.7)

Interestingly Nichols (2017) wrote that another way to define documentary films is to say that “documentaries are what the organizations and institutions that produce them make” (p.24).

In his discussion of the documentary film, Plantinga (2005) wrote that different types of the documentary can be variously categorized and that the most influential conceptual mapping comes from Bill Nichols. This film scholar, namely Bill Nichols, proposed six subgenres or modes, as he calls them, of the documentary: expository, observational, poetic, participatory, reflexive, and performative (Nichols, 2017). As Plantinga (2005) pointed out each of the modes appeared at a certain time, some have come into and fallen out of favor, and they are all subject to the whims of fashion and critical practice. Thus, the documentary depending on the period, on the subgenre, on the mode, on the filmmaker can address the historical world in various ways and use different cinematic techniques, furthermore, there may be a mix of modes in the documentary. Nichols discussed these modes in detail in his book with the addition of the seventh mode. And again, each mode can be affected by the filmmaker, the national emphases, and period tendencies as the author explained. Below all the seven modes are listed with a brief description taken from Nichols’s (2017) book.

“Poetic mode: emphasizes visual associations, tonal or rhythmic qualities, descriptive passages, and formal organization. This mode bears a close proximity to experimental, personal, and avant-garde filmmaking.

Expository mode: emphasizes voice-over commentary, a problem/solution structure, an argumentative logic, and evidentiary editing. This is the mode that most people associate with documentary in general.

Observational mode: emphasizes a direct engagement with the everyday life of subjects as observed by an unobtrusive camera. The filmmaker does not interact with subjects but only observes them.

Participatory mode: emphasizes the interaction between filmmaker and subject. Filming takes place by means of interviews or other forms of even more direct involvement, such as conversations or provocations. This mode is often coupled with archival footage to examine historical issues.

Reflexive mode: calls attention to the assumptions and conventions that govern documentary filmmaking. This mode increases our awareness of the constructedness of the film's representation of reality.

Performative mode: emphasizes the subjective or expressive aspect of the filmmaker's own involvement with a subject; it strives to heighten the audience's responsiveness to this involvement. It rejects notions of objectivity in favor of evocation and affect. The films in this mode all share qualities with experimental and personal films. They share a strong emphasis on what it feels like to inhabit the world in a specific way or as part of a specific subculture.

Interactive mode: permits viewers of interactive or web-based documentaries to make choices that alter what they see and hear. The filmmakers provide a database of material on a given subject and allow viewers to choose how they access it by interactive, digital means. This grants to the viewer the interactive potential that the participatory mode grants to the filmmaker. This mode departs from the centuries-old tradition of the finished work and embraces the interactive modalities made possible by digital technology. It is mentioned here but not discussed at length in this edition, given its relatively immature state." (p.33)

Mostly when we watch a fiction film, we are willing to rest, have fun, but when we watch a documentary film, we want to learn something or expect to find new ways to see the world, understand how someone else represents it, and so forth. The documentary film shares knowledge and information through stories. As Nichols (2017) pointed out documentary films

use evidence to assert something like, “That is so,” paired with a silent “Isn't it?” and this statement is expressed in the rhetorical or narrative power of the representation (p.36). So, documentary films thus suggest a sound and visual representation of some part of the historical world. They protect or present the opinions of individuals, groups, and institutions. They as well transmit “impressions, make proposals, tell stories, mount arguments, or offer perspectives of their own, setting out to persuade us to accept their views” (Nichols, 2017: p. 40).

2.2.1. Documentary film and memory

As already mentioned, documentaries are about reality, they often provide us with new information, but they also help us remember historical moments and events. The stories and memories about the past are incorporated in books, albums, textbooks, letters, documentary films, and many other places. And every person has his or her memories of the past. As Dijck (2007) stated, a lot of people have as she said a shoebox in which they keep a diversity of items “signaling their pasts: photos, albums, letters, diaries, clippings, notes and so forth” (p.1). The author pointed out that by adding the audio and videotape recordings as well as all digital counterparts of these items to this collection we get what she calls “mediated memory” that we care about. All of them mediate “remembrances of things past” and “relationships between individuals and groups of any kind (such as a family, school classes, and scouting clubs), and they are made by media technologies” (Dijck, 2007: p1). So, it is clear, that watching a documentary film can trigger our memory or if we hear this narrative for the first time it adds to the construction of our memory. Bondebjerg (2014) likewise wrote that stories are also associated with the history, with our memory of the past, both our own and our collective past. The author also pointed out that “memory is an important dimension of our interaction with and communication about reality as narrative and emotions: memory is about constructing a coherent narrative about our past” (Bondebjerg, 2014: p.17).

According to Nichols (2017), the connection “between documentary and the historical world is deep and profound”, and the “documentary adds a new dimension to popular memory and social history” (p.38). He also pointed out that documentaries engage with the world by representing it.

Bondebjerg (2014) also stated that documentaries are significant for structuring our understanding of the historical past, as well as for our personal and collective memory. When writing about memory Bondebjerg (2014) stated that:

“Memory is a cognitive, emotional dimension through which humans combine short-term memory and long-term memory. Memory generally works on several levels and is most strongly activated when ‘data’ from the past are condensed in narrative images and stories.” (p.18)

It is evident that there is an interconnection between documentaries, memories, and history and scholars engage with these topics. However, it should not be forgotten that documentaries are produced by someone. The filmmakers of documentary films dealing with historical events according to Leeuw (2007) can be viewed as historiographers in the sense that they reconstruct and recreate history. She pointed out that “documentary films thus create sites for remembering, by rewriting history through representations” (Leeuw, 2007: p75). In her paper, Leeuw (2007) discussed documentary film as a site of memory. She wrote that at the end of the 1980s there was a renewed interest in narrating stories about the past and that this seemed “even more true for filmmakers, who often try and fill the gaps in historiography by focusing on history from below (using ordinary people as witnesses) as a confrontation with official history” and that “alternatively, they discuss historiography as such by using cinematic devices to reveal history as representation” (p.76).

It can be summarized that documentaries represent the world, and they depend on their documentary mode, on the period produced, on political and other circumstances, on the filmmaker, and his views, on technologies used, and so on. Through their narratives and images, documentary films trigger our memory about the past by representing data from the past. They also intend to provide us with knowledge and information and to structure our understanding of the past or any current event. Thus, documentary films help shape our memory by telling stories about the past. Moreover, documentary can itself be “realm of memory” as mentioned above. This fact confirms the above assumption that documentaries can also be a part of the process of creating a “realm of memory” and thus the statement that the creation of the Moganshan documentary film is an important link in the creation of the conference venue as a “*lieu de mémoire*”.

2.2.2. Filmmakers, actors, and audience

Bill Nichols (2017) also explained that there are various forms of a threefold interaction in the documentary film between filmmakers, subjects or social actors, and the audience or viewers. It is clear that there is someone who creates this documentary, someone who participates in it, and someone who watches it. An appropriate way to think about this interaction according to

Nichols (2017) includes a verbal formulation of this three-way relationship and there are several such formulations in documentary film. Nichols (2017) states that the most classic formulation in this context would be: “I speak about them to you” (p.51). There are different possibilities to do so. It can be a professional person who is a commentator. It is also called the voice-of-God commentator, who is not seen but the viewer hears him or her. Another possibility is when the filmmaker speaks the commentary either on-camera or off-camera. And in this case, the filmmaker also becomes a character in the documentary film. There is another way to separate speaker and subject by using the pronoun “them” and the viewer is asked to examine the subject. Also, the pronoun “you” suggests a separation, when someone, let us say the filmmaker, speaks and another, the viewer, listens. The viewer is not only the one who is addressed by the filmmaker but also is an audience for whom this question is important. Clearly this formulation “I speak about them to you” is the most common but not the only formulation. Various formulations allow various interactions between the filmmaker, subject, and viewer. Nichols (2017) gives and explains some of them in his book. Some other examples are “It speaks about them (or it) to us” and “I (or we) speak about us to you” (pp.53-54).

2.2.3. Voices in the documentary and categories of voice

It was already discussed that the historical world is represented by documentary films, which gives it a visible and audible form. Nichols (2017) stated that documentaries are one of the diverse voices that give shape to our world, namely “from written histories to political parties and from religious leaders to urban planners” and that as a whole “these voices come together in an arena of social debate and contestation, an arena sometimes called the public sphere” (p.58).

The documentary voice makes claims, offers points of view, and awakens feelings, and in every documentary, it can have a peculiar way of offering its vision of the world. Documentaries try to convince the viewers with the power of their point of view and voice. Thus, according to the author, the voice is “a question of how the reasoning, analysis, feelings, and values in a documentary become conveyed to the us” (Nichols, 2017: pp.58-59). Clearly, the documentary shows us, the viewers, the world we are living in and speaks to us about it. And the voice of the documentary speaks to the viewers as social actors of this historical world.

“The voice of documentary is not limited to the voices of unseen ‘gods’ and visible ‘authorities’ who represent the filmmaker’s point of view—who speak for the film, or to social actors who represent their own points of view—who speak in the film but to all means of communication,

be they verbal or nonverbal” (Nichols, 2017: p.60). Nichols (2017) stated that “these means can be summarized as the selection and arrangement of sound and image” (p.60).

Nichols (2017) wrote about categories of voice in documentary film, which can be explicit and implicit. In the first case, the form of voice is spoken or written. In the second, the voice is embedded in all representations available to the filmmaker, except for explicit comments.

Explaining the direct address to the camera or audience Nichols (2017) pointed out that “this creates the sense that the film is making a proposal to us about the nature of the historical world: ‘Things are like this, aren’t they?’ or even about how they might be different: ‘Things could be like this, couldn’t they?’” (p.62). Then there is a division between embodied and disembodied. Embodied is when the person or social actor is seen. In one case it can be a voice of authority like a news anchor, reporter. The opposite is the case when in an interview the interviewee is seen, and the interviewer may be seen or heard. Disembodied is when the speaker is not seen. In one case it can be the voice of God or voice-over commentary, and in the other case, it can be titles or intertitles as printed material addressed to the viewer. The voice of God is when we only hear “gods”, namely people who are chosen for the film because of their voice or it may also be a professional voice-over expert.

Explaining the indirect address is not aimed at the audience directly like it is done in fiction Nichols (2017) pointed out that “in documentary, this creates the sense that the film is offering a perspective on aspects or qualities of the historical world. It offers less overt guidance than direct address would but nonetheless enlists our consent and involvement: ‘This is one way to view the world; what do you make of it?’” (p.63). There is a division between embodied and disembodied. Embodied is transmitted by social actors, it allows the viewers to watch how social actors go about their lives. Disembodied is transmitted by film technique, so it is a form of the film when the director communicates things to the viewer through editing, composition, camera angle, music, and effects. The viewer must interpret how these aspects of the director’s voice speak to them.

In conclusion of this part, it should be mentioned that the information presented in the documentary film can be based on the filmmaker’s personal vision, or based on the stories of different people. Thus, it is clear that the documentary film can present many different points of view on something. The audience has the opportunity to get acquainted with these stories and evaluate the film by itself. However, since the documentary reveals various personal views

on something, it means that the filmmaker presents a subjective vision of the events in his film. This complies with the documentary film used in this thesis.

2.3. The concept of “lieux de memoire”

In this section, the concept of “lieux de memoire” will be presented and discussed as well as the reasons of choosing this concept for this thesis. The ultimate challenge will be the ability to identify what criteria need to be fulfilled to identify a realm of memory. Only if we know the criteria are we able to determine whether a particular place is a “lieu de memoire”.

The concept of “lieux de memoire” was introduced by the French scientist Pierre Nora in the early 80s of the XX. century. It was introduced by Pierre Nora in his seven-volume work titled “Les lieux de memoire (1984-1992)”. Initially, Nora applied this concept to France but as time passed numerous works were published that applied this concept to their respective national and regional histories. Thus, this concept was translated into other languages. According to Kritzman (1996) “conceived as a history of France through memory, Nora’s work not only demonstrates how memory binds communities together and creates social identities but also dramatizes how one’s consciousness of the past is symptomatic of the disappearance of certain living traditions” (p. ix).

As already mentioned in the introduction the English translation of “lieux de memoire” is “realms of memory”. These sites or realms are not only geographical places as some might think. Of course, it can be a geographical place such as a square or park for instance, but it is not limited to this. The place where national memory is embodied can be a book, a monument, an emblem, and many other examples which will be explained later. Pierre Nora (1989) wrote that his “interest in lieux de memoire where memory crystallizes and secretes itself has occurred at a particular historical moment, a turning point where consciousness of a break with the past is bound up with the sense that memory has been torn-but torn in such a way as to pose the problem of the embodiment of memory in certain sites where a sense of historical continuity persists” (p.7). He pointed out that there are sites of memory because there are no longer milieux de memoire, which means the real environments of memory. In addition to this statement Kritzman (1996) pointed out that the formation “of ‘realms of memory’ is the result of modern society’s inability to live within real memory; the consecration of a ‘realm of memory’ takes place because real environments of memory have disappeared” (p.xii). Thus, “the projection of a ‘realm of memory’ is therefore the sign of memory’s disappearance and society’s need to represent what ostensibly no longer exists” (p. xii). Although the name of the

concept does not seem difficult to understand, the concept itself needs a better explanation to be able to understand what Pierre Nora understood under the term of sites of memory.

Regarding the definition Pierre Nora (1996) stated that if the term “*lieu de memoire*” must have an official definition it should be the following:

“*Lieu de memoire* is any significant entity, whether material or nonmaterial in nature, which by dint of human will or the work of time has become a symbolic element of the memorial heritage of any community.” (p. xii)

“*Lieux de memoire* are simple and ambiguous, natural and artificial, at once immediately available in concrete sensual experience and susceptible to the most abstract elaboration” (Nora, 1989: p.18). As stated by Nora (1989), “indeed, they are *lieux* in three senses of the word - material, symbolic, and functional” (p. 18-19). These are places in which, in the opinion of Pierre Nora, national memory is embodied, for instance, these are monuments, holidays, rituals, emblems, celebrations in honor of people or events, farewell, funeral speeches. To better understand what may apply to each of the three aspects, the author gave examples. The first example is a material site such as an archive which is obviously a purely material site. Nora wrote that “only if the imagination invests it with a symbolic aura”, it can become a site of memory (Nora, 1989: p.19). The second example is a “functional site, like a classroom manual, a testament, or a veteran’s reunion” which are all purely functional sites and belong to this “category only inasmuch as it is also the object of a ritual” (Nora, 1989: p.19). And the third example, “the observance of a commemorative minute of silence, an extreme example of a strictly symbolic action, serves as a concentrated appeal to memory by literally breaking a temporal continuity” (Nora, 1989: p.19). Furthermore, Pierre Nora pointed out that all these three aspects always coexist. In order to illustrate his idea, Nora (1989) provided as an example the notion of a historical generation: “it is material by its demographic content, and supposedly functional - since memories are crystallized and transmitted from one generation to the next - but it is also symbolic, since it characterizes, by referring to events or experiences shared by a small minority, a larger group that may not have participated in them” (p.19). There is also a statement by Kritzman (1996) that Nora’s conception of memory is broad:

“he uses it to discuss geographical place or locus (Reims, Paris, the prehistoric caves of Lascaux), historical figures (Joan of Arc), monuments and buildings (Versailles and the Eiffel Tower), literary and artistic objects (Descartes' Discourse on Method and Proust's Remembrance of Things Past), emblems, commemorations, and symbols (the

French flag, the ‘Marseillaise’) all of which are the result of an imaginary process that codifies and represents the historical consciousness of ‘quintessential France’.” (p. x)

Konczal (2012) discussed Nora’s concept in her study arguing that the site of memory can be material or immaterial and that it has become part of the memorial heritage of the community by the will of people or the action of time. And she also mentioned the points of crystallization of our national heritage. Konczal (2012) stresses that despite the “topographic dimension suggested by the notion, a *lieu de mémoire* may designate a real site or venue, a real or mythic figure, events and occurrences, songs, symbols, literary texts, festivities, rituals, institutions, and so on” (p.7). Furthermore, she showed the productiveness of the site of memory approach in other countries providing a comparative analysis of the research perspective developed by the French historian in the 1980s, with its Italian, German, Austrian, Dutch, Luxembourgian, Russian, Belgian, and Swiss representations.

So, Nora (1989) claims that to start with there must be something to remember. He writes that, if we were to abandon this criterion, we would quickly drift into admitting virtually everything as worthy of remembrance. According to Nora (1989), “without the intention to remember, *lieux de mémoire* would be indistinguishable from *lieux d'histoire*” (p.19). In other words, when the memory is disappeared the site of memory can be dedicated to it. If memory existed, then we would still live in this memory, and it would not be necessary to dedicate places to it. However, there is a statement by Montano (2008) that in some cases the sites of memory do not need someone, a group of people to provide memorial force to them, since they “contain this memorial force in themselves” or in some cases they “receive it with the passage of time; others are created with the express intention of providing artifacts to aid memory and, with time, authenticate this intention” (p. 8).

According to Nora (1989), “the *lieux* we speak of, then, are mixed, hybrid, mutant, bound intimately with life and death, with time and eternity; enveloped in a Mobius strip of the collective and the individual, the sacred and the profane, the immutable and the mobile” (p.19). He stated that “if we accept that the most fundamental purpose of the ‘*lieux de mémoire*’ is to stop time, to block the work of forgetting, to establish a state of things, to immortalize death, to materialize the immaterial-just as if gold were the only memory of money-all of this in order to capture a maximum of meaning in the fewest of signs, it is also clear that, ‘*lieux de mémoire*’ only exist because of their capacity for metamorphosis, an endless recycling of their meaning and an unpredictable proliferation of their ramifications” (p.19). So, the meaning a society

associates with certain sites of memory does not necessarily remain constant throughout history. The site of memory has its symbolic role, which is the main role, and they create ideas of society about itself and its history. However, as already mentioned above by Nora, sites of memory can carry different meanings and this meaning can change, which is an important characteristic of “lieux de mémoire”.

One further interesting statement in Nora’s work (1989) is that:

“contrary to historical objects, however, ‘lieux de mémoire’ have no referent in reality; or, rather, they are their own referent: pure, exclusively self-referential signs. This is not to say that they are without content, physical presence, or history; it is to suggest that what makes them ‘lieux de mémoire’ is precisely that by which they escape from history. In this sense, the ‘lieux de mémoire’ is double: a site of excess closed upon itself, concentrated in its own name, but also forever open to the full range of its possible significations”. (pp.23-24)

From all the above mentioned, we can conclude that a “lieu de mémoire” be it material, symbolic, or functional triggers our memories, as already said the place where cultural memory and identity crystallize. As Matten (2012) stated “a place can create a collective identity because it constitutes such a symbolic entity, created by narrative means in literary, as well as political, writings, and by worship rituals and ceremonies”, and “it forms a focal point of identity, a place with which everyone can identify” (p.6).

In the book “Places of Memory in Modern China” Matten (2012) stated, that according to Nora, “a place of memory constitutes a symbolic entity that relates the physical place to the collective memory, a place where (cultural) memory crystallizes and secretes itself” (p.5). Further Matten (2012) wrote that Nora’s idea of “lieux de mémoire includes geographical places, historical personalities, monuments, emblems, and symbols. Thus, not only ideas, but also material realities can represent an idea of collective identity” (p.5).

Further, to comprehend how “lieux de mémoire” and cultural memory are interconnected let us have a look at what Jan Assmann writes in his works. Memory is the ability that allows “us to form an awareness of selfhood (identity), both on the personal and on the collective level” (Assmann, 2008: p.109). He further wrote that identity is related to time and that for time, identity, and memory three levels can be distinguished, namely the individual, the social, and the cultural (Assmann 2013; Assmann 2008). Thus, it can as well be distinguished between individual, social, and cultural memory. Assmann (2013) pointed out that the concept of social

or collective memory was developed by Halbwachs. However, Assmann (2008) stated that Halbwachs “was careful to keep his concept of collective memory apart from the realm of traditions, transmissions, and transferences” which Assmann proposed to include in the term of cultural memory (p.110). Assmann (2013) wrote that they retained Halbwach’s distinction by breaking his concept of collective memory into two, namely the communicative and the cultural memory, however they insist on treating the cultural domain, which Halbwachs excluded, as another form of memory. Thus, Assmann is not in favor of replacing Halbwach’s idea of collective memory with cultural memory. He rather distinguished both forms as two different *modi memorandi*, ways of memorizing (Assmann 2013; Assmann 2008).

Assmann (2013) pointed out that we may thus distinguish between embodied and embedded memory. He further wrote that “personal memory is embodied in our brain and neuro-mental system, social memory is embedded in the constellations of social communication but still embodied in the brains of the participants and cultural memory is neatly disembodied, exteriorized, objectified and embedded in cultural institutions such as rituals, feasts, texts, archives, all kinds of symbolic forms that, unlike the sounds of words or the sight of gestures are stable and situation-transcendent, able to be transferred from one situation to another and transmitted from one generation to another” (Assmann, 2013: p.37). However, in order to work as a memory, its symbolic forms must not only be preserved but also spread and reincarnate in society. Further Assmann (2013) stated that the disembodied condition of cultural memory is the ground that, until recently, it was not recognized as a form of memory, as conventional wisdom would state that memory requires a mind. Therefore, he continues, things “like Marcel Prousts famous Madeleine, or monuments, archives, libraries, anniversaries, feasts, icons, symbols, land- and town-scapes cannot have or carry memory because they lack a mind” (Assmann, 2013: p.37). However, this objection is based on an absolute misunderstanding. Neither Proust, nor Halbwachs, nor anyone else who utilized the expression of collective memory ever believed that collective or cultural memory exists in something that has no mind (Assmann 2013). Things obviously do not have a memory of their own, however, they can cause someone to remember, things can trigger our memory since these things carry the memories that we have put into them, things like dishes, rituals, texts, images, feasts, landscapes etcetera. And here Assmann (2013) came to the conclusion that “this interaction between a remembering mind and a reminding object is the reason why the realm of things and especially of the things meant as reminders, that is, monuments and *lieux de mémoire* have to be included into our concept of memory” (p.37). Moreover, the author stated, groups do not

have a memory as individuals do, but they can make themselves a memory by erecting monuments, taking care of their “lieux de mémoire” and developing various cultural (mnemo-) techniques that support memory or promote forgetfulness.

The just mentioned statement of Assmann about the remembering mind and the reminding object is exactly the interaction of an individual or a group and the “lieu de mémoire”. The “lieu de mémoire” triggers the memory which is in the mind of an individual or a group. And it is already known that people must have the will to remember, otherwise there would be no reason for a “lieux de mémoire”. So, one of the conditions for a site of memory to exist is the will to remember and another would be the work of time. Through these triggers, anything can become a symbolic element of the memorial heritage of any community.

This concept was chosen for this thesis because it is related to the memory of a specific event. We are also talking about a group of people who remember an event that happened many years ago and they themselves were the participants of this event. With the aim of creating memory, and most likely for the purpose of disseminating information, a documentary was created about this event of Moganshan Conference 1984. Also, a memorial hall has now been built at the conference venue, namely in the cathedral, information about which is also being disseminated by a documentary film. It is easy to see that there is a desire among conference participants and other documentary film members such as researchers showed in the film, workers of the memorial hall and filmmakers to remember this event. Moreover, the fact that there is a place that is memorable for all of them and that this place triggers their memory makes this concept of the realms of memory even more suitable. This cathedral and this memorial hall serve as an object of remembrance. Therefore, an attempt will be made in this thesis to identify whether this place, namely the cathedral, was changed into a “lieu de mémoire” and what could be the reason for doing so.

Regarding the concept of the collective memory of Maurice Halbwachs mentioned above and the concept of communicative and cultural memory of Jan Assmann, both are very valuable for the studies of memory. However, the concept of Pierre Nora concentrates on memory, place, and their interconnection and even the name of the concept speaks for itself. The fact that place is a key notion of Pierre Nora’s idea about memory and that this thesis deals with a location and its related memories made me take the decision to choose concept of “lieux de mémoire” as the theoretical framework for my analysis.

3. Discussion of the Moganshan Conference 1984 in written sources

3.1. The circumstances before the conference and their impact

Discussing the environment in which the idea of the dual-track price reform was formed in one part of his paper Luo (2010), who participated in the Moganshan Conference concentrated on the relationship between crisis and reform. He stated that “without the disaster of the Cultural Revolution, there would have been no reform in China – this is a consensus view among many who experienced this historical period” (Luo, 2010: p.33). Luo (2010) pointed out the major breakthroughs in China in the late 1970s soon after the launch of the reforms and that “reform initiative was a very good Pareto optimization” (p.33). It is known that the Cultural Revolution ended in 1976 and the reform and opening-up otherwise called the Chinese economic reform began in 1978 just two years later. Luo (2010) writes that after the Cultural Revolution there was a rare spontaneous public rationality, which “was expressed not only in widespread public concern for politics and eagerness to participate, but especially within the power-holding strata, the civil elites, and in open public exchanges between the two. Many young people concerned with public politics not only enjoyed unprecedented freedom of communication but could frankly exchange political views among themselves” (p.35).

A new era of reform and opening-up in China was opened in December 1978 when “the Third Plenary Session of the Eleventh CPC Central Committee made the decision on economic system reform” (Chang, 2020: p.126). In the first years, the reform was met by quite some difficulties and was focused on the rural areas. Later in 1984, the question of how to broaden the rural reform needed to be decided upon. The Twelfth CPC Central Committee was scheduled to decide on its Third Plenary Session in October 1984 on several important issues regarding economic system reform (Chang, 2020).

China’s economic reform entered a qualitatively different phase by the end of 1984 and for China’s reforms, this year was crucial since the focus shifted to urban reform (Fewsmith, 1994; Keyser, 2003). According to Keyser (2003) the year 1984 is “called a watershed year in China’s transition because it marks the entrance of the young reformers as political actors, creative thinkers, and frontline activists for remaking China’s economy” (p.xx). In other words, this year “gave the young reformers their first major success at organizing professionally” (Keyser, 2003: p.xx).

According to Chang (2020), who took part in the Moganshan Conference 1984, the most important question was whether China should carry on with “the traditional planned economic system or the variation of a planned economic system characterized by ‘taking planned economy as the dominant part and market regulation as supplementation’ or they should open up a new road of socialist commodity economy” (p.126). It was necessary according to Chang (2020) that for this and other important questions different “parties in the society, including middle-aged and young economists, could make proposals and suggestions to the central authorities before the Third Plenary Session of the Twelfth CPC Central Committee could make decisions on economic system reform as scheduled” (p. 127). After the Third Plenary Session of the Eleventh CPC Central Committee, the thought liberation movement was unfolded and thus a lot of good talents were mobilized.

So, the situation changed a lot and there were new possibilities also for the young generation, which consequently became the opportunity to participate in the reform path. According to Luo (2020), a significant amount of elite youth was allowed to return to the political centre, due to “the return of educated youth to the city after the Cultural Revolution, and especially Deng Xiaoping’s 邓小平 dramatic restoration of the college entrance examinations” (p.37). At the same time, autonomous think-tanks were created that would serve reform decision-making. The first officially funded autonomous think-tank under the name of “China Rural Development Research Group” (“中国农村发展研究组”) was officially established in the autumn of 1980 (Luo, 2010: p.38). The author mentioned that at the beginning it did not have such a good reputation, but after its first results it “won trust at the top levels” and “made it legitimate for other autonomous think-tanks to take part in the policy process – a historic breakthrough in the new Chinese public policy process” (Luo, 2010: p.38). Fewsmith (1994) and Halpern (1992) also discussed the role of the think-tanks during this period. Fewsmith (1994) wrote that “in circumventing the central bureaucracy, Zhao turned for advice to the various think-tanks that were established and maintained through his patronage” (p.15). These think-tanks are mentioned as research centers in Halpern (1992) and her study confirms that “all were created during the period of Zhao Ziyang’s 赵紫阳 tenure as premier and therefore reflected his purposes in both a policy and a power sense” (p.131). However, Fewsmith (1994) using the information from Halpern (1992) mentioned that “although the growth of think-tanks brought to light new data and stimulated debates about important policy issues, thus improving the quality of information available to decision makers and enhancing the quality of decisions made, the relationship between the think-tanks and the professional bureaucracies was more

antagonistic then complementary” (p.15). Think-tanks offered various information and what they could do was “to conceptualize reform and suggest strategies for attaining reform goals” (Fewsmith, 1994: p.15). Clearly, this idea of think-tanks encouraged the young generation, it improved their interaction and research, and as noticed and most importantly, it improved the communication with decision-makers.

However, regarding the Rural Development Research Center (RDRC) it may be important to mention that “in the aftermath of Tiananmen, the RDRC has apparently been abolished” (Halpern, 1992: p.131). From the above information, we already know that the research groups were established and maintained through Zhao Ziyang’s patronage. It is also known that Zhao Ziyang, the former general secretary of the Chinese Communist Party “was ousted in 1989 because of his conciliatory attitude towards the pro-democracy movement” (Hua, Zhang & Luo 1993: p.44). So, according to Halpern (1992) “the post-Tiananmen decision to abolish the RDRC presumably reflects a belief that this center remained too closely tied to Zhao in both policy and political ways” (p.134).

The young economists according to Fewsmith (1994) brought new lines of thought “to the reform process that would eventually have a great impact on the way in which central leaders, particularly Zhao Ziyang, thought about reform” (p.137). Fewsmith argues that whatever their shortcomings, they “changed forever the way in which Chinese economists thought about economic issues” and “even conservative economists would have to bolster their arguments with more data and less reference to the traditional categories of Marxist political economy” (Fewsmith, 1994: p.137). Discussing the emergence of young economists in his book, Fewsmith (1994) wrote that: “a new generation of young economists was emerging from China's economics departments”; that “many of them were still in college or graduate school”; that they were energetic and willing to make contributions to the reform of China; that “as a group, they may have differed from their seniors in being even less attached to the institutions and ideas of the Chinese Communist Party (CCP)”; that compared to other generations since the founding of PRC they got the best training in economics; and they had studied Western economics to some extent (pp.134-135). The relationship between this new generation of young economists and Zhao Ziyang is also described. Fewsmith (1994) stated that “to organize this new group of young intellectuals, Zhao turned to Chen Yizi, the organizer of the Rural Development Group”, whereupon the institute for Chinese Economic Structural Reform, “known widely in China and abroad simply as the Tigaisuo or Economic Reform Institute” and

the Beijing Association of Young Economists were organized (p.135). So, in the 1980s the young economists began to have an impact on various reform issues.

Luo (2020) discussed the invention of the dual-track system. He wrote that this was one of China's most controversial reforms. "Anyone claiming a share of the 'glory' should also bear historical responsibility for the negative consequences" (Luo, 2020: p.41). According to him, some people played an irreplaceable role in the formation of the two-track system, without which history could be completely different. He wrote about the dual-track system invention that:

"However, I know from my experience of taking part in the reform that the 'invention' of the dual-track system was not as important a historical contribution as some people think. The achievements of China's reforms were not due to some clever inventors; there were a large number of disinterested heroes, including many who were unsung and indeed tragic." (p.41)

Luo (2010) mentions that "the reform experiences of the early 1980s that he felt most keenly were the sincere exchanges which they as relative unknowns had with the reform leadership" (p.41). When discussing the possibility to share the knowledge beyond divisions of social status Luo points out that "social status divisions undoubtedly form one of the biggest obstacles to collective learning in all societies" and that "the stronger a society's ability to overcome this gap, the stronger its collective learning capacity will grow" (Luo, 2010: p.42). Thus, social standing did not play a major role in China after the Cultural Revolution anymore.

Zhang, Haan, and Fan (2010) wrote that "learning by experimentation is a key strategy in reforms, particularly when facing huge uncertainty" (p.5). They note that it is very risky to make radical choices when facing choices never seen before, thus in such conditions, "experimentation can be a useful tool to search for more information and test and update hypotheses" (p.5). Experiments provide information to help comprehend what works and what does not, and what can help are even failures since they can exclude disadvantageous options. An example of this is shown by Luo Xiaopeng later in the same book, as "the failure of his price reform experiment in Hebei Province 河北省 helped him come up with the idea of dual-track price reform" (Zhang, Haan, and Fan, 2010: p.5).

In his work, Luo (2010) explains the Ningjin 宁津 pilot project in the Xingtai 邢台 region, Hebei province, which "was the first free price reform experiment since the founding of new

China” (p.45). However, at the time, Luo was not aware of the great significance it would have for price reform. Luo (2010) says:

“Hence, had it not been for the Moganshan Conference of 1984, the valuable knowledge gained from the pilot reform of ‘turning procurement into tax’ in Hebei may possibly have become simply one person’s empirical knowledge, and would have had no impact on the progress of China’s reform.” (p.46)

3.2. The Moganshan Conference 1984 and its organization

From 3 to 10 September 1984 the First Symposium of Young and Middle-Aged Economists was held at Moganshan Mountain 莫干山 in Deqing County in Zhejiang province 浙江省德清县 and concretely for young people it was the first nationwide economic policy conference (Chang, 2020; Fewsmith, 1994; Keyser, 2003; Zhang, 2018). This symposium is likewise known as Moganshan Conference 1984. Chang (2020) wrote that after the outset of reform and opening-up and furthermore after the founding of the People’s Republic of China it was “the first national symposium of middle-aged and young scholars in economic science” (p.125). The Moganshan Conference 1984 was a successful collective action of young intellectuals with the support of the older generation of reformers. Its main aim was to broaden the “opportunities for young economists to take part in the reform and compete with older economists in making plans for reform” (Luo, 2010: p.47). Keyser (2003) discussed generations and the dialogue between generations, i.e. between the so-called older leaders and the young economists. The capacity to carry “an academic discussion, generate a list of concrete policy proposals, and then submit them to the leadership” was regarded as the fundamental significance of the meeting (Keyser, 2003: p.58). Keyser called it the idea of “getting ideas and policies” out of the debate and pointed out that “in 1984 it was still something of a sensation”, whereas by the late 1980s it became *de rigueur* (Keyser, 2003: p.58). In the early 1980s, there was a process of the permanent expansion of the public space, and the Moganshan Conference 1984 was a significant part of it. Thus, it was not an isolated event (Luo, 2010). The meeting is specifically recalled for its contribution to price reform (Fewsmith, 1994).

It is known that young and middle-aged economists were the initiators, organizers of the conference and held this symposium by themselves in the critical period of China’s reform before the convening of the Third Plenary Session of the Twelfth CPC Central Committee (Chang, 2020). Chang (2020) pointed out that this denoted “the historic rise of middle-aged and young economists in China as a group of people with a sense of responsibility for the era

that they lived in” (p.125). Keyser (2003) stated that this conference was described as “an important record for understanding the reform” since it was the “first time young people really put forth their own opinions and felt their own force” (p.58). Additionally, Keyser (2003) stated that it was “the first coordinated effort by the young reformers to contribute to policy debate as professionals”, and the young economists “were trying to demonstrate not only their own abilities, but also the value of nonbureaucratic sources of policy advice” (p.58).

As stated by Chang (2020) the name “Symposium of middle-aged and young workers in economic science” and the place were first suggested “after consultation by Zhu Jiaming 朱嘉明⁵ from the Research Center of Technological Economics of the State Council, which was later merged with the National Development Research Center, Liu Youcheng 刘佑成⁶ from the Zhejiang Provincial Economic Research Center, Huang Jiangnan 黄江南⁷ from Institute of Industrial Economics of the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences, and Zhang Gang 张刚⁸ from the office of the Economics Weekly and supported by Wang Qishan 王岐山⁹ from the Research Office of Rural Policies of the Secretariat of the CPC Central Committee” (p.128). According to Liu (2010) in Chang’s (2020) footnote, they talked on the train to Beijing 北京 returning from Tianjin 天津, about China’s reform and that there were a lot of talents in the country that should meet. So, they came up with an idea to convene the conference. Thus, they drafted the “Notice on Convening the Conference of Young Workers in Economic Science”.

⁵ Zhu Jiaming - one of the “four gentlemen” of reform (see footnote13). Economist. According to Bloomberg (1995), Zhu Jiaming was once a key economic adviser to reformist leader Zhao Ziyang and after the Tiananmen Square massacre, he was exiled. Weber (2021) stated that “in May 1989, Zhu was one of those organizing a statement, trying to facilitate a dialogue with the student protesters in Tiananmen Square” (pp. 289-290). Later, “Zhu landed at Massachusetts Institute of Technology’s Sloan School of Management” where “he was a leader in the overseas democracy movement for several years” (Bloomberg, 1996). Weber I. (2021) stated that “after years in exile, having fled China in 1989, he had finally been allowed to return” (pp.170-171). Zhu Jiaming was also employed at the University of Vienna from 2004 to 2012.

⁶ Liu Youcheng - economist, professor, and member of the Communist Party of China. Then the deputy director of the Zhejiang Provincial Political Research Office (Dimly lit, 2018a).

⁷ Huang Jiangnan - one of the “four gentlemen” of reform. According to Weber (2021) “at the time, Huang was an economist and assistant researcher at the Technology and Economic Center of the State Council and after 1989, he had to end his career as a policy researcher, and he subsequently became a businessman” (p.277).

⁸ Zhang Gang - According to the website of Zhejiang University (2018) he is a professor of business administration at School of Management at Zhejiang University and was a visiting professor in universities and schools of UK, USA, Canada, Australia.

⁹ Wang Qishan - one of the “four gentlemen” of reform. According to Weber (2021) “Wang was put in charge of the State Council’s Rural Development Research Center. In 1988, he became the general manager of the China Rural Trust and Investment Corporation and throughout the 1990s rose through the ranks of China’s major state-owned banks. Wang was the vice governor of Guangdong and mayor of Beijing before becoming vice premier. Since 2018, Wang has been China’s vice president” (pp.284-285).

So, this is where and how the young economists generated the idea of convening this conference, however from these sources it is not very clear who exactly was then on the train. According to Weber (2021) “Huang Jiangnan, Zhu Jiaming, Liu Youcheng, and Zhang Gang initiated the Moganshan Youth Conference, which was critical in establishing networks among young reform intellectuals and helping them rise to influence” (p.277). It is important to mention here that Weng Yongxi 翁永曦¹⁰, Wang Qishan, Huang Jiangnan, and Zhu Jiaming according to Weber (2021) “were the first young economists to have a dialogue with Premier Zhao Ziyang” (p.286). Regarding these young intellectuals Weber (2021) stated that:

“In 1980, Wang Qishan, Weng Yongxi, Huang Jiangnan, and Zhu Jiaming jointly authored an article that argued that the crisis of the planned economy was a result of the nature of this economy. This article was well received by Premier Zhao Ziyang, and the so-called ‘four gentlemen’ of reform¹¹ were able to conduct one of the first dialogues between the younger generation and central leadership. This key event prepared the way for younger economists to play a role in shaping the economic reforms of the 1980s.” (pp. 284 – 285)

At the beginning of March, the organizers of the meeting called for papers and “received ardent responses from young economists from universities and research institutes and from the young and middle-aged in government departments” (Zhang, 2018: p.216). This was their method to invite people all over China to participate in the conference and a way to choose the participants by selecting them through the papers they wrote. Likewise, Luo Xiaopeng (2010) wrote in his work about this innovation, that one of the planners of the meeting whom he knows and calls him Mr.Z, proposed this method to select the participants on the basis of the quality of their papers and that “the meeting be organized on the principle of exchanging countermeasures, which fortunately was accepted” (p.47). Keyser (2003) wrote as well that a core group was established to choose groups to represent subjects to be deliberated and this core group included

¹⁰ Weng Yongxi – one of the organizers and one of the “four gentlemen” of reform. According to Weber (2021) the four gentlemen “were the first young economists to have a dialogue with Premier Zhao Ziyang. In May 1984, Weng became secretary of the Fengyang County Party Committee. He participated in the Moganshan Youth Conference. Du Runsheng promoted him to be deputy director of the Agricultural Research Office under the State Council, skipping various ranks. Weng later started his own business” (p.286).

¹¹ The “four gentlemen” of reform - Since Huang Jiangnan, Zhu Jiamin, Wang Qishan, and Weng Yongxi published the results of their discussions in journals, their names and signatures were listed together. So, they “as coauthors were subsequently referred to as the ‘four gentlemen’ of reform” (Weber, 2021: p.277).

Wang Qishan, Zhu Jiaming, Li Xianglu 李湘鲁¹², Lu Mai 卢迈¹³, Zhou Qiren 周其仁¹⁴, and Gao Liang 高梁¹⁵. While selecting the papers “no attention was paid to personal relationships of the author, record of formal schooling, occupation, or reputation; they decided on whether the standard of the paper confirmed the requisite qualifications” (Keyser, 2003: p.59). So, their papers were evaluated on standards of academic quality and according to whether or not the paper was reform-oriented and not a rephrasing of mainstream positions. This model of selecting which disregarded the background, had a huge attraction to the young economists thus causing a large response in different places all over China (Chang, 2020). The papers were received within two months from June 12 to August 15, on average over twenty of them every day (Chang, 2020). Finally, the organizers received more than 1,300 papers from all over the country, “of which 120 were officially accepted” (Zhang, 2018: p. 216). However, according to Keyser (2003) and Chang (2020), 124 participants were selected to represent different discussion topics. According to Chang (2020) the 124 participants included the selected presenters, initiators, organizers, and a few who had already made certain contributions to the debate on reform and opening in economics. Clearly to select the participants was not an easy

¹² Li Xianglu - According to Weber (2021) “from 1980 to 1984, he served as Premier Zhao Ziyang’s youngest secretary. Li played an important role as the interlocutor between Zhao Ziyang, the Rural Development Group, and the young reform intellectuals more broadly. He participated in the 1984 Moganshan Youth Conference to report the insights of the young scholars back to Zhao. Li helped facilitate the founding of the System Reform Institute and the selection of Chen Yizi and Wang Xiaoqiang as its leaders. He was in charge of the China Reform and Opening Foundation, funded by George Soros, in the second half of the 1980s. In 1987, he left for graduate studies at Columbia University and subsequently returned to China in January 1989. Since the 1990s, Li has worked for investment firms” (p.278).

¹³ Lu Mai – also a member of Rural Development Group. Weber (2021) wrote that in the late 1980s he “became the director of the Rural Reform Experimental Area Office of the Research the State Council’s Rural Development Research Centre. Substituting for Wang Qishan, he joined the 1986 study tour to Yugoslavia and Hungary of the System Reform Institute and was one of the lead authors of the report that warned against wholesale price liberalization, based on the experiences of these two countries. In 1989, Lu left China and studied at the John F. Kennedy School of Government at Harvard University, thanks to Dwight Perkins’s invitation. After research fellowships at Harvard and in Hong Kong, Lu returned to China. Since 1998, he has led the China Development Research Foundation under the State Council, one of China’s most important reform policy research organizations” (p.281).

¹⁴ Zhou Qiren – “is Boya Chair Professor of Peking University, and Senior Professor of Economics at National School of Development at Peking University” (National School of Development, n.d). “After graduating from the Institute of Rural Development of the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences and Rural Development Research Center of the State Council Development Research Center, he has conducted research on rural reform and development under the guidance of Du Runsheng. From 1989 to 1991, he worked at the University of Oxford, University of Colorado and the University of Chicago as a visiting scholar. In the fall of 1991, he joined a graduate program at the University of California at Los Angeles and obtained a Masters’ and Ph.D. degree” (Daonong, 2015).

¹⁵ Gao Liang – a postgraduate of the Graduate School of the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences (CASS) (Chang, 2020). Zhang (2018) wrote that Gao Liang worked for the National Development and Reform Commission in Beijing.

task. A paper review team headed by Wang Xiaolu 王小鲁¹⁶ was established with Zhou Qiren as his deputy, but since there was a lot of work the team was enlarged by Zhu Jiaming, Lu Mai, Gao Liang, Zhang Shaojie 张少杰¹⁷, Jiang Yue 蒋跃¹⁸, Xia Xiaolin 夏小林¹⁹, and Gao Shan'gang 高善罡²⁰ (Chang, 2020).

Chang (2020) wrote at that time it was difficult for the young people to sponsor such a national conference in a non-governmental manner, that is why they took over the conference model of letting journalist units and local research institutions function as sponsors. According to Zhang (2018), relevant central government departments sponsored the Moganshan Conference, and it was as well supported by the local government. Keyser (2003) wrote regarding the sponsorship that the Economics Weekly was the official sponsor of the conference, and the editor of the newspaper Zhang Gang was the conference secretary. Fewsmith (1994) mentioned that the sponsors of the conference were four newspapers such as Economic Weekly, Economic Daily, the World Economic Herald, the China Youth Paper, and other organizations and he also stated that it was “supported by the leadership, which paid close attention” to the meeting’s proceedings (p.136). Chang (2020) in addition to the above list, also mentioned China National Radio, China Youth Daily, “China Village and Town Industrial Information, Economic Benefit News, Zhejiang Provincial Academy of Social Sciences, and Zhejiang Provincial Economic Research Center that took part as joint sponsors” (p. 128). According to Chang (2020), the role of Economic Daily was significant, and, on the June 12, it published a remarkable article under the title “Five Institutions Including the Newspaper Will Convene a Symposium of Middle-Aged and Young Scholars in Economics and Extensively Call for Paper Contribution. Authors

¹⁶ Wang Xiaolu – according to Weber (2021) Wang “worked on the editorial board of CASS working paper series ‘Unfinished Drafts.’ Wang was part of the reform movement of young intellectuals and worked closely with the Rural Development Group. He served as a member of the organizing team of the Moganshan Youth Conference. In 1985, Wang transferred to the newly founded System Reform Institute and became the director of the Development Research Office. Before June Fourth, Wang left China to pursue a PhD at the Australian National University. Upon his return to China, he became an assistant professor at Peking University. He later became the deputy director of the National Economic Research Institute and the managing director of the National Economic Reform Research Association” (p.285).

¹⁷ Zhang Shaojie – a postgraduate from CASS.

¹⁸ Jiang Yue - postgraduate of the Department of Planning and Statistics of the China Renmin University (Chang, 2020).

¹⁹ Xia Xiaolin - Party School of the Beijing Municipal Committee of CPC 北京市委党校

²⁰ Gao Shan'gang – at that time from Economic Daily 经济日报 (eeo, 2014). The current deputy secretary of the Party Leadership Group and secretary of the Secretariat of the All-China Journalists Association (现任中华全国记者协会党组副书记、书记处书记)

of Selected Papers Will be Invited to Attend the Symposium as Official Representatives.” (pp. 128-129).

According to Keyser (2003) Zhang Gang revealed that they talked about the conference to Deng Xiaoping, Hu Yaobang 胡耀邦, Li Peng 李鹏²¹, Zhao Ziyang, Bo Yibo 薄一波²², and others, mainly via their children so as to make sure that they would not resist such a conference. The information from Zhang Gang in Keyser’s text reveals the following important facts that are worth mentioning here. So, “to get official sanction a small leadership group was set up” and every “organization paid RMB 1000 and could send a representative, usually a senior person” (Keyser, 2003: p.58). Further, it is mentioned that these representatives could express their opinions, however, the secretary (the editor of the Economics Weekly Zhang Gang was the meeting secretary) was likewise a member of the advisory group and could keep the representatives from explaining how the conference should be conducted. This of course made “them to be very angry, but it was too late to withdraw” (Keyser, 2003: p.58). There were also ten newspaper representatives to act as disseminators and in total, they were around 180 people at the meeting (Keyser, 2003).

Deng Yingtao 邓英淘²³ was most instrumental in assuring that the leadership did not to forbid the conference, however, there was still some kind of suspicion, and permission to participate was refused by the State Council’s Reform Commission for its members. Nevertheless, two young economists participated anyway (Keyser, 2003).

Regarding the promotion of the meeting, some newspapers and journals advertised the Moganshan Conference in June 1984, Guangming Daily and Economic Daily were among them (Keyser, 2003). Further, Keyser (2003) wrote that “reflecting the sponsors’ dissatisfaction with the meeting format, the follow-up coverage was quite sparse in the general press” (p.59).

²¹ Li Peng – was chosen to succeed Zhao Ziyang as premier (1988-1998); chairman of the Standing Committee of the National People’s Congress (NPC) (1998-2003). At the beginning of 1980s Li Peng “rose through the ranks of the CCP, joining the Central Committee in 1982 and becoming an elected member of the Political Bureau and the Secretariat of the CCP 12th Central Committee in 1985” (Britannica, 2020). In 1987 he “became a member of the powerful Standing Committee of the Political Bureau” (Britannica, 2020).

²² Bo Yibo - Central Advisory Committee Vice Chairman (1982-1992). He was “one of the ‘Eight Immortals’ who oversaw China’s reform and modernization efforts in the 1980s and ’90s under Deng Xiaoping” (Gegersen, 2013). The “Eight Immortals” – were eight influential leaders of the CCP of the older generation who had significant power in the 1980s and early 1990s.

²³ Deng Yingtao (economist, professor) is the son of Deng Liqun. According to Weber (2021) “Deng Liqun had been the secretary to Liu Shaoqi 刘少奇 China’s former president” (p.155). Deng Liqun had “close ties with both of the key leaders of economic reforms and emerged as an important promoter of China’s young reform intellectuals” (Weber, 2021: p.155).

The format made it impossible to them to control the conference, therefore they felt politically insecure. Additionally, they were hesitant of being too closely identified with young people and the acceptability of the conference content (Keyser, 2003).

The Moganshan Conference began on September 3, 1984, and according to the above-mentioned information lasted until September 10 (Chang, 2020; Fewsmith, 1994; Zhang, 2018). However, Keyser (2003) explained that it went on for ten days, “each containing three sessions: 8:30 to 12:00, 2:00 to 5:30, and 7:30 to 11:00 P.M” (p. 59). According to Zhang (2018), eight topics were discussed at the conference namely “strategies for price reform; self-financing for industrial enterprises; multipurpose issues concerning key cities; opening up to the outside world in 14 coastal cities; problems with financial system reform; the development and management of the share-holding economy; changes in the rural industrial structure; the current economic functions of the government” (p. 216). Chang (2020) wrote that “no paper reading, or empty argumentation was allowed in the symposium and people all expressed their own opinions closely centering round the special topics” (p.131). The strategic issues of price reform were the most fruitful theoretical and ideological discussions (Chang, 2020; Zhang, 2018). At the conference, Zhejiang’s provincial party committee secretary, the governor, and other leaders delivered speeches, and seven working groups discussed papers, which were later published (Zhang, 2018). By the end, seven policy reports were produced, and that as the press coverage after the conference was scarce, the conference’s published record represents those “aspects that made it a success in the eyes of the organizers” (Keyser, 2003: p.60).

3.3. How the dual-track price system was proposed, formed and realized

Luo (2010) learned confidentially at that time that a decision had already been made by the central leadership to accelerate urban economic reforms. This decision was encouraged by the success of rural reforms, but the still existing “planned prices were proving to be a stumbling block” (Luo, 2010: p.47). Consequently, it was urgently needed for the central policymakers to have such a viable program of price reform. Thus, in case the Moganshan Conference 1984 could contribute such a viable plan, “it would be a huge success” and it would “improve future opportunities for younger scholars to participate in the reform” (Luo, 2010: p.47). Apparently, for the young economists, it was great to know about this constellation, because they could adjust their discussions to the center’s needs and thus make a successful contribution. Moreover, Keyser (2003) wrote that some of the young economists also thought that the price reform was important, and they were eager to take part in the development of China regarding diverse

economic issues. This above-mentioned information about the need for a viable program of price reform “came from young scholars working in the core decision-making agencies, and without their mediation, it would have been impossible to bring the Moganshan meeting to interact positively with senior decision-makers and fully mobilize the participants’ teamwork and team spirit” (Luo, 2010: p.47).

As mentioned above from the beginning of the meeting the participants knew that “the jewel in the reform crown” was the price reform strategy, so the discussion on it went beyond the formal agenda and became the hot spot of the conference (Luo, 2010: p.47). They organized discussions on this issue in the evenings during which two groups of arguments emerged with one - the so-called release faction - arguing in favor of free prices and the so-called adjustment school insisting on planned prices. According to Zhang (2018), who also wrote about this division into two groups, the first conclusion of the conference “was that prices of industrial mining products should be raised” and “the second was to adjust the prices of and excessive subsidies for agricultural products” (p.216). So, “two competing approaches were put forward on industrial price reform: combining adjustment with deregulation, while focusing on adjustment, and combining adjustment with deregulation and adjustment after deregulation” (Zhang, 2018: p.216). The defenders of these views were named the adjustment group and the deregulation group. Fewsmith (1994) describes the situation in the following way:

“The first, favored by the State Council’s Economic, Technical, and Social Development Research Center, which was headed by Ma Hong 马洪, was to reform prices in one or two large steps. The second approach, favored by some young economists with good connections to the leadership, was to reform prices in a series of small steps. The advantage of the latter approach lay in its low risk and the fact that the Ministry of Finance would not have to allocate money to support price reform.” (p. 136)

The author states, that “bureaucratically, this approach had the advantage of introducing market forces without directly challenging the planned economy” (Fewsmith, 1994: p.136).

Chang (2020) wrote that the two groups of readjusting and lifting control were not in complete opposition, their opinions “all contained the implication of combining lifting control and readjusting in different degrees” (p.133). So, the one proposed readjusting with large steps and the other the small-step quick readjusting. Regarding the view that price control must be lifted,

and market supply and demand practiced, Zhang Weiying 张维迎²⁴ made a comparison at the conference to the working of a “thermometer to formulate his view that prices flexibly respond to market supply and demand” (Chang, 2020: p.134). In his footnote, Chang (2020) gave the following explanation:

“There was mercury in a thermometer. When temperature rose, mercury rose. When temperature dropped, mercury dropped. Prices needed to rise or drop spontaneously on the basis of the changes in market supply and demand relationship. Then what price regulation could be compared to? It was not mercury but an iron bar. When prices needed to drop, it needed to be cut off a bit. When prices needed to rise, it needed to be added to a bit.” (p.134)

Luo (2010) wrote that he had not thought of the dual-track reform before the Moganshan Conference 1984 and just when there was a deadlock between the two groups he suddenly was inspired by his experience in Hebei. Here it is interesting to quote Luo’s (2010) own words to better understand his thoughts:

“So, in the panel I chaired, I put forward the suggestion that ‘since neither school is feasible, we have to move to a dual-track system.’ In other words, without the atmosphere of free discussion, I may not have been able to have the ‘dual-track’ idea. Moreover, without the idea of ‘changing procurement to tax’ suggested by Mr. S, or the Hebei pilot reform, I could not have had this conception.” (p.48)

The experience in Hebei and valuable knowledge gained from the pilot reform of “turning procurement into tax” were already mentioned above. This reform idea was propelled by Mr.S, as Luo called him in his study, who was a talent discovered by the Nongfazu 农发组 (Agricultural Development Group). Mr. S then was a young economist from the countryside and he became the first young person to make progress using Western economics to analyze the rural economy. When this idea won acceptance within the Nongfazu, the Nongfazu proposed to Du Runsheng, then in charge of rural policy research, to allow them to carry out a pilot study to try out the practicability of this reform concept, and in the spring of 1984, “Du

²⁴ Zhang Weiying - The following information is from Weber (2021) that relates to that period: “At the Moganshan Conference, Zhang emerged as an articulate voice in the discussion arguing for a dual-track price system as a mechanism for reform. His contribution to the conference and the subsequent publication of his paper enabled Zhang to become a member of the System Reform Institute, where he mainly worked on macroeconomic questions. In 1989, Zhang went to Oxford University, where he obtained a PhD in economics under the supervision of Nobel Memorial Laureate James Mirrlees. Upon his return to China, Zhang joined Peking University, where he cofounded the China Center for Economic Research” (p.289).

Runsheng officially approved the request” (Luo, 2010: pp.43-44). It is important to note that Du Runsheng got to know many economists directly from Mr.S. As follows from the indicated date, all this happened about half a year before the Moganshan Conference 1984.

In the history of reform in China, the Moganshan Conference in 1984 was an important and major event (Chang, 2020; Luo, 2010). Identical to a lot of significant events in history, as later people have gradually come to realize its significance, it has become increasingly controversial. According to Luo (2010), this is because later generations have different analytical perspectives, and for those present at the time many things have faded from their memories. So, something that would seem significant to latecomers was not so for the larger part of those present. The debate about who first proposed the dual-track system reform is one example. Here the words of the author and the eyewitness (Luo 2010) should be quoted:

“While I know I myself was the first at the Moganshan meeting to suggest it, over the years I have not gone out of my way to emphasize this point because I do not consider that I myself made the largest contribution to formation and implementation of the concept.” (p.47)

When the debate at the meeting became intense a third kind of opinion emerged (Chang, 2020; Fewsmith, 1994; Keyser, 2003; Luo, 2010; Zhang, 2018). Zhang (2018) wrote about the third group that their “approach gained support at the end of the meeting: dual-track pricing of the means of production, unifying the two prices by gradually reducing centrally planned prices and gradually increasing the scope of the market regulation” (p.216). A good description of two pricing tracks can be also found in Keyser (2003), the first named “within the plan” that remain set by the state and the second “without the plan” that would be set by the market and indicate how to adjust the “inside plan” prices (p.62). According to Hua (2005) as cited by Zhang (2018) the group of postgraduates from the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences (CASS)

and Renmin University, which consisted of Hua Sheng 华生²⁵, He Jiacheng 何家成²⁶, Jiang Yue, Gao Liang, and Zhang Shaojie, “finally formed the idea of implementing the dual-track system with the combination of deregulation and adjustment and entrusted Hua to participate in the listed debate and defense on behalf of all of them” (p.217). This can be supported by the statement of Fewsmith (1994) who wrote that Hua Sheng together with other young economists discussing the price reform issue in a meeting that lasted past midnight, “came up with the idea of reforming prices by means of a dual-track system” (p.136).

Luo’s work is interesting in that he considers whose contribution was important in adopting the dual-track approach, besides the creator of this idea. From the information that Luo (2010) provides it is known that the main proponent was not Luo who first raised the idea, “but Mr. H, whose eloquence quickly won the support of the majority of those present” (p.48). Luo stated that it is important to stress that Mr. H later convinced high-level policymakers on behalf of the meeting and that the new policy idea was able to convince policymakers. By reading Keyser (2003) it can be guessed that Mr. H was Hua Sheng, then a member of CASS. So, once again according to Keyser (2003) Hua Sheng was a proponent of the specific method, which can be found in the phrase “deregulation followed by adjustment, and adjustment accompanied by further deregulation” (p.62). A good argument of Luo as a participant and eyewitness that helps us better comprehend the situation of the young economists is that the “contribution of those who are able to convince the policymakers to accept creative ideas is greater than of those who invent them” (Luo, 2010: p.48). Furthermore, the author stated that the “contribution made

²⁵ Hua Sheng – graduated from CASS and according to ChinaWiki (2021) “is the proposer and promoter of three important changes that affect the process of China's economic reform, namely, the price double track system, the asset management responsibility system, and the reform of non-tradable shares”. The following information is from Weber (2021) that relates to that period: Hua Sheng “began a long-standing collaboration with He Jiacheng, Luo Xiaopeng, Jiang Yue, Zhang Shaojie, and Gao Liang. Together, they argued for a dual-track price system and, later, for ownership reform in the form of an ‘asset management responsibility system.’ After the conference, Hua was invited to attend the State Council meeting to talk about urban-industrial reform. He began working at the Institute of Economics of the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences in 1985, served as the director of the Microeconomic Research Office and a member of the China Youth Federation, and participated in the work of the Office of the Economic System Reform of the State Council” (p.277). He studied in Oxford (1987) and was based at Cambridge University (early 1990s).

According to ChinaWiki (2021) “after returning to China in the mid-1990s, he became the chairman of Oxford Cambridge International Hi Tech Co., Ltd. which was approved by the former State Education Commission”. He also “won Sun Yefang's economics award, the first prize of excellent thesis of central government organs, and has written English monograph and economic thinking of China's stock market published by Macmillan company. In 2011, he won the China Economic Theory Innovation Award. In December 2018, he was employed as one of the first batch of senior professors of Humanities and Social Sciences in Southeast University” (ChinaWiki, 2021).

²⁶ He Jiacheng – from 1984 to 1986 studied at CASS (a doctorate in economics). According to Baidu (2021b) he was vice president of China National School of Administration. In 2014 was dismissed from position suspected of corruption.

by those who decided to adopt the dual-track approach” was the greatest (Luo, 2010: p.48). In giving young economists a possibility to take part in the reform, it was they who bore huge personal political risks, while also bearing the risks of the reform policy itself. As Luo (2010) wrote, “the dual-track price system was not without risk, as Zhao Ziyang, then leader of the State Council, made very clear” (p.48). According to Luo (2010), Zhao Ziyang at the time when deliberating “whether or not to pursue the dual-track price system expressed the indomitable spirit of ‘If I do not go down to hell, who will’ and resolutely decided to accept the young people’s recommendation” (p.48). The author wrote that the role played by “reformers from the older generation like Zhang Jingfu 张劲夫²⁷ and Du Runsheng” was indispensable and that “without this enlightened reform leadership, even the cleverest conceptualization would have been in vain” (Luo, 2010: pp.48-49).

When introducing the Moganshan Conference 1984, it was already mentioned that in the early 1980s the meeting itself was a part of the process of expansion of public space providing comparatively equal opportunities for participation. According to Luo (2010), one also has to consider some policies introduced earlier which made the Moganshan Conference 1984 possible, namely “the resumption of the college entrance examination and graduate education, the expansion of freedom of the press and of publication, and the acceptance of autonomous think-tanks taking part in the policy process” (p.49). Consequently, “the planners, organizers, and participants there were all a social elite, nurtured and winnowed out by this process” (Luo, 2010: p.49). In addition to this statement, Zhang (2018) stressed in his paper that a large number of the participants in the Moganshan Conference were “well nurtured in economic theories and sharp in expressing novel ideas and the discipline of the young participants earned the respect of their older comrades” (p.216). They were young, energetic, and willing to make contributions to China’s reform and seemingly less attached to the institutions and views of the Chinese Communist Party (Fewsmith, 1994). Fewsmith (1994) also wrote that since the founding of the People's Republic of China they probably obtained the best training in economics of any generation and all of them, to some degree, had studied Western economics.

So, in the early 1980s in the reform process, the collective learning capacity of China’s elites made the development and implementation of the dual-track idea possible. And indeed, the

²⁷ Zhang Jinfu - a well-known politician. In brief, he was the minister of finance and the governor and Communist Party Secretary of Anhui 安徽. Later he became the director of the State Economic Commission (1982-1987). Zhang Jinfu was "a revolutionary veteran in charge of economic work in Zhejiang in the post-liberation period" (Weber, 2021: p.176).

collective learning capability should not be underestimated since, in fact, it played an essential role (Luo, 2010). Also, Chang (2020) wrote that “viewed from even larger perspective, the thinking of the double-track price system reform in China was the fruit of the joint discussion and collective wisdom of a great number of middle-aged and young scholars at the Moganshan Conference” (p.137). A statement by Liu Hong, a prominent researcher of the Moganshan Conference, confirms the above. She pointed out in her interview that it is difficult to tell which economist made the greatest contribution to the market-oriented reform in China and that in fact, they were all together. (NetEase, 2010).

There is one more reason why Luo’s suggestion of the dual-track idea was understood relatively quickly by his colleagues. Luo (2010) indicates in his paper that:

“...was because we all knew that grain procurement was already in fact operating under a dual-track system. In this sense, China was quite likely to have had a dual-track system even had there been no Moganshan meeting. Of course, deliberately using the dual-track to promote market-oriented reform would have had a completely different effect on the reform process than from being forced to accept it as a reality.” (p.52)

Chang (2020) wrote that when the conference ended, “Xu Jing’an 徐景安²⁸, Zhu Jiaming, Wang Qishan, Huang Jiangnan and Zhou Qiren were responsible for drafting the special report planned to be submitted to senior authorities on the basis of the discussion at the symposium” (p.147). Some young economists took part in writing the report or its outline, including Du Sha 杜厦²⁹, Cai Zhongzhi 蔡重直³⁰, Tian Yuan 田源³¹, Jiang Yue, and Liu Yu 刘渝³². On the 15th

²⁸ Xu Jingan – was “vice general secretary of the symposium from the State Commission for Restructuring the Economic System” (Chang, 2020: p.136). According to Fewsmith (1994) the translation of 国家经济体制改革委员会 (Guojia jingji tizhi gaige weiyuanhui) is “State Commission for Economic Structural Reform” (p.135). According to Baidu (2021a) the State Commission for Economic Structural Reform and State Commission for Structural Reform are the abbreviations of State Commission for Economic Structural Reform of PRC (“中华人民共和国国家经济体制改革委员会，简称国家经济体制改革委员会、国家体改委”). In the documentary film Xu Jingan uses the abbreviation 国家体制改革委员会(Guojia tizhi gaige weiyuanhui).

²⁹ Du Sha - representative from Tianjin from Nankai Institute of Economics. According to Chang (2020) he was in “the Research Group on Economic Development Strategy of the Nankai University” (p. 137).

³⁰ Cai Zhongzhi - was “from the Institute of Finance of the Head Office of the People’s Bank of China”, he was a “representative from the circle of finance” (Chang, 2020: p.143).

³¹ Tian Yuan - the following information is from Weber (2021) that relates to that period: “Between 1983 and 1991, Tian Yuan served as the executive officer and director of the Development Research Center of the State Council. As a young researcher, his talents were praised by Zhao Ziyang. He attended the Moganshan Youth Conference, representing the Price Research Center. Tian Yuan also attended the Bashan Conference and served as a member of the Program Office” (p.284). From 1990 to 1991 he studied in the USA and 1992 returned to China (Weber, 2021).

³² Liu Yu – was also “from the Institute of Finance of the Head Office of the People’s Bank of China”, he was a “representative from the circle of finance” (Chang, 2020: p.143).

of September following some days of intense work in analysis and sorting, eight special reports were finalized and after that representatives were sent to report to Zhang Jinfu, the State Councilor in charge of State Development Planning Commission and State System Reform Commission (Chang, 2020). Subsequently, according to Chang (2020) Zhang Jinfu and then Zhao Ziyang gave the following instructions:

“Zhang Jinfu...gave the first instruction on the report on September 20, which read, ‘ ‘The two kinds of thinking on price reform’, proposed at the symposium of middle-aged and young workers in economics, is of great referential value’. After that, Zhao Ziyang, Premier of the State Council, instructed on October 10, ‘ ‘The two kinds of thinking on price reform’ is very mind-opening’.” (p.147)

However, Fewsmith (1994) wrote that a group of young scholars met with “Zhang Jinfu, the member of the Central Finance and Economic Leading Group who was in charge of price reform” while the meeting was still going on (p. 136). He also wrote that Zhang was convinced by the dual-track approach and got back soon to Beijing where he vigorously promoted it. Hua Sheng, He Jiacheng, Jiang Yue, Gao Liang, and Zhang Shaojie then drafted a document entitled "Consciously Making Use of the Dual-Track System to Reform the Price Mechanism Smoothly" which was officially submitted on September 12 and later approved by Zhao on September 30 (Hua, Zhang & Luo 1993: p. 131).

So, as already known, when the young reformers met at the Moganshan Conference 1984, they “produced a set of policy recommendations, among which were two on prices that caught the attention of Zhao Ziyang” (Keyser, 2003: p.56). Keyser (2003) explains that this “set of seven policy papers was given to Zhao’s office through Xu Jing’an, who met with Jiang Jingju, the Party secretary of Zhejiang province, who, according to one of the organizers, helped get them to Zhao” (p.61). According to Keyser (2003):

“One was on the dual-track pricing system, which Zhao approved on September 30, shortly before the release of the ‘Decision Concerning Reform of the Economic Structure.’ The ‘Decision’ instilled a sense of urgency into the reform process and moved the focus from enterprises to pricing issues.” (p.56)

Hua, Zhang, and Luo (1993) stated that “the proposition that the socialist economy would be a planned commodity economy constituted the quintessence of the Decision of CCP Central

Committee on the reform of the economic system adopted by the Third Plenum of the Twelfth Central Committee in October 1984” (p. 108). The authors Hua, Zhang, and Luo (1993) also wrote that “the Decision reflected the fact that the economic reform in China had entered a new stage and that for the first time it defined, albeit in the Chinese interpreted code the direction of the market-oriented reform in a huge socialist country” (p.108). Fewsmith (1994) wrote that it outlined a new conceptual approach to socialist economics that gives grounds for the growth of the role of market forces. Zhang’s (2018) statement is that the economic reform was put on the national agenda when the above-mentioned Decision was passed in 1984 and the aim of it was “establishing a socialist commodity economy”, what the author called “an audacious innovation at the time” (p.215). So, it becomes clear that before the young economists produced these policy recommendations, they thoroughly discussed these issues at their meeting. Concerning this Keyser (2003) stated that “the first step in integrating the market mechanism at the time was to create a ‘dual-track’ for prices, which was the topic at the meeting at Moganshan” (p.58).

In addition to the above said, Zhang (2018) wrote likewise that the suggestion that promptly drew the attention of the State Council leaders was the suggestion of the third group of a dual-track transition with a combination of adjustment and deregulation. Zhang (2018) stated that quite soon after the Moganshan Conference 1984 “the Central Committee of the Communist Party’s (CCCCP’s) Decision on the Reform of the Economic System (October 1984)” was passed, which “emphasized that reform of the price system would be the key to the success or failure of economic reform” (pp.217-218). Then in March 1985, the price control of above-quota producer goods was officially abolished by the State Council and “this decision was considered formal acceptance of dual-track reform” (Zhang, 2018: p.218). In addition, Chang (2020) mentioned that some of the views and thoughts suggested at the Moganshan Conference 1984, such as “the view ‘enterprises are commodity producers and operators that operate independently and assume sole responsibility for their profit or loss’ and some conceptions, such as ‘further opening up coastal port cities’, were incorporated into the Decision of the CPC Central Committee on Economic System Reform, adopted at the Third Plenary Session of the CPC Central Committee held in October 1984” (p.148).

Probably it is also worthy to mention what Hua, Zhang, and Luo (1993) pointed out the two reasons for Zhao Ziyang’s decision to adopt this practice of dual-track system:

“Firstly, the decision-makers could not reach consensus on completely removing price controls and abandoning the economy to the market mechanism...secondly, by employing the dual-track system and gradually expanding the proportion of products distributed by the market mechanism, the risks and difficulties involved in adjusting planned prices on a large scale and suddenly lifting price control could be reduced.” (p.125)

The reasoning behind the dual-track system strategy was to deliberately exploit the marketization process and direct the market to outgrow the planned sector, “thus reducing the chaos which would inevitably emerge in the transition to a market-oriented economy” (Hua, Zhang & Luo, 1993: p.125). In January 1985, the dual-track price system became official government policy in China just a few months after the Moganshan Conference 1984. Compared to the reform path of other socialist economies such as Eastern European and the former Soviet Union, “this unique price liberalization strategy”, to a great extent, shifted China’s market-oriented reforms onto an entirely different reform path (Luo, 2010: p.49).

Regarding the decision-making of the central authorities in China, the Moganshan Conference 1984 provided them with powerful intellectual support and besides the central authorities also the local governments began to devote much attention to these talented scholars. It is known that Zhang Jinfu and Zhao Ziyang as well as other leaders had discussions with them. After the conference, some of the young and middle-aged scholars were recruited into governmental departments (Chang, 2020). Chang (2020) pointed out that besides the discussed above suggestions, “the Moganshan Conference also promoted the deepening of the discussion and exploration on the theories of China's economic reform”; promoted the rise of the young generation at that time and “pushed a group of middle-aged and young scholars onto the stage of history” (pp. 148-149). Another so-called result of the conference was the “establishment of the magazine the Forum of Middle-Aged and Young Economists” which then became one of the highly influential periodicals on economic theories (Chang, 2020: p.150).

However, for this thesis, it is very important to mention, that many of these young economists as well as politicians of that time were exiled, forced to leave the country, or imprisoned in the aftermath of the Tiananmen protest in 1989. As already mentioned, Premier Zhao Ziyang was expelled from office in 1989. Thus, this fact had consequences for many young economists who were close to Zhao Ziyang. For instance, Zhu Jiaming one of the initiators of the conference and leading young economist was exiled.

Reading the descriptions of the key reformers in Weber (2021) it is seen that many had left China in 1989. However, the reason for leaving is not indicated in all descriptions. An interesting coincidence is that the year they left, namely 1989, is the same. After years some of them have returned to China. For instance, another initiator of the Moganshan conference Huang Jiangnan in 1989 “had to end his career as a policy researcher, and he subsequently became a businessman” (Weber, 2021: p.277). Others mentioned above such as Chen Yizi spent the rest of their lives in exile. During the protests in June 1989, he “organized public support for Zhao Ziyang” (Weber, 2021: p.273). Bao Tong who was “Zhao Ziyang’s secretary in charge of political issues from 1980 to 1989” was “arrested in 1989 and imprisoned until 1996” (Weber, 2021: p.272). Others withdrew from their positions, such as Du Runsheng “in 1989 due to his support of Zhao Ziyang” (Weber, 2021: p.275). Thus, we may conclude that many of the young and middle-aged economists that participated in the Moganshan conference 1984 and who were associated with Zhao Ziyang were exiled, imprisoned, or had to leave China in 1989. These facts are significant for this thesis. That is probably also one of the reasons why the Moganshan conference 1984 was no longer mentioned publicly in the further course of the events in China.

4. The chronology of the Moganshan Conference 1984 in the documentary film

The documentary film about the Moganshan Conference in 1984 reveals the circumstances of how the meeting was held. It describes how the young and middle-aged economists managed to arrange such a meeting at that time to discuss the reforms of China and China's future development. The organizers of the conference and the participants share in their interviews of this film how they came up with this idea, how they prepared and organized the conference, which problems they have faced during the preparation, what topics were discussed, and what were the results of this conference. The price reform was one of the main topics discussed and thus the documentary film drew attention to this issue. This has to do with the proposal of the dual-track price system which subsequently was implemented in China. Then in the early period of China's rural reforms, the critical period of urban reform needed to be promoted. So, more than one hundred scholars discussed almost all aspects of China's reform at that time. Subsequently, the report formed by the meeting was adopted by the decision-making level and directly promoted the dual-track price system. Furthermore, this documentary film shows the place where the Moganshan Conference 1984 was held and tells the story of the cathedral at Moganshan which now has a new name "The Moganshan Conference Site Memorial Hall" with an exhibition about the conference in it.

In this chapter, the chronology of the events will be described as it is narrated in the documentary film. Where it is possible the date or the year will be mentioned, however sometimes a specific date is not indicated, but despite this, the chronology of the facts or the events themselves will be preserved. Thus, all the information for this chapter is taken from the five episodes of the documentary.

4.1. The idea and the organization of the Moganshan Conference 1984

At the beginning of the documentary, it is narrated that in 1977 there was news that shocked the country, namely, it was the resumption of the college entrance examination. It is also narrated that at that time many people chose to study economics. This has also to do with the will of these students to improve the economy of China. Huang Jiangnan and Zhu Jiaming often participated in the salon activities of the Academy of Social Sciences and they were introduced to Wang Qishan and Weng Yongxi with whom they later discussed and analyzed China's problems, the country's future. They often jointly published the results of the

discussions in journals. Since, their names and signatures were listed together, they were later called the “Four Gentlemen of Reform” (“改革四君子”) (Dimly lit, 2018a: 00:04:44).

From the first episode, it is known that some of the participants had the experience of going to the countryside and knew the situation there with all the difficulties and contradictions. One of them was Weng Yongxi. That was also the reason why they cared about the future development of the whole country. The four gentlemen were also invited to have talks with the leadership and hold reports. This was called the “laoqing duihua” (“老清对话”) translated from Chinese the dialogue between old and young people. And this dialogue inspired many young people who were eager to explore the roads China can go. Moreover, not only in Beijing but also in the Academy of Sciences in Tianjin there were several young people with excellent achievements.

From the documentary it is known that Tianjin had also the “four men of Tianjin” (“天津四條汉子”), namely these are Du Sha, Li Luoli 李罗力³³, Jin Yanshi 金岩石³⁴, Chang Xiuze 常修泽³⁵, which likewise organized discussions in Tianjin. The first episode reveals that they also often went to Beijing to participate in some theoretical seminars and various debates of young and middle-aged people, and at that time they met Zhu Jiaming and Huang Jiangnan (Dimly lit, 2018a). During that time, many talents emerged and contributed to China’s economic development, economic construction, and social development in the past decades.

In 1978, China’s reforms began in the countryside. The household contract responsibility system in rural areas enabled farmers to obtain tangible benefits. Therefore, the enthusiasm of the farmers greatly increased (Dimly lit, 2018c). Apparently, the documentary gives this information to remind or let the viewer know about the beginning of China’s reform and opening-up which was launched under the leadership of Deng Xiaoping to transform China into a developed country and economic powerhouse.

According to the first episode of the documentary, the story of the young and middle-aged economists begins “in the summer of 1984 when Huang Jiangnan, Zhu Jiaming and Zhang

³³ Li Luoli – representative from Tianjin from Nankai Institute of Economics. According to Chang (2020) he was in “the Research Group on Economic Development Strategy of the Nankai University” (p. 137).

³⁴ Jin Yanshi – representative from Tianjin from Nankai Institute of Economics. According to Chang (2020) he was in “the Research Group on Economic Development Strategy of the Nankai University” (p. 137).

³⁵ Chang Xiuze – representative from Tianjin from Nankai Institute of Economics. According to Chang (2020) he was in “the Research Group on Economic Development Strategy of the Nankai University” (p. 137). He is also the author of “The Symposium of Middle-Aged and Young Economists in 1984—The ‘Moganshan Conference’” used for this thesis. Reference list: Chang (2020).

Gang, then the head of the Economics Weekly, engaged in an academic exchange at Tianjin Nankai University” (“1984 年夏天 黄江南和朱嘉明以及时任 ‘经济学周报’ 社的负责人张钢在天津南开大学做了一次学术交流”) (Dimly lit, 2018a: 00:08:34). It is narrated that on the train returning to Beijing, these three young people were talking about the topic of reform. They were planning a meeting of national youth economic scientists during the discussion. The question however was how to hold such a meeting nationwide. Huang Jiangnan questioned it and on the piece of paper he carried with him, he wrote a notice about holding a meeting of young economists. They also discussed how to give an opportunity to the young people from all over China to participate in the meeting and as well in this tide of reform. So, they thought of a national conference, however, they had no resources, no power in their hands. Apparently, the young people were so interested in this idea that “after the train arrived in Beijing the three young people did not go home but went straight to the office of the Institute of Economics of the Academy of Social Sciences in the No. 2 Yuetan North Street” (“火车到了北京后三个人都没有回家而是直奔月坛北小街二号院的社科院经济所的办公室组织讨论”) (Dimly lit, 2018a: 00:11:27). They were very excited, but they knew there were still many difficulties to deal with before holding a conference.

During their discussion, they decided to expand the range of participants from young economic scientists to young and middle-aged economic scientists, and the ideas and the content of the conference gradually became clear (Dimly lit, 2018a). After that, these young people found Qiao Tongfeng 乔桐封³⁶ from the “Economic Research” editorial board and asked her to organize a meeting notification. Thus, according to the first episode, “it seemed that soon a meeting on the topic of reforms was to be held” (“一个改革主题的会议似乎呼之欲出了”) (Dimly lit, 2018a: 00:11:54).

Already, in the beginning, the young people faced one of the most difficult problems in preparation for the meeting, namely the location of the conference. It was narrated in the same episode that Huang Jiangnan arrived together with Zhu Jiaming in Hangzhou 杭州 in April. Huang Jiangnan saw Liu Youcheng, who was then the deputy director of the Zhejiang Provincial Political Research Office. Fortunate for these young people, an opportunity arose quite unexpectedly for them. After Liu Youcheng found out about this problem, he said that they can come to Moganshan and that their province supports them. So, according to Huang

³⁶ Qiao Tongfeng – representative from Institute of Economics, Chinese Academy of Social Sciences.

Jiangnan, “he assured them that Moganshan is fine, and they will provide a venue” (“他说莫干山没问题, 他们提供场地”) (Dimly lit, 2018a: 00:14:29).

The next difficulty of the young people after the venue was the problem of insufficient funds. Clearly, young economists could not afford to organize such a huge meeting using their own means and resources and they were supposed to find funds by themselves. And under these circumstances, three young people organized a national meeting of young economists for the first time. Regarding funding, the three young people first thought of Du Runsheng, director of the Rural Policy Research Office of the Secretariat of the CPC Central Committee. According to the first episode, Du Runsheng had always been very supportive of young people, and “in this way, they received 10,000 yuan of conference funding from Du Runsheng” (“就这样他们得到了来自杜润生的一万元会议经费”) (Dimly lit, 2018a: 00:14:56). After the meeting room and the accommodation of the delegates were resolved, the expenses sponsored by the media units were used to solve the catering problem during the meeting (Dimly lit, 2018a).

The next question to be solved was what name to give to the conference they planned. To be specific, they had thoughts about the age of participants. Since they were young but some participants at that time were already 35 the problem arose whether it would be appropriate to call them young or not. The organizers came up with an idea and described them as middle-aged economists. In this way, the scope of participants could be more extensive and furthermore, they said it was more in line with the actual situation of the Chinese middle-aged community of economists at that time. The full name of the conference was named the “National Academic Symposium for Young and Middle-aged Economists” (“全国中青年经济科学工作者学术讨论会”) (Dimly lit, 2018a: 00:17:03).

After a decision was made about the venue, funds, and name, the question arose of how to disseminate information about the meeting throughout the country. Huang Jiangnan convinced some newspapers to publish the meeting notification and spread the information. The idea of publishing in the newspaper was quickly implemented. According to the documentary on June 12, the “Economic Daily”, “Economics Weekly”, “China Youth” and other media simultaneously published a short message entitled “Five organizations including this newspaper will hold a symposium for young and middle-aged economists to widely solicit papers and invite those selected to attend as official representatives” (“本报等五单位将召开中青年经济学术讨论会广泛征集论文邀请入选者作为正式代表出席”) (Dimly lit, 2018a:

00:18:03). It was this 200-characters short message that blew the call on young and middle-aged economists to step onto the stage of history. This short message in the newspapers was a very creative idea since apart from spreading the information about the conference it was also useful for the attraction and selection of participants through articles. It is something like a form of registration through sending an article. As a result, the conference affairs team successively received letters from applicants and the conference preparation entered a new stage.

Therefore, the next and not the easiest step was the review and selection of the papers they had received. So, according to the first episode, “in order to review and select papers, young scholars Wang Xiaolu, Zhou Qiren, Jia Kang 贾康³⁷ and others formed the paper group to mainly focus on the screening of papers” (“为了审阅和评选论文青年学者王小鲁周其仁贾康等人组成了论文组 主抓论文的筛选工作”) (Dimly lit, 2018a: 00:19:53). It is further said that they rented a room in a hotel and gathered all the papers there with some of them staying in the hotel to read the manuscripts. The received manuscripts were handwritten and mimeographed, but most of them were handwritten. The papers they received made it clear to them that there were many young people who were interested in economic reform and had considerable insights. From the information in the film, it is known that “ultimately, after careful review and consideration, the paper group selected 124 papers out of more than 1,300 submissions” (“经过仔细的审阅和斟酌最终论文组在应征的一千三百多篇来稿中选出了124篇”) (Dimly lit, 2018a: 00:23:38). Consequently, these 124 authors were invited to the conference. However, the papers that were selected during the application period served as admission tickets for the conference and were not read at the meeting. This was also an innovation generated by the Moganshan Conference 1984.

As stated in the first episode, “in addition to the official representatives selected through papers, the meeting also invited a small number of special representatives who had a certain influence at that time” (“除了通过论文选拔的正式代表会议还邀请了当时有一定影响为数不多的特约代表”) (Dimly lit, 2018a. 00:24:21). For instance, one of them was Xu Jingan who back in 1984 served as director of the Planning Division of the State Commission for Economic Structural Reform. He took part at the Moganshan Conference 1984 despite the fact that as he

³⁷ Jia Kang – representative from Ministry of Finance of the People's Republic of China Finance Science Research Institute.

states in the film, he “was advised by the State Commission for Economic Structural Reform also including the leaders of the Economic Research Center not to participate in this meeting” “国家体制改革委员会还有包括那个经济研究中心的领导说劝我不要参加这样的会”) (Dimly lit, 2018a: 00:26:00). Thus, Xu Jingan participated taking the risk of losing his position as director especially after he had taken over the position as the deputy head of the Moganshan Conference Preparatory Committee in charge of academic affairs.

So, finally, with the support of various forces, many young talents with academic backgrounds distributed throughout the country were selected and then participated in the meeting of young and middle-aged economists with special representatives. For them, it was a platform to organize academic exchange amongst each other and it was a good network.

After several months of intensive preparatory work, the conference received more and more attention and support. At the end of the first episode, the information is provided that “before the Moganshan Conference Du Runsheng personally called Xue Ju 薛驹, the governor of Zhejiang Province, hoping that the Zhejiang Provincial Government would provide greater support” (“会前杜润生还亲自 给浙江省省长薛驹打电话 希望浙江省政府能够给予更大的支持”) (Dimly lit, 2018a: 00:28:38). Xue Ju answered his request with great joy. It is also important to note that to ensure the smooth proceeding of the meeting, they have implemented various safety measures such as food inspection of first-class protection.

4.2. The Moganshan Conference 1984 and its results

The National Academic Symposium for Young and Middle-aged Economists was planned to be held on the 3rd of September. The conference affairs team informed all participants in the meeting notice to register in the Red House Guest House in Hangzhou, Zhejiang Province on the 2nd of September (Dimly lit, 2018b). Simultaneously, the participants were asked not to arrive early due to limited accommodation arrangements and the tight budget of the meeting. Moreover, according to Zhu Jiaming’s interview in the second episode “buying a train ticket at that time was very difficult” (“在当时火车票非常难买”) (Dimly lit, 2018b: 00:03:14). He continued with the information that the participants were from different parts of China and the farthest from Urumqi 乌鲁木齐. To buy a soft sleeper was only possible if you had enough money. That is why most people bought a hard seat or were even standing (Dimly lit, 2018b). The conference affairs team considered that people from remote areas seldom had the chance to participate in this kind of conference and therefore gave them preferential treatment.

On September 2, 1984, the delegates successively arrived at the Red House Guest House in Hangzhou. In the early morning of the second day, the delegates set off from Hangzhou in light rain and took a bus for the more than 80 kilometers to Moganshan.

In addition to the delegates who passed the paper screening, some practitioners who already had some experience in the reform field were invited to participate in the conference. Such as “the four men of Nankai 南开³⁸ had a different experience of going up the mountain when they attended the meeting as a special representative” (“南开四条汉子作为特邀代表在参会之时却有着别样的上山经历”) (Dimly lit, 2018b: 00:08:14). Li Luoli was one of the four gentlemen of Nankai and was a doctoral supervisor at that time. He was also invited to participate in the Moganshan Conference 1984.

According to the second episode, “the participants of the Moganshan Conference included government department workers, factory workers, and media workers, but most of them were enthusiastic young people who wanted to contribute ideas to reform” (“莫干山会议的参会人员有政府部门的工作人员 有工厂的工人 也有媒体工作者 但更多的还是想要为改革献计献策的热血青年”) (Dimly lit, 2018b: 00:11:30). Further, the second episode states that “what pleasantly surprised the participants was that Xue Ju, the governor of Zhejiang Province, visited Moganshan in person and spoke at the opening ceremony” (“更令参会者惊喜的是浙江省省长薛驹亲临莫干山, 并且在开幕式上讲了话”) (Dimly lit, 2018b: 00:11:54). This speech from within the system made the participants feel more confident.

The opening ceremony of the Moganshan Conference was held in the most magnificent Cathedral No. 450 in Moganshan. After the opening ceremony, the meeting quickly entered the stage of thematic discussion, which was long-awaited by all participants. The participants were divided into thematic discussion groups, according to the content of their papers. However, they could still join the discussion of other groups according to their own interests. The topic discussion was divided into seven groups including the macro group 宏观组, the enterprise group 企业组, the opening-up group 开放组, the circulation group 流通组, and the rural group

³⁸ the four men of Nankai (南开四条汉子) are the same four gentlemen of Tianjin (天津四君子) mentioned above.

农村组。Discussions involved many aspects of the problems faced by China's reform and opening-up at that time. Sometimes the discussions were very active and sometimes a problem of time management came up. As a solution time knocking the teacup 敲杯子 was introduced. Furthermore, the delegates felt that the daytime discussions did not provide enough time for in depth discussions. However, these unfinished topics could not be carried over to the next day, as they would take up the time allotted to other topics. So, the participants thought of another solution and discussed topics in the evenings.

The main members of the opening-up group were the four gentlemen of Nankai. They had frequent contacts with young economists in Beijing when they were in school, and they had directly participated in the establishment of the Tianjin Development Zone. On the afternoon of September 4th, the opening-up group held a heated discussion on the topic of "opening up needs reform and reform is needed to promote opening up" ("开放必须改革改革促进开放") (Dimly lit, 2018b: 00:26:31). Based on the practical experience in Tianjin, the four men of Nankai led the opening-up team to propose requirements for adapting to the opening up. The reform of the system must first take a big step forward in the coastal cities. In the end, the development team formed a policy recommendation report to the central government on the "Recommendations on Several Issues Concerning the Opening of 14 Coastal Cities" ("沿海十四个城市对外开放的若干问题的建议") (Dimly lit, 2018b: 00:28:10).

In this first academic symposium for young and middle-aged economists since the founding of new China, everyone could articulate their own opinions in a free atmosphere. The macro group debate was also in full swing and it quickly became the most striking group among the panel discussions and received more and more attention. The question was whether they could finally be able to formulate an implementable policy. So, the price issue turned out to be the most urgent issue and the focus of discussion. The members of the macro group talked freely about the price issue and quickly split into two groups based on different opinions. Just when the two factions reached a stalemate in the dispute, new ideas emerged. As mentioned above, they organized night talks and after a while, everyone was no longer holding their own opinions but was accepting and absorbing more ideas and forming new ideas. In this way, the idea of price reform gradually became clearer. As according to the third episode, while the macro group focused on price reform issues "everyone believed that the existing price system had two major drawbacks", and that "there were too many officially set prices, and the price structure was unreasonable" ("大家认为现有的价格体系有两大弊病。一是官方定价太多 二是价格结

构不合理”) (Dimly lit, 2018c: 00:01:51). Many people who had passed through that era had personal experiences with these drawbacks.

The third episode (Dimly lit, 2018c) stated that the delegation represented by Tian Yuan proposed the first view of the reform plan, namely the following:

“First, the market mechanism reform plan is carried out through price adjustment, that is the first idea of the small-step quick-adjustment institutional reform plan” (“首先通过价格调整进行市场机制改革的方案即小步快调机构改革方案的第一种思路”) (00:04:54)

Another view according to Xu Jingan was expressed by Zhang Weiying who thought that the price should be liberalized and that “prices should be determined by supply and demand” (“价格应该是受供求关系来决定的”) (Dimly lit, 2018c: 00:06:51).

Since the discussion of the macro group was very heated many people rushed to their group to see the debate between the advocates of the two schools of thought (Dimly lit, 2018c). Both factions were still holding on to their own views about releasing and adjusting. In such a heated discussion it was “difficult to form a policy that could be implemented” (“很难真正形成一个可以实施的政策”) (Dimly lit, 2018c: 00:14:36). The issue of whether the price should be liberalized or should be adjusted by the government interested everyone. And finally, they came up with a third solution which was the combination of adjustment and release. This solution actually formed this dual-track price system. It is known that “the intervention of Hua Sheng and several students from the Graduate School of the Academy of Social Sciences broke the deadlock between the two groups” (“黄生和几位社科院研究生院同学的加入打破了放调两派僵持不下的局面”) (Dimly lit, 2018c: 00:15:16). The main point of view of the macro group changed from two factions to three factions. Thus, in the reform, adjustment and release can be combined to promote each other and complement each other. According to Liu Hong, this dual-track system of course also was criticized. Liu Hong said that some criticized that “it cannot last too long and needs to be merged as soon as possible to become one market track” (“不能够延续得太久要尽快地并轨并成一个轨并到市场轨上来”) (Dimly lit, 2018c: 00:21:21). For instance, in the fifth episode (Dimly lit, 2018e), Huang Jiangnan expressed the opinion that the possibility of inflation problems should be taken into account, as well as the question of “whether the supply of materials would be enough, what to do if there was a

shortage, and other issues” (“还有物资到底供应上供应不上 短缺了怎么办等的问题”) (00:05:55).

According to the fourth episode (Dimly lit, 2018d), Kong Dan 孔丹 and Li Xianglu, who were Zhang Jinfu’s secretaries at the time, were entrusted by Zhang Jinfu to go to Moganshan hoping to learn more about the meeting. They listened to the discussions and participated in some. It just so happened, that in September 1984, during the Moganshan Conference, Zhang Jinfu was making an inspection visit to Hangzhou, Zhejiang. Kong Dan reported to Zhang Jinfu about the Moganshan conference. Zhang Jinfu attached great importance to the issues discussed by the young people and let Kong Dan invite some of the delegates to come to Hangzhou to discuss with him (Dimly lit, 2018d).

According to Huang Jiangnan’s interview in the documentary, he said that Zhao Ziyang who was the “Prime Minister at that time, invited some representatives of the Moganshan Conference to have a small meeting” (“总理就召集莫干山会的一些代表去跟他们开小会”) (Dimly lit, 2018d: 00:07:05). Huang Jiangnan also said that “when they discussed the price issue in a dialogue between old and young, they also invited some people from the price group” (“所以说老青对话了就讨论价格问题就把价格组的人都请去”) (Dimly lit, 2018d: 00:07:13). But at that time the report of the price group was not available yet, because they had divided into three groups, each group ended up making a separate report.

At the time they went to Hangzhou, some of the delegates were already in a state of extreme exhaustion due to intense discussions over the course of several days. But they were still very excited going to the small meeting they were invited to. At the meeting, after their report, Zhang Jinfu asked a lot of sharp questions about their reports. According to Hua Sheng’s interview (Dimly lit, 2018d) Zhang Jinfu asked questions like:

“Will there be multiple prices for one thing; will there be speculation; can it lead the market to change in a positive way and how long would it take to complete the transition from the planned price to the market price according to their informed guess” (“会不会出现一物多价, 会不会出现投机, 能不能够引导市场向积极的方面变化, 按照你们的设想需要多长时间来完成从计划价格向市场性的价格过渡”) (00:10:36).

The hard work of the delegates paid off. According to the fourth episode (Dimly lit, 2018d) “after this report and discussion, the results of the Moganshan meeting were communicated to

Zhang Jinfu and a policy decision was soon formed” (“经过这这番汇报和讨论之后 莫干山会议的成果传达给了张劲夫很快形成了决策”) (00:11:08). Important is to mention the statement of Xu Jingan who in the same episode said that “what should be a key, is that without the appreciation and without the acceptance of the leaders, it could not become a national decision” (“这也应该说是一个关键 如果我们谈论再好没有领导的赏识 没有领导的接受也不能成为国家的怎么一个决策”) (Dimly lit, 2018d: 00:11:17).

The day when the Moganshan Conference ended in 1984 happened to be the Mid-Autumn Festival 中秋节, a traditional Chinese festival which was scheduled for 10th of September in 1984. The Mid-Autumn Festival was originally a family reunion festival. But since everyone was far away from their families, the group of participants celebrated together singing and drinking. The documentary narrates a little about their celebration referring to the interviews given by Zhu Jiaming, Jia Kang as well as Liu Hong. On the way back from the mountain, they watched the tide on the Qiantang River 钱塘江 and many of them saw it the first time. For them, it was the most joyous moment during the entire conference. Indeed, the view shown in the film is unexpected and fascinating.

According to the fourth episode, “after watching the tide on the Qiantang River, in line with the discussion at the meeting, Xu Jingan, Zhu Jiaming, Wang Qishan, Huang Jiangnan, Zhou Qiren, and others were responsible for drafting the special report to be reported to the high-level leaders” (“钱塘江观潮后根据会议讨论的情况徐景安朱嘉明王岐山黄江南周其仁等负责起草拟向高层汇报的专题报告”) (Dimly lit, 2018d: 00:17:54). Du Sha, Cai Zhongzhi, Tian Yuan, Hua Sheng, Jiang Yue, Liu Yu, and many other young scholars participated in the writing. After several days of intense analysis and sorting, 8 special reports were completed on September 15th. These reports are the following: “Two Ideas for Price Reform”; “Several Issues Related to Price Reform”; “Recommendations on Opening Coastal Cities”; “Small and Collective Enterprises Should Start with Self-financing”; “Several Opinions on Financial System Reform”; “Development and Management Several Issues in the Share-holding Economy”; “Reform the Grain Purchase and Sale System and Rural Industrial Structure”; “On the Economic Functions of the Government at this Stage of our Country”³⁹ (Dimly lit, 2018d:

³⁹ The Chinese translation of the reports are the following: “价格改革的两种思路” “与价格改革相关的若干问题” “关于沿海对外开放城市的建议” “实行自负盈亏应从小企业和集体企业起步” “金融体制改革的若干意见” “发展和管理股份经济的几个问题” “改革粮食购销体制与农村产业结构” “关于我国现阶段政府的经济职能”

00:18:14). These issues discussed at the Moganshan Conference in 1984 are still very critical issues today and they require constant efforts to solve them. It can be seen that the content of the Moganshan Conference 1984 is very forward-looking. Soon, the results of the Moganshan Conference were recognized by the decision-makers. As stated in the film, “they thought the report on price reform was extremely valuable for reference and the idea of combining relaxed control and with re-adjustment was very mind-blowing” (“他们认为关于价格改革的报告‘极有参考价值’‘关于调放结合的思路很开脑筋’”) (Dimly lit, 2018d: 00:19:48). In the end, it was adopted by the Third Plenary Session of the 12th Central Committee of the Communist Party of China. So, the dual-track system was officially implemented shortly after the Moganshan Conference 1984.

According to Liu Hong, an important expert on the Moganshan Conference, this may have occurred because the group of young economists could quickly report to the leadership. As a consequence of such direct contact, all the information could be quickly passed to the decision-making level (Dimly lit, 2018d). Thus, if there was no Moganshan Conference 1984 even if young people would have had theoretical ideas or some policy recommendations, it would have been impossible to have these final results which we have nowadays. Liu Hong pointed out that “the Moganshan Conference was a network, and this fact cannot be ignored” (“莫干山会议 它是一个网络这个是不可忽略的”) (Dimly lit, 2018d: 00:20:37).

On September 13, 1984, which was the third day after the Moganshan Conference, Zhu Jiaming was arranged by the Zhejiang Provincial Party Committee and the Provincial Government to hold discussions with cadres at or above the provincial level (Dimly lit, 2018d). Further, we are told that Zhu Jiaming, who was speaking at the above-mentioned event, was interrupted by a telegram which made his mind suddenly fall into chaos. He received news that his mother was ill and immediately bought train tickets to go and see her, but unfortunately, when he got there, she was no longer alive.

When they returned to Beijing many final reports were still to be written. After the Moganshan Conference 1984 these young and middle-aged people attracted great attention from society and their talents were universally recognized as it is mentioned in the fourth episode of the documentary (Dimly lit, 2018d)

Chang Xiuze at the end of the fourth episode said that Mr. Wang Daohan 汪道涵, the mayor of the Shanghai Municipal People’s Government, invited experts from the Economic Daily to

conduct research on Shanghai's development strategy. It was called “Several Opinions on Shanghai's Revitalization and Development” (“关于上海振兴与发展若干意见”) and drafted by the four gentlemen of Nankai including Chang (Dimly lit, 2018d: 00:25:49).

In addition to being invited by the local government to make suggestions for local development, a historic result of the Moganshan meeting was that after the meeting, the magazine carrying a title similar to the conference, i.e. “Young and Middle-aged Economic Forum”, came into being. Furthermore, the actions of this group of young and middle-aged economists were far from over although the Moganshan Conference 1984 was over (Dimly lit, 2018d).

As pointed out in the documentary, by the 1990s, as the scope of planned prices became smaller and smaller, the market weight became bigger and bigger. In the end, the natural market price drove the planned price out of its territory. Except for a few public areas, most areas are occupied by market prices. According to the fifth episode “it took six years from the dual-track system proposed in 1984 to the early 1990s, and China smoothly completed its price reforms in silence” (“从 1984 年提出‘双轨制’到 1990 年代初用了 6 年的时间中国在不声不响中平稳地完成了价格改革”) (Dimly lit, 2018e: 00:12:25).

After mentioning once again that the results of the Moganshan meeting were adopted by the central government the last episode of the documentary film discusses what kind of life paths the participants of the Moganshan Conference followed after they went their separate ways. The later development of these people's lives is diverse according to Kong Dan (Dimly lit, 2018e). He reports that many people have entered the decision-making level of the country and even the central government. This is to say more broadly that the participants of the Moganshan Conference are well-known to the leadership of the country. He also mentions a group of economists who have become very successful scholars after the conference of Moganshan.

According to the fifth episode (Dimly lit, 2018e) “the price reform with the greatest impact at the Moganshan Conference led to the reform of the distribution of material goods and the reform of the planning system” (“莫干山会议影响最大的价格改革带动了物质分配的改革计划体制的改革”) (00:18:34). This reform laid the foundation for the transition from a planned economy to a market economy and a commodity economy. Further, the documentary explains that the two-legged dual-track system is not only on the road of price reform, but its application is very extensive. There are footprints of dual-track systems in many areas nowadays.

Those who witnessed the Moganshan Conference influenced some people who did not participate in the meeting and Cao Wenlian 曹文炼 is one of them. In 1984, Cao Wenlian also graduated from Renmin University of China. At that time, he heard about the Moganshan Conference at the school. Later, as revealed in the documentary, through contact with eyewitnesses of the Moganshan Conference, he came up with the idea of establishing a new Moganshan Conference “新莫干山会议” (Dimly lit, 2018e: 00:23:49). According to his understanding, the spirit of the Moganshan Conference 1984 consisted of “seeking truth from facts, not only from books” (“最核心的还是实事求是不能唯书”) (Dimly lit, 2018e: 00:18:04). People living at that time had a very strong sentiment to serve the country and the people.

The fifth episode in the documentary film explains that since 2012, the New Moganshan Conference has been held for seven consecutive sessions (Dimly lit, 2018e). It has become an important platform for ideological exchanges to study China's reform and development path. In 2018 the seventh New Moganshan Conference was held for the first time outside Moganshan. Zhu Ruijun 朱瑞俊 was the host of the seventh New Moganshan Conference, and he likewise stated that the Moganshan Conference played a very important role in China's economic development. Furthermore, he pointed out that up to the seventh New Moganshan Conference he felt that he had also “inherited and carried forward the spirit of the Moganshan Conference of 1984” (“继承和发扬了莫干山会议的精神”) (Dimly lit, 2018e: 00:25:27). The New Moganshan Conference upholds the spirit of the 1984 Moganshan Conference in so far as excellent young economists are there to discuss, communicate and speak up.

Last but not least, the documentary turns to the venue of the Moganshan Conference 1984 and tells its story. According to the second episode of the documentary, a part of the cathedral where the conference was held was damaged in a fire in 2001 (Dimly lit, 2018b). Thus, this ancient building lost its original appearance. And because it is of great significance to the Moganshan meeting, it was necessary to repair the building. According to Liu Jianlin 刘建林, who works at the Moganshan Administration, they “started the restoration in June 2017” (“我们在 2017 年的 6 月份重新启动了修复工作”) (Dimly lit, 2018b: 00:16:21). After the restoration, the repaired cathedral was presented in a new look. It is shown in the documentary film in its new appearance, and it is said that “exquisite wooden structure and painted glass made this nearly 100-year-old building more attractive than ever” (“精美的木质结构和绘彩玻璃使这座近百年的建筑更魅力”) (Dimly lit, 2018b: 00:15:55).

It is also known that Chang Xiuze went back there in 2017 but the cathedral was still being renovated. And in September 2018, Zhu Jiaming, one of the main initiators of the Moganshan Conference, went back to Moganshan, too, more than 30 years after the conference. On June 23, 2018, the new cathedral was opened to the public. It received a new name, namely the Moganshan Conference Site Memorial Hall “莫干山会议旧址纪念馆” (Dimly lit, 2018b: 00:18:24). According to the documentary (Dimly lit, 2018b) there is an exhibition about the Moganshan Conference 1984 in the Moganshan Conference Site Memorial Hall. This exhibition displays photographs from the conference, various materials related to the conference, as well as various exhibits provided by some eyewitnesses. This exhibition is significant since it is a place where the Moganshan Conference 1984 is remembered and appreciated. It is also mentioned in the documentary film that “the majestic architecture and detailed historical display attract visitors from everywhere to stop there and have a look” (“雄奇的建筑和详尽的史料陈列吸引了来自各地的游客驻足观看”) (Dimly lit, 2018b: 00:18:30).

5. Comparison of the two chapters discussing Moganshan Conference in written sources and the documentary film series

In this chapter, the information from the chapter “The discussion of the Moganshan Conference 1984 in written sources” and the information from the documentary film about the meeting will be compared, namely, the chapter “The chronology of the Moganshan Conference 1984 in the documentary film”. This comparison will help to identify if something of the story in the documentary is missing in other sources and vice versa. In this way, it may be found that a particular source pays special attention to a point that is not mentioned in other sources.

It is obvious that books used for the chapter “The discussion of the Moganshan Conference 1984 in written sources”, that describe the event and its organization, write about the circumstances of that time in some detail, however, these books do not focus on the Moganshan Conference. The advantage of this fact is that the reader can receive more complete information about what happened in China before and after the Moganshan Conference 1984. Of course, in the documentary film, there is also an introduction to the circumstances of the year 1984 and generally to the reform and opening-up of China. Books for instance describe how it came to the reform and opening-up, how there was a transition from rural reform to urban reform, the need for price reform, the dual-track price system implementation, and the following course of events. At the same time chapters in these books f.e. of Chang (2020), Luo (2010), Keyser (2003), Fewsmith (1994) give detailed information of the Moganshan Conference in the year 1984. They pay attention to how the meeting was organized and prepared, to its participants, to sponsors, to funds, to the holding of the meeting itself, to the results produced by the meeting.

The documentary film likewise reveals all the above-mentioned but to a different degree. However, its main focus is the Moganshan Conference 1984 itself compared to books. Thus, the discussion goes more about the idea of the meeting, the venue, how the young economists organized this event, the problems they faced during the preparation work, the cathedral where the meeting was held, and its restoration after the fire in 2001, its new exhibition about the conference, their proposal of the dual-track price system for China’s price reform and its significance for future development of China etcetera. It shows interviews with the participants and organizers of the Moganshan Conference, as well as other specialists which are also something that makes this documentary film even more special and interesting for the audience. There is also additional information about the creation of the New Moganshan Conference at the end of the last episode.

Thus, the Moganshan Conference 1984 description in various written sources and the documentary film both narrated the background and important events before the conference. For instance, the resumption of the college entrance examination was not only mentioned in the documentary but also in some chapters as in Luo's (2010). This was apparently mentioned to underline that the educated youth at that time was willing to study and make contributions to China's Reform. All the sources narrated that all the young and middle-aged economists that took part in the conference were well trained in economics. Furthermore, Luo (2010) also gave a deeper understanding of the circumstances before the reform and opening-up and the period after the Cultural Revolution which was not done in the film. He also mentioned the expansion of freedom of the press and publication, and the acceptance of autonomous think-tanks taking part in the policy process what clearly made it more possible to arrange such a nationwide conference and implement its results.

Comparing to the film, books gave the information that many think-tanks were established under the patronage of Zhao Ziyang, to which he turned for advice and that f.e. RDRC was abolished after Tiananmen in 1989. Written sources such as Weber (2021) revealed that the four gentlemen of reform were "the first young economists to have a dialogue with Premier Zhao Ziyang" (p.286) and that their article in 1980, which was well-received by Zhao, was also a key event that "prepared the way for younger economists to play a role in shaping the economic reforms of the 1980s" (pp. 284-285). The film, however, let us know only that after the conference the young economists had talks with Zhao Ziyang and other leaders.

All the sources as it was seen in both chapters of this thesis gave sufficient information regarding the emergence of the idea of the conference, the preparation, organization, and funds. Both chapters emphasized the "selection through paper" method to invite the participants from all over the country as an innovation. This peculiar selection method and the organization of the meeting with the principle of exchanging thoughts in a way of a network was unusual at that time. In this atmosphere of free discussion, the young and middle-aged scholars could express themselves and generate new ideas more easily. The generation of the idea of the dual-track price system was exactly a case in point.

A lot of attention to the dual-track price system is paid in all the sources since it was quite an important issue. The documentary film focused mostly on the issue of the dual-track price system proposal from all the discussed topics at the conference, thus placing a clear emphasis on this topic. It becomes obvious why they paid attention to this. It is since they knew it was

needed to find proposals for the price reform and indeed thanks to this way of conducting the conference, they succeeded in making proposals to the decision-making level. As a matter of fact, the young economists made the proposal of the dual-track price system which was later implemented in China. Thus, it can be concluded that the Moganshan Conference 1984 played a significant role in the reform and opening-up and generally in the economic development of China. And these kinds of statements were found not only in the documentary film but also in the written sources about the meeting.

Both chapters revealed the main facts such as that initially regarding the price reform issue there were two groups each advocating their own approaches and it was only during the discussion that they came up with the third approach, namely the dual-track price system. Another fact is that dual-track price was there already in rural China as we are being told by Luo (2010) who points to the example that grain procurement was already, in fact, operating under a dual-track system. Even the example with the mercury in the thermometer was mentioned by Chang (2020) as well as by the documentary.

The dual-track price system proposal, conversations of the young economists with the leadership after the conference, and policy acceptance discussions, all these issues were described in the two chapters above. However, only Luo (2010) stated that it was he who first mentioned this idea of the dual-track price at the conference, but he does not really concentrate on that in his work because the discussion, the presentation, and the implementation of the dual-track price system according to him were more important. The documentary film did not discuss who exactly was the first to propose the idea. We may assume that this can be due to some infighting among them about the question of who invented this idea. From this, it can be concluded that the documentary film stressed more the fact that the young and middle-aged scholars were the ones to provide this policy advice to the leadership and that this became possible thanks to the network and such conference held by them.

However, although many important aspects are mentioned or described both in the documentary film as well as in books or articles, a different degree of attention is paid to the venue of the meeting. Almost all the written sources such as Chang (2020), Fewsmith (1994), Keyser (2003), Zhang (2018) that discuss the Moganshan Conference of 1984 mention the place of the meeting, however mostly indicating the Moganshan Mountain in Deqing County in Zhejiang province and not the building or any conference hall. Interestingly, despite the very detailed discussion of the conference and the dual-track price system Luo (2010) did not

mention even the geographical location of the meeting. In most cases, a short description of the geographic location is provided. Interestingly in Chang's (2020) text the author narrated his interest in the origin of the name of the Moganshan Mountain and described it in his work for the reader.⁴⁰ In this way, the written sources do not provide information on the question of where exactly the Moganshan Conference 1984 was held and whether this place was of any significance. Even the latest research of Chang (2020) did not pay attention to this. It is also interesting because both Chang and Luo had participated in the meeting, but neither of them wrote about the venue, while at the same time, in their chapters they described many of the details related to the conference.

Opposite to this, the documentary film paid relatively more attention to the venue of the Moganshan Conference in 1984. Each of the five episodes began with a trailer which except for showing the participants, China, photos, and newspaper pictures also displayed the cathedral of Moganshan. This fragment first shows the entire cathedral, after which the doors open, and the viewer gets inside. This is exactly the cathedral where the Moganshan Conference 1984 was held. None of the written sources described that after the fire in 2001, this cathedral was under restoration from 2017 till 2018 and that in June 2018 when the restoration work was finished, the cathedral was opened under a new name and with an exhibition in it.

The documentary also showed the hall of the cathedral while telling the story of the meeting, so that the viewer can visualize the crowded hall and imagine the atmosphere. There are some parts in the documentary film showing how some of the participants came to visit Moganshan after many years had passed. Parts of the Moganshan Conference Site Memorial Hall with an exhibition about the conference were also shown during the documentary film, also showing photos and documents. The second and fifth episodes paid special attention to the cathedral. It is undeniable that along with the achievements of young economists and the dual-track price system the cathedral and thus the Moganshan Conference Site Memorial Hall with the

⁴⁰ When the author participated in the Moganshan Conference in September 1984, he became interested in the name of the "Moganshan Mountain". Later, he learned about the legend of the mountain. During the Period of Spring and Autumn (770–476 B.C.), there were a couple of sword forgers called Mo Ye and Gan Jiang. They forged swords for the King of Wu in the mountain. Two swords of superb craftsmanship were forged, one female named after Mo Ye and the other male named after Gan Jiang. These swords could be assembled into one sword or separated as two swords. Later, the King of Wu prosecuted Gan Jiang to death. People in later generations named the mountain Mo Gan to commemorate them. Lu Xun, a modern Chinese literary master, wrote a short story named "Forging Sword" about this legend (Chang, 2020: p.128).

exhibition are the main focuses of the documentary. This is the main difference from the written sources since none of them mentioned any building or hall where the meeting was held.

The documentary film thus showed the place for commemoration. From the moment of the opening of the memorial hall and the exhibition, this meeting will not be only memorized by the group of people involved in this event when visiting this place, but also by a larger group of people visiting this exhibition. Furthermore, the audience of the film will also learn to connect the Moganshan Conference 1984 to this cathedral after watching these episodes. Thus, the cathedral became the place where the history of the event is recalled. However, the relationship of this cathedral with the realm of memory, or “*lieu de mémoire*” as in Nora’s theory, will be discussed in more detail in the next section.

The documentary film also revealed some personal life stories of the participants as well as gave less important facts as f.e. the joint Mid-Autumn Festival celebration and watching of the tide on the Qiantang River, their personal examination stories, their memories, and other moments in their lives. The documentary film brings the audience closer to the participants of the meeting and the whole story of the Moganshan Conference.

Regarding the Moganshan Conference Site Memorial Hall and the exhibition, it is obvious why most of the sources did not mention it since it was reopened only in 2018 and the sources were published earlier. However, Chang (2020) who is a participant and wrote his latest paper in 2020 did not mention this fact. Another fact is that the New Moganshan Conference has also not received attention in the written sources, although it has already existed since 2012.

There is one more difference that is significant to mention. Only from the written sources, we get to know that some of the leaders of that time and some young scholars were exiled, imprisoned, or had to leave China after the Tiananmen protests in 1989. Written sources revealed that many of these young economists were exiled. Since they were associated with Zhao Ziyang, who was ousted in 1989, they had to bear these consequences. It is known that events that have to do with Tiananmen protests in 1989 are taboo in China and thus, the Moganshan conference is still taboo due to its relationship with Zhao Ziyang. Compared to the books the documentary did not mention these facts.

Of course, it is unambiguous that the format of communicating information in books and scientific texts differs from what is communicated in documentary films. However, in the end, the main points were revealed both in the film and in the written sources. As mentioned above, by identifying the differences in the information of these two chapters, it will be possible to

understand what the emphasis is on in this or that particular source. After comparing the two chapters of this thesis it became evident that the documentary film apart from focusing on similar issues as in the written sources has its main focus on the cathedral and its significance for the memory of the Moganshan Conference in 1984. Thus, it may be supposed that the cathedral and its Moganshan Conference Site Memorial Hall have become a symbolic element of the memorial heritage of this group.

Another fact is that the documentary film is in the Chinese language and is mostly aimed to reach Chinese-speaking audience. These are not only citizens of China but also overseas Chinese and people who can speak Chinese. That makes sense since the documentary is disseminating information about the past of China and the film itself is a part of establishing a realm of memory. Thus, the fact of using the Chinese language for the film shows us that the documentary mainly aims at Chinese people. However, the written sources are mainly in English and are mostly aimed at English-speaking readers. Some books and chapters can be accessed in China. But not all Chinese people speak English well enough and not everyone is interested in specifically looking for these resources. However, the opposite of this is the existence of articles and interviews written in Chinese on Chinese sources that are available to everyone in China. However, for obvious reasons, Chinese sources are not so concerned with the above-mentioned taboo issue.

6. Discussion

6.1. Documentary film analysis using the concept of documentary filmmaking

In this part, the documentary about the 1984 Moganshan Conference will be analyzed using the above-mentioned approaches to the analysis of documentary films. As seen from the documentary, the story narrated is about the meeting conducted by young and middle-aged economists. However, the film tells the viewer about the participants and organizers as well, how they achieved to organize such a conference at that time, how they got this idea, so in short, all the preparations, conduction, and results. It reveals the topics discussed and mentions the importance of this conference in the economic development of China and China's reforms. This documentary film thus is about real life and a real event in the history of China. It is about real people and in this particular case some of the participants and organizers provide interviews, thus they play themselves or present themselves as Nichols (2017) puts it.

Before moving to the discussion of the mode and voice of documentary it is worthwhile providing some information regarding the production of the film. The documentary film was produced by Phoenix TV. According to the website of Phoenix TV, it began to broadcast in 1996, with the philosophy of "reducing the distance within the global Chinese community and expressing the voice of Chinese to the world". Phoenix TV strives to provide to the Chinese diaspora high-quality Mandarin Chinese television programming (Phoenix TV). Meanwhile, it has become a multi-channel television broadcaster with stations in different regions. On the Chinese website under the documentary film about Moganshan Conference, there is a description of the Phoenix Vision or Phoenix Panorama 凤凰大视野 where there is a statement that Phoenix TV's Chinese Channel is dedicated to the mission to focus on the big era, big history, big themes, surveys, and the situation at home and abroad (ifeng, 2018). The program focuses on one theme every week, in the form of a documentary which runs for five consecutive days with a new episode every day allowing for in-depth and three-dimensional display of the times, historical features and historical actors. The episodes are 30 minutes each and broadcasted on the Chinese Channel at 20:00 from Monday to Friday (ifeng, 2018). The documentary about the 1984 Moganshan Conference has five episodes respectively and each lasts almost 30 minutes as is stated in the plan.

Regarding Nichols' (2017) modes of the documentary film, the documentary about the Moganshan Conference 1984 should be classified as belonging to the expository combined with the participatory mode. These two modes work best in this case. Nichols (2017) pointed

out that the expository mode is most associated with documentary in general. This mode emphasizes voice-over commentary, a problem/solution structure, an argumentative logic, and evidentiary editing. In our documentary, there are many parts where this off-camera commentary is used. The narrator is not shown to the audience, he lends his voice to narrate the story. Since the beginning of documentaries, there have been mostly male voice-over commentators and, in our case, the classical male voice is used. The second mode that suites our case is the participatory mode since it emphasizes the interaction between filmmaker and subject as pointed out by Nichols (2017). As in his description of the modes of film making, filming takes place through interviews or other forms of even more direct involvement, such as conversations or provocations. This mode is often coupled with archival footage to examine historical issues. The documentary about Moganshan has many interviews with participants, organizers, and other actors, thus this is the above-mentioned interaction between the filmmaker and the subject. Consequently, there is a mix of modes in this case, because from all the discussed modes these two are the most suitable for this documentary.

The documentary should also be analyzed in terms of various forms of a threefold interaction in the documentary film between filmmakers, subjects or social actors, and the audience or viewers. In our documentary when there is an interview of a participant or organizer then it is the “we/I speak about us to you” formulation. It is like this since they were part of the meeting and they are telling their own stories about their meeting. They could talk about personal stories, or their memories about someone else in their group, about something they experienced together, thus all these are the examples of “we/I speak about us to you” formulation. However, when the story is narrated from the host, or off-camera voice, or another actor who had not participated in the meeting it is the “I speak about them to you” formulation. They discuss the subject or social actors and inform us about them. This is very often seen when the female host or the off-camera voice are talking about the event and about the young and middle-aged economist. Throughout the film, the host gives the opening speech for each episode. She also accompanies the viewer throughout the film while the whole story is told. This becomes clear as in each episode the host several times summarizes what has been shown and directs the vector of the story, often through a question for subsequent discussion. An example of such a leading question from the first episode (Dimly lit, 2018a) can be illustrated below:

“...however, participants will still face pressure from their units and the inconvenience of transportation from all over the country to Moganshan. So, can this groundbreaking conference be successfully held in Moganshan?” (“但是参会者依然会面对 来自所在

单位的压力从全国各地来到莫干山的交通不便等等问题。那么这个开创性的会议究竟能否在莫干山顺利召开呢?”) (00:28:56)

In our case, there is the pronoun “them”, so the viewer gets the sense that he or she should examine the subject. In this very common formulation, the filmmaker addresses the audience and for the viewer, this question is clearly interesting or important. Besides the most common formulation, there is the second one the “I speak about us to you”. It seems also here that the viewer can examine the subject, but at the same time the viewer and speaker at this point draw closer to each other because the viewer gets the information directly from the speaker. Usually, when the “I speak about us to you” pattern is used the filmmaker and the subject are not separated, they are “subject of the same stock” (Nichols, 2017: p.54). According to the above said, in this documentary film both formulations are used since the interviewees are narrating about their own story and the voice-over talks about them.

By analyzing the voice in the documentary first, it should be said, that in this case, the voice is explicit, which means the voice is spoken or written. In this documentary film, there is an anchor and interviewees that talk during the film, which means the voice is embodied. However, at the same time as already mentioned, there are parts of the film where there is a voice-over commentary, which means the speaker is not seen, thus it is the disembodied voice. In this case, in various parts of the film, the voice is both embodied and disembodied. Thus, there is a direct address to the camera or audience as Nichols (2017) explained and it creates the sense that the film is making a proposal to the viewer about the nature of the historical world how things are or could be.

The documentary film as also explained in Nichols (2017) suggests a sound and visual representation of some part of the historical world. The film protects or presents the opinions of individuals, groups, and institutions. In our case it narrates the story of the Moganshan Conference 1984, it tells the audience the history of this event in China, and it does it by presenting the opinions of the eyewitnesses and participants. And these interviewees then are according to Nichols (2017) exactly the ones who “transmit impressions, make suggestions, tell stories, make arguments, or propose their own points of view, trying to persuade us to agree with their opinions” (p. 40).

Another important point is that the documentary triggers our memory about the past through narratives, images, and data from the past. This documentary film likewise reminds people of the conference in 1984 and to those who are not acquainted with this event the film shares

knowledge and of course, shapes the memory of the viewers. Furthermore, this documentary focuses on the location of the event. Special attention is paid to the cathedral of Moganshan which was reconstructed and functions currently as the Moganshan Conference Site Memorial Hall with an exhibition in it. Perhaps it can also be argued that the filmmaker shows the viewers who are acquainted with this event a place for commemoration, a place which triggers their memory about the past and indicates for those who heard about it for the first time a place to visit and learn more. Clearly, the documentary film shares memories, shares the history of the 1984 Moganshan Conference as well as the history of this period. And thus, as Leeuw (2007) stated “by sharing memories, documentary films present themselves as (almost) political tools, keeping alive social collective memory” (p.77). In this case, the documentary indeed shares memories, however, as of today, these are memories of a limited amount of people. And whether it will keep the social collective memory alive as in the statement above will depend on the future development of events.

In conclusion of this part, it is worth mentioning that for those who participated in the Moganshan Conference, the documentary film is a way to break through the still existing taboo in China and let other people know about the kind of contribution this otherwise tabooed group of young economists made to the success of reform and opening.

6.2. The cathedral and the Moganshan Conference Site Memorial Hall as a “lieux de mémoire”

In this section, an effort will be made to analyze whether the Moganshan cathedral as well as the Moganshan Conference Site Memorial Hall with an exhibition in it meet all the conditions that must exist to be a realm of memory, namely, be a “lieux de mémoire”. Since this thesis aims to investigate first whether this cathedral can be a realm of memory at all and second, how this place was changed into a “lieux de mémoire” and what the reason could be for doing it, this section is important.

It makes sense to start this analysis first by discussing the cathedral based on the Nora’s definition of the site of memory. In the case of this study, the Moganshan cathedral is our significant entity, and it is material in nature. According to this definition of Nora (1996), the cathedral should “by dint of human will or the work of time become a symbolic element of the memorial heritage of any community”. Indeed, as we have seen in the above chapters, the group of participants, organizers, researchers, and related to them and the conference people are eager to remember this event. It can be supposed that they have never stopped to remember it.

However, this topic as many others was tabooed in China. So, since it was not discussed in the public it can be said as it is in theory that the memory started to disappear. And clearly, not too many people in China apart from the participants might remember the Moganshan Conference since it was taboo. According to the theory of Nora (1989) only when the memory is disappeared the site of memory can be dedicated to it. It seems to be the case since this event was not mentioned in China in the 1990s and only after time had passed the situation began to change. Although, we should not forget that the conference is still a taboo. So, the memory first disappeared and since the participants, organizers, and others related to the Moganshan Conference were willing to remember it, only then a site of memory could be dedicated to it. As also Kritzman (1996) mentioned, “the projection of a ‘realm of memory’ is therefore the sign of memory’s disappearance and society’s need to represent what ostensibly no longer exists” (p. xii). So, according to the concept the need of the society to represent is an important condition for the existence of a “*lieu de mémoire*”. However, in our case, we do not have the whole society but a group of people who has the will to remember. And the last part of the definition states “the symbolic element of the memorial heritage of any community” (Nora, 1996: p.xii). In this way, we get the cathedral as a kind of symbolic element that is the community’s memorial heritage, thus in our case of the group of participants, organizers, researchers and related to them and the conference people. So far nothing was found what could inhibit the cathedral from becoming “*lieu de mémoire*”.

As we have seen above in the theory “*lieu de mémoire*” is material, symbolic or functional. It is also known that all three aspects always coexist. These are also important conditions for something to be a site of memory, hence we must also consider the cathedral in this context. Trying to see the cathedral in these three aspects we can say that first, it is a building and therefore is material in nature. It can be functional in nature since it functions as the Moganshan Conference Site Memorial Hall with an exhibition where the Moganshan Conference 1984 is remembered and appreciated nowadays. And in the end, it is also symbolic in nature since it can characterize, by making a reference of the event and the experience shared by all the participants of the event, a larger group that may not have participated in them as in Nora’s example of the generation mentioned above in this thesis (p.16).

As the theory states, the realm of memory constitutes a symbolic entity that relates the physical place to the collective memory. In our case, the cathedral as a physical place has its special meaning for the people who organized the conference of Moganshan and participated in it. So, we can conclude from the previous parts, that this meaning is not only important for the group

of people who were present there at that time but as well for a larger group of people, for instance, researchers, participants, and supporters of the new Moganshan Conference, supporters of the reform and others. All these people do have a memory of this event. And the establishment of a realm of memory, alike the production of the documentary film, can serve as a breach of the existing taboo, which is of interest to the participants, organizers, and researchers of the conference that appeared in the documentary and perhaps for more people. Furthermore, there is a will to remember it, what already as discussed in detail is of great importance for the establishment of a “*lieu de mémoire*”. The produced documentary film, the restoration of the cathedral, the opening of the Moganshan Conference Site Memorial Hall, their visits to the cathedral, and the opening of the exhibition are all signs of the will to remember this conference. Otherwise, there would be no need for doing the above-mentioned. So, it has been made part of their community’s memorial legacy through the will of the group of people to whom this conference is important, which is likewise a significant part of the concept.

As has been pointed out, places may remind us, may trigger our memory, because they carry our memories which we have invested in them. This one more significant fact completely coincides with our case of the cathedral. The exhibition has many photos with descriptions, newspaper articles, and without a doubt, the cathedral itself, all of these do trigger our memory. It is assumed that even the single mention of the Moganshan Conference 1984 in books, articles, interviews, as well as documentaries in daily life, contributes to the filling of this place with special meaning. However, as in the opinion of Pierre Nora, that national memory is embodied in a “*lieu de mémoire*”, for instance in monuments, holidays and so on, our case as of today cannot confirm this fact. Since the memory about the conference did not faint because people simply forgot, but it was taboo, thus it is doubtful that as of today we can speak of national memory of this conference.

The Moganshan Conference 1984 played an essential role in China’s price reform up until today. It also played a crucial role in inspiring and promoting young and middle-aged economists throughout the country. The Moganshan Conference brought young people to the stage of history. As it is stated in the documentary film, the voice of young people has produced such a fantastic power, and this is something that nobody thought of. They provided their intellectual support for the country’s reform and opening-up (Dimly lit, 2018d). Moreover, the fact that a new Moganshan Conference was organized shows the influence of the 1984 Moganshan Conference. It is assumed, that for all these people, it is essential, not only to

remember the achievements that the young and middle-aged scholars had at the 1984 Moganshan Conference, but it is significant for them, that a new, young generation, which cares about its own country, will not be afraid and will have the possibility to make further contributions to China's development. Furthermore, there is a significant point to mention that through their efforts to break the taboo, the participants are fighting to have their contribution to the success of reform and openness recognized.

After analyzing whether the Moganshan cathedral as well as the Moganshan Conference Site Memorial Hall with an exhibition in it meet all the conditions that must exist to be a place of memory, it may be concluded that it indeed fits in all the parameters of the concept. It likewise fully complies with the requirements of Nora's definition what is of course significant for being a site of memory. As we have discussed it is suitable in all the three aspects such as material, functional and symbolic. There is an absolutely clear desire to remember and since there is this will and memory a place was dedicated for this reason. One further important aspect is the existence of the group of people that remembers this event which exists in our case as well. Thus, we do have the relation between the object of remembrance and the remembering mind. Consequently, when this group of people or someone from this group is faced with the cathedral then it undoubtedly triggers their memory. All these are significant parameters of the existence of a "lieu de mémoire" as according to the concept of Pierre Nora. Based on this, it is concluded that the cathedral, including the memorial hall with an exhibition, is indeed a "lieu de mémoire".

Then the next question that arises is how this place was changed into "lieu de mémoire" and what could be the reason for doing it. Considering the process of the establishment of "lieu de mémoire", apparently at first, after the meeting was held and after time passed, the will to remember came into existence, even though this event was tabooed. As it was also discussed in the theory the real medium of memory has disappeared and the projection of the "realm of memory" is a sign of the disappearance of memory and the need of society to represent what supposedly no longer exists Kritzman (1996). Therefore, the will to remember of the participants, organizers, researchers of the conference that appeared in the documentary and other interested parties, explains their need to represent what no longer exists in the real life. Apart from calling it a first step it serves as a reason for establishing a site of memory.

To answer the questions, it is necessary to consider briefly how the process has developed. First, after years have passed some research and reports were published, and then there was

more and more will be by the participants, organizers, researchers of the conference that appeared in the documentary and other interested parties to remember and to research the Moganshan event. So, through the will and aspiration of participants, organizers, researchers, and supporters an effort has been gradually taken in this direction. Then the second important and obvious fact is the restoration of the cathedral which took place in 2017-2018. This means the restoration began thirty-three years after the Moganshan Conference in 1984. The restoration of the cathedral occurred because it has an important meaning for the Moganshan Conference. Further in this process, the opening of the Moganshan Conference Site Memorial Hall seems to be the next step of establishing a “*lieu de mémoire*”. In this step, the connection between the cathedral and the event, the event with the memorial hall, the event and participants are already clearly visible, and the connection between the place itself and the participants is also obtained. Before the restoration of the cathedral and the establishment of the memorial hall the old venue could of course remind the participants of the meeting as any other object related to the meeting could do, but it would not contain the same degree of symbolism it has now. Furthermore, the exhibition about the Moganshan Conference in the cathedral can trigger memory and provide knowledge about this event to visitors. Thus, the exhibition is also an important part of a “*lieu de mémoire*” where the conference can be remembered. Nowadays it is already a dedicated place to the memory of these people as it is in the concept. Finally, the documentary film, which tells us the whole story is considered as another sign of “*lieu de mémoire*” and maybe even of the already established “*lieu de mémoire*”. As revealed in the comparison above, the documentary paid special attention to the venue of the conference, while other sources talk about the same event with little mentioning of the venue.

Regarding the documentary film, it can be supposed that it acts also as a means to disseminate information about the Moganshan Conference 1984 at the same time linking this event with these people and with this cathedral as a site of memory. It actually shows the whole process of establishing the “*lieu de mémoire*”. It even shows how the cathedral triggers the memory of the participants when they come to visit this place and interestingly not only of the participants just like Liu Jianlin the one who worked at the Moganshan Administration. Thanks to the documentary film, information and knowledge become available to an already more extended group of people, and these people, in turn, will relate the conference to the cathedral in their memory. This might as well be one of the aims of the documentary film and its participants to spread information to promote the breach of the existing taboo and let the people know about their contribution.

Now when it is clear that the venue meets all the parameters of being a site of memory and the process of its establishment was discussed, it is important to consider what were the possible reasons for doing it. As mentioned above it is clearly the will to remember and the participants, organizers, as well as other people related to the meeting, do want to remember it since this event is important for them. The fact that it allowed the young generation to participate in China's reforms, the fact that they could raise their voices collectively, and that they took the stage of history all are significant reasons to remember this event. The proposal of the dual-track price system is also very important and cannot be ignored. However here comes the next reason, which is the interconnection with the decision-makers and the leaders. It was mentioned several times that if there was no such connection with the leaders and no opportunity to convey to them the proposals of young economists, then this conference would not have ended with such a success regarding the policy advice. This fact was often mentioned in the written sources as well as in the documentary film by some participants. As a consequence of an unsuccessfully completed conference, most likely there would be no reason to remember it. It is also the new way of conducting the conference that has well played its role. There is a statement by Keyser (2003) that sums up very well that the capacity to conduct an academic discussion, generate a list of concrete policy proposals, and afterward, submit these proposals to the leadership was regarded as the fundamental significance of the meeting. So, the dialogue between the old leaders and the young economists, in other words, the dialog between generations, formed at that time is also an important fact for remembering this conference.

Ultimately, the reason for establishing a site of memory because of the will to make an effort to breach the existing taboo and let the people know about the young economists' contribution to the reform, seems to be quite appropriate. It is surprising that this "lieu de mémoire" exists since until now we can only talk to a very limited extent about this conference, and it is remembered by not so many people yet.

7. Conclusion

In this thesis related to history and memory, the question was addressed whether the venue of the Moganshan Conference 1984, namely the cathedral can be regarded as a “*lieu de mémoire*”, a realm of memory as in the concept of Pierre Nora. And if the response to this question is positive, then why did the organizers, participants, researchers and other related to the Moganshan Conference people establish a “*lieu de mémoire*” from the place where the conference was held, namely the cathedral. Another part of the question was to try to find out, what was the process and the reason for it. The cathedral where the meeting was held, was reopened to the public as the Moganshan Conference Site Memorial Hall with an exhibition inside on June 23 in 2018, after the restoration which had become necessary because of the fire which occurred in 2001.

The sources used for this thesis were written sources such as books and articles, as well as a documentary film about the Moganshan Conference 1984 that was released in 2018. The documentary film is in Chinese language. The written sources are in both English and Chinese. Most of them such as books, book chapters are in English, however there are articles and interviews written in Chinese that can be found in China such as for instance sources from China Daily. To address this question, the following steps have been taken. First, the documentary films, their definition, documentary modes, and kinds of voices used in the documentaries as well as other details related to the documentary were discussed at the beginning of this thesis. Further, in the theory section the concept of “*lieu de mémoire*” of a French historian Pierre Nora was introduced, to explain what a “*lieu de mémoire*” is, as well as to consider the aspects which are important for a “*lieu de mémoire*” to exist or be established. In other words, it is very important for this kind of thesis that aims to investigate whether a particular place can be a “*lieu de mémoire*” or not, to understand what can be a site of memory, which are the parameters of it and how can it be established. The next step of the work was the discussion of the Moganshan Conference 1984 in written sources. This chapter aimed to reveal the information taken from books and articles, and describe the conference, its organization, process, results, and other details before and after the event as presented in these sources. Consequently, the next step was to present the chronology of the Moganshan Conference 1984 presented in the documentary film. The aim of this chapter was like the above, namely, to describe the event as it is presented in the documentary film without any additional information. After presenting, practically, two versions of sources talking about the same event there was a need to compare the two to find out whether there are any differences in the two ways of

narration. One of the important differences that have been identified is that the documentary film focused on the venue of the conference, on the cathedral story more than any of the written sources. Further, the thesis continues with the discussion that is divided into two parts. The first is the discussion of the documentary film using the documentary analysis mentioned above. This is followed by the second discussion on the cathedral and the Moganshan Conference Site Memorial Hall as a “*lieu de mémoire*” using Nora’s concept and an attempt to answer the questions set at the very beginning of the work. Thus, the process of establishing and the reason for doing it were also discussed in this section using the results attained from the chapter that described the concept. At the end of the work, a conclusion follows.

There was also a brief introduction to the circumstances of 1984 and to the situation before this year since it was needed for the course of the research as well as for the reader to better understand the situation at that time, before moving on to the next steps. Then the presentation and explanation of the Moganshan Conference 1984 and all related information develop into a single mosaic and this event is not torn out of the entire context and course of the events. Any event is best viewed in the course of events, since then it is viewed in conjunction with previous and subsequent events, which allows us to get a more holistic picture of the relationship. Thus, the story of the Moganshan Conference 1984 is not limited to the duration of the event itself, but also the events before and after the meeting.

The Moganshan Conference 1984 has always been regarded as the starting point for China’s urban reform. This meeting set a group of economists to stand on the stage of history and allowed many students and young economists to participate in the Chinese reform process. At the same time, it also provided important ideas for the reforms of the 1980s, which attracted the attention of senior leaders (Dimly lit, 2018c). It is constantly mentioned that the Moganshan Conference 1984 played an essential role in China’s price reform until today, where one of the main achievements is the dual-track system of price reform, which was later adopted. As mentioned in the documentary film, the voice of young people has produced such amazing power, and this is what nobody thought of. They provided their intellectual support for the country’s reform and opening-up. Furthermore, as discussed above, the meeting of 1984 influenced the establishment of a New Moganshan Conference, which has been held repeatedly since 2012. Consequently, researchers, what is important also young scientists, can participate in discussions and thus uphold the spirit of the past conference. The 1984 Moganshan Conference, as well as its achievements and results, the further influence and spirit of the

conference - all this is of great importance for the participants and organizers of both the old and the new Moganshan Conference. Thus, all of them have a will to remember this conference.

Regarding the research question of whether the cathedral can be seen as a “*lieu de mémoire*” we may state from the obtained results in this thesis that the answer is positive. As the concept states, first there must be a will to remember, what is seen in this thesis as simultaneously a parameter for being a site of memory, namely for it to exist and the reason to dedicate a place to it. According to the concept, a “place” can be material or nonmaterial in nature. In this thesis the site of memory is material, and it can be described in all the three aspects of the site of memory that always coexist, that is material, functional and symbolic. It is assumed that the will to remember is the starting point and a reason for turning a place into a “*lieu de mémoire*” by a group of people. Since after the year 1989 this and other issues were taboo in China this topic was silenced. This fact reminds us of the idea that the memory must disappear and only then, since there will be a need to remember, a place is dedicated to the memory, and it becomes a “*lieu de mémoire*”. Thus, in our case, the dedicated place for the site of memory is the cathedral of Moganshan where the conference took place in 1984. The cathedral’s memorial hall, which exists since 2018 when the cathedral was reopened after its restoration, is filled with these memories and special meanings. Inside the memorial hall, there is an exhibition about the Moganshan Conference 1984 with photos, newspaper articles, and other exhibition materials that let the visitors remember the conference as well as let the new visitors to learn about this event. Thus, it is an interesting fact that inside the “*lieu de mémoire*” of the Moganshan Conference there is an exhibition about this event. This exhibition is a significant part of the site of memory since it also triggers the memory and is also a place of commemoration. The organizers, participants, some researchers, and other related people established a “*lieu de mémoire*” that triggers the memory. The concept of Pierre Nora stated that the national memory is embodied in a “*lieux de mémoire*”, however it is not true in our case. The memory is indeed embodied in the cathedral, but it is not the national memory since it is not a national monument.

The will to remember the conference, in consequence adds to the enthusiasm of further research and further projects as the establishment of the New Moganshan Conference in 2012, the restoration of the cathedral in 2018 after the fire in 2001, and even the production of the documentary film. Without the will to remember of the participants, organizers, researchers, and other related to this event people, in particular those who took part in the documentary,

there would be no reason for doing all this. Thus, it also adds to the symbolism of the cathedral as a site of memory of the Moganshan Conference 1984.

The last part of the questions was regarding the reasons for establishing the “*lieu de mémoire*”. Briefly, there are some findings such as the will of the participants, organizers, researchers of the conference that appeared in the documentary and other interested parties to remember the opportunity of the young generation to participate in China’s reforms; the memory of how they took the stage of history and raised their voices collectively; the dual-track price system that they proposed and its role in China; the special network of the event and their connections with the decision-makers and the leaders regarded as the fundamental significance of the meeting.

One more significant reason for establishing the “*lieu de mémoire*” as well as producing the documentary film is the will to make an effort to breach the existing taboo and let the people know about the young economists’ contribution to the reform. As revealed in this thesis, in 1989 many of the young economists were exiled, had to leave China, or even were imprisoned after the Tiananmen protests. This happened to Zhu Jiaming one of the initiators of the conference who was exiled and another initiator who had to end his career as a policy researcher, namely Huang Jiangnan and many other young economists. The young economists and the Moganshan Conference 1984 were associated with Zhao Ziyang, who was ousted in 1989. He was the one in the party leadership who supported the Moganshan Conference at that time. Thus, the Moganshan Conference and its achievements are still taboo in China. For this reason, establishing a site of memory and the production of documentary film not only adds to the memory of this event but also tries to break the taboo. Surprising is however the fact that this “*lieu de mémoire*” exists since until now we can only talk to a very limited extent about this conference, and it is remembered by not so many people yet.

Nowadays the cathedral of Moganshan is open to the public. In this way, the Moganshan Conference Site Memorial Hall with an exhibition about the conference and of course the cathedral itself trigger the memory of the visitor who is familiar with the history of the conference. Memory of visitors that are not familiar with the history of the conference cannot be triggered, what can be often the case since the Moganshan Conference is not that known in China also due to its tabooed status. The visitors that had previously never heard of this event can gain information about it and will from this point of time on relate the meeting to this venue. In this case, they are going to be a part of this group whose memory can be triggered, since they will have this memory as well. The same happens with the audience of the documentary

film about the conference since the audience will gain the knowledge of the conference and relate it to the cathedral. Thus, the viewers of the film as well as the new visitors of the venue both become a part of this group whose memory will be triggered by this “*lieu de mémoire*”.

In the conclusion of this thesis, I would like to note one thought that came up during the research. As in the book, which has been mentioned at the beginning, namely “*Places of Memory in Modern China*” in the first chapter Matten (2012) writes, that this volume aims to “question how geographical places relate to the creation of collective identity, how such places of memory have come into existence, and what political and/or historical significance they possess” (p.10). It is assumed, that it would be interesting to expand the current study of Moganshan’s “*lieu de mémoire*”, to understand it in relation to the creation of collective identity, as well as the last part of the question, what political and/or historical significance this might possess.

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