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Transformation in Disaster Management of Chinese Government from "Hard" to "Soft" Values

- A Case of Wenzhou Train Collision -

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Abstract

The 2011 Wenzhou bulletin train collision was a deadly high-speed railway accident which shocked China and the world, but different government authorities declared different reasons. This paper introduces value theory into the emergency and disaster management field to assess why government organizations explain the reasons of disaster reason differently. Among the eight core values in public administration, economy, efficiency, effectiveness, and leadership are classified into hard values, whereas accountability, transparency, ethics, and professionalism are classified into soft values. This study found that a value focus may change in different disaster management stages. It is argued that the hard value oriented disaster management model should make China faster to response disasters, while the soft value oriented disaster management model should make China safer and lead to good governance.

Key words: hard value, soft value, value transformation, disaster management, train collision

Ⅰ. Introduction

Chinese Prime Minister Li Keqiang On November 25th, 2015 Invited leaders from 16 Easter Europe countries to experience Chinese high-speed railway firsthand on a trip from Suzhou to Shanghai, which has been described as "Chinese high-speed railway diplomacy" by local media. In Premier Li Keqiang's invitation, he described Chinese high-speed railway as "comfortable and safe", actually, there was a bad high-speed railway disaster, and not mentioned officially for more than four years.

It was on 23 July 2011, at roughly 20:30 CST, two high-speed train[1] travelling on the Yongtaiwen railway line collided on a viaduct in the suburbs of Wenzhou, Zhejiang Province, China. A 16-car

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1) High-speed rail in China refers to any commercial train service in the People's Republic of China with an average speed of 200 km/h (124 mph) or higher. China has the world's longest high-speed rail (HSR) network with about 9,676 km of routes in service as of June 2011 including 3,515 km of rail lines with top speeds of 300 km/h (186 mph).

CRH1B EMU working train D3115, carrying 1,072 people and travelling from Hangzhou to Fuzhou South lost power before coming to a halt over a viaduct near the Ou River; this was attributed to a lightning strike caused by a thunderstorm. Shortly after, a 16-car CRH2E train D301, carrying 558 people and running from Beijing South to Fuzhou, crashed into the rear-end of the stationary D3115. The fifteenth and sixteenth coaches at the rear of the stalled D3115 were derailed, and the front four coaches of the moving D301 fell off the 20 m high viaduct, three carriages came to rest horizontally on the ground below while the fourth came to rest vertically, one end on the ground and one end leaning against the viaduct. In the Wenzhou train collision, 40 people were killed, at least 192 were injured, 12 of which were severe injuries.

There were more than 30 train collisions in the last 40 years[2] The most severe Hunan collision which happened in 1997 killed 126 and made 220 people injured. The most recent major train crash occurred on the morning of April 28, 2008, resulted a death toll of 72 people and 416 injuries, and the collision was the deadliest rail accident in China since the 1997 accident. Comparing casualties of the three collisions, Wenzhou train collision is much less than the two past train collisions, but attracted more attention worldwide than before. They focus on the real reason of the train collision, the influence of the collision to the bullet train and high-speed rail, and the disaster relief ability of government.

There are three reasons can explain the situation. The first is that the Wenzhou collision was the first fatal crash involving high-speed rail (HSR) in China, which heavily hit China's confidence on high-technology. The second is that the government initial reports have suggested faulty signaling, bad weather, and poor management as the main causes of the collision, but the Chinese people doubt about government investigation. The third is that government officials hastily concluded rescue operations, ordered the burial of the derailed cars, and issued directives to limit media coverage, which elicited a slew of national criticism on the disaster response. Above all, the most important reason is the fast increasing of netizens of China. According to the "28th China Internet Development Condition Statistical reports" which issued on July 19, 2011, by the China Internet Network Information Center (CNNIC), the state network information center of China, by the end of June, 2011, the Chinese netizens scale achieves 485,000,000, at the end of 2010 increases 27,700,000 people, the increased range 6.1%[3] Hundreds thousand netizens had a live broadcast on the train collision with micro blog and BBS by internet, and push forward the disaster response and relief pattern change. The collision provides an opportunity for the public to express their opinion on the emergency management and review the Chinese model of emergency management.

2) A Review of Recent Railway Accident. http://news.hexun.com/2011-07-24/131710068.html, accesses on 2011-08-22.

3) CNNIC. 28th China Internet Development Condition Statistical reports, http://www.cnnic.cn/dtygg/dtgg/201107/020110719521725234632.pdf, accesses on 2011-08-23.

II. Theoretical Background of Government Function and Values in Public Administration

The primary function and quintessential role of any government is to protect the lives and property of citizens (Cigler, 1988: 7; Farazmand, 2001: 5; Comfort, 2005: 336), "a series of public polices and government actions were designed to anticipate risk, prepare citizens to manage risk, and assist them in recovering from damaging events" (Comfort, 2005: 336). "Crises and emergencies generally test the competence of government" (Farazmand, 2001: 5), one of the key challenges in contemporary public administration concerns the capacity of government to cope with them, and "mishandling of emergencies impact on trust in government" (Rosenthal 't Hart & Kouzmin, 1991: 211), and this places emergency management on center stage. Government must be prepared to "identify problems and needs, and respond to them as effectively and efficiently as possible" (Cigler, 1988: 9), because crises/emergencies do have an important impact on communities, political institutions and administrative agencies" (Rosenthal, 't Hart & Kouzmin, 1991: 211).

Scholars have been pay attentions on the value research of public management field. Dwivedi (1999: 23) argues that "A value can be defined as a principle or a quality from which may be inferred a norm or standard conducive to ordering or ranking, by preference, objects, activities, results, or people." Values may be personal, collective, and organizational. This study will focus on the organizational values of government. There are lots of values proposed by different scholars, and some values among them can be regarded as core values. Core values are a broad phrase to describe the standards by which we characterize a person, profession, or organization. Throughout the course of brainstorming and analyzing my professional experience, I have settled on a set of eight values that are most important in public administration.

Tomkins (1987) argues that since the first oil crisis in 1974, there has been much more concern to exercise financial control over public sector expenditure. There is no area of the public sector that has not felt this pressure as new methods and techniques have been introduced often with a considerable increase in political tensions. In his book Achieving Economy, Efficiency and Effectiveness in the Public Sector, he describes and summarizes the efficiency and effectiveness in management process, and also points out that public sector manager will find them challenging economics of financial control. The managerial approach to public administration emerged with strength in Britain after the conservative Thatcher government took power in 1979, leading to a profound and successful administrative reform. early, since effectiveness does not directly compare resource uses or costs, what is effective is not necessarily what is most efficient. Practicing leadership is setting an example of professionalism for staff members and possessing the motivation to achieve organizational goals. In doing so, leaders must have the ability to recognize the talents of individuals and allow those talents to be utilized for the betterment of the organization.

Transparency in public administration is to ensure citizens the availability of information

which is deemed public. This should be an organizational goal, and is to be taken into account when conducting all public business regardless of one's job title. Accountability is to adhere to a standard of professionalism in the workplace. Additionally, it means to understand that our professional activities are being funded by the citizens of this country. Each public administrator is asked to adhere to a code of ethics. In order to function properly as an organization, the administrator must be held to a high degree of ethical standards. Specifically, ethics calls for administrators to display integrity, and be mindful of laws and regulations. Professionalism is an important core value when considering the prestigious nature of our positions in the field of public administration. In essence, administrators are hired to be visionaries, in addition to being stewards of public funds and information. To be professional is to understand the importance of our jobs in the public sector, to have respect for ourselves and the organizations that we represent, and to act accordingly.

The eight values are relevant in the public sector, and focal point when reflecting on the successes of public organizations in the past. Hood (1991: 10–12) once outlines three different broad "families" of values of public administration, which are sigma-type values, theta-type values, and lambda-type values. But I would like to divide the eight values into two groups, economy, efficiency, effectiveness (3Es) and leadership can be classified to hard value, and transparency, accountability, ethics, and professionalism can be classified to soft value. Hard values usually can be measured by some science technology, for example, mathematics, statistics, and soft values usually connected with philosophy and ideology. The soft values or public administration principles are largely the result of the jurisprudence of the western court of justice who has defined a large number of administrative law principles by making reference to the general legal principles of administrative law. They are closely related with citizen rights, but the hard values are mostly related government power.

Table 1. Main hard values and soft values in public administration

Values in Public Administration	
Hard Values	Soft Values
Economy	Transparency
Efficiency	Accountability
Effectiveness	Ethics
Leadership	Professionalism
.....	.....

Emergency management presents the same challenges to administrators as other policy arenas (Cigler, 1988: 9), and it is of course truly a "national" problem, is clearly on the nation's systemic agenda. Emergency management is "commonly perceives as meriting public attention and as involving matters within the legitimate jurisdiction of existing governmental authority" (Cigler, 1988: 8). But there is an infrequent agreement on emergency management that is the local government has the first line of official public responsibility to handle an emergency or a disaster (McLoughlin, 1985: 165; Settle, 1985: 102; Cigler, 1988: 10; Hy & Waugh, 1990; Rubin, 1991; Schneider, 1992; Newkirk, 2001). But "emergency management exists within a complex political, economic, and social environment which explains the lack of a coherent, coordinated policy framework" (Hy & Waugh, 1990: 14), and they also

states that "designing and implementing a comprehensive emergency management procedure is easier said than done" (Hy & Waugh, 1990: 11).

Emergency management is a process of developing and implementing policies and programs to avoid and cope with the risks to people and property from natural and man-made hazards. Knowing how to plan for, manage, monitor, and mitigate crises is essential (Pinsdorf, 2004: vii). Schneider (1992: 136) argues that in the late 1970s, the National Governor's Association of the U. S. advocated four explicit objectives to the governmental disaster response process, these objectives are "(1) mitigation or preventing a disaster from occurring in the first place; (2) preparing areas for potential emergency situations; (3) providing immediate relief after a disaster strikes; and (4) helping individuals and communities recover from the effects of disasters." As a result, most government agencies engaged in emergency management espouse these principles. According to the four principles, the FEMA and scholars developed a four-stage crisis management theory which states that a whole crisis management process could be divided into four stages which are mitigation, preparedness, response, and recovery (McLoughlin, 1985: 166; Petak, 1985; Clary, 1985: 20; Godschalk, 1991: 134; Cigler, 1988: 7; Kim & Lee, 1989). Godschalk & Brower (1985: 64) divided the four stages into two parts according to a disaster process: those before the disaster are mitigation and preparedness, those after the disaster as response and recovery.

Ⅲ. Extraordinary Significance of High-speed Rail Network to China

High-speed rail (HSR) is a type of passenger rail transport that operates significantly faster than the normal speed of rail traffic, on which trains regularly travel with a maximum speed of 250 km/h or more. In Japan, Shinkansen lines run at speeds of up to 300 km/h (186 mph) and are built using standard gauge track with no at-grade crossings. China high-speed conventional rail lines currently holds the world's fastest commercial top speed of 350 km/h (217 mph), and the Shanghai Maglev Train holds the world's fastest Maglev commercial top speed of 431 km/h (268 mph).

Paul Amos, *et. al.* (2010: 2) argues that high-speed rail is now a tried and tested technology that delivers real transport benefits and can dominate market share against road and airline transport over the medium distances that many inter-city travelers confront. Globally, high speed rail is not only a technical subject, but encompasses a complex reality involving various technical aspects such as infrastructure, rolling stock and operations and cross sector issues such as financial, commercial, managerial and training aspects. But in China, high speed rail is much more like a political issue than any others. The bullet train runs on high-speed rail is officially called China Railway High-speed (CRH), but commonly known by Chinese people as HeXie Hao —Harmony Express, which means the reflection of Chinese harmonious society[4] that constructing by

4) The construction of a Harmonious Society is a socio-economic vision that is said to be the ultimate end result of Chinese leader Hu Jintao's signature ideology of the "Scientific Development Concept". It serves as the ultimate goal for the ruling Communist Party of China along with "Xiaokang society", which aims for a "basically well-off" middle-class oriented society. Initial proposed by the Chinese government under the Hu-Wen Administration during the 2005 National

Chinese people with leading by Communist Party of China.

Through six rounds of "speed-up" campaigns in April 1997, October 1998, October 2000, November 2001, and April 2004, the national average travel speed was increased step by step to 54.9 km/h, 55.2 km/h, 60.3 km/h, 61.9 km/h, and 65.7 km/h, and Chinese government allocated more resources on express train. At the six round "speed-up", the first 200 km/h CRH train, He Xie Hao began to serve in China, which greatly changed the travel pattern of Chinese people and the value choice of Chinese government. But Wenzhou train collision changed everything again. The most significant change is the general attitude of Chinese people to the government, which from trust to distrust, from doubt to criticize, and from silent to expression.

On June 30, 2011, Chinese Premier Wen Jiabao joined other passengers to board the first bullet train on the landmark high-speed railway between the metropolises of Beijing and Shanghai, calling it a "new chapter" in China's railway history. Wen said the railway's construction was an important decision by the state and of great significance to improve the country's modern transportation system, promote the economic and social development, and satisfy people's need for swift movement. The construction of high-speed railways networks and operate the high-speed train has an extraordinary significance to China.

1. High-speed railway network is a source of great pride for the Communist Party of China

Starting from Beijing and ending at Shanghai, the 1,318km Beijing-Shanghai high-speed railway line is the most important railway in China, linking the political center city and economic center city, connecting two of the country's most prominent economic areas, and cutting the single-way time between the two cities to under five hours. After 1.5 months trial operation, the Beijing-Shanghai high-speed railway was launched with much fanfare on 30th June, 2011 to coincide with official celebrations of the CPC's 90th birthday, which is 1st July. Party and state leader, Chinese Premier Wen Jiabao attended the launching ceremony of Beijing-Shanghai High Speed Railway in Beijing. HSR is a brilliant national image for Chinese socialist construction, which can enhance the legitimacy of CPCrule.

2. High-speed railway network is a reflect of Chinese government capability

Chinese government began to plan for China's high speed railway in the early 1990s, According to China's Medium-to Long-Term Railway Network Plan which issued in 2004, the country would need two trillion yuan for railway construction between 2004 and 2020. Nearly 40 percent of China's $586 billion economic stimulus package announced in 2008 was allocated to infrastructure projects, and a large portion was dedicated to high-speed rail, pushing forward many projects that were otherwise further down the project pipeline. Amos, Bullock, and Sondhi, scholars of the World Bank argue that by the April 2010, the route of high-speed railways in China is less than 4,000 km, and seven eighth of which was constructed in 2006-2010. But one year later, according the latest statistics[5)]

People's Congress, the idea changes China's focus from economic growth to overall societal balance and harmony.

of International Union of Railways, which updated on 1st July 2011, there are 6,299 km a high-speed railway (speed over 250 km/h) is in service and a 4,339 km high-speed railway is under constructing. The total 10,538 km length high-speed railway of China is almost the sum of the other countries of the world. The achievement of High-speed rail of China reflects the capacities of Chinese government, such as extractive capacity of financial resources, steering capacity to social and economic development, legitimation capacity for strengthening rule, and coercive capacity to maintain dominance.

3. High-speed railway network promotes economic development

In 1992, Chinese second generation core leader Deng Xiaoping put forward the famous theory that is "development is the fundamental principle", the development here is mainly refers to economic development. From then on, Chinese third generation core leader Jiang Zemin and the fourth generation core leader Hu Jintao devoted to economic development, and China's economic growth has been developed at an average rate of more than 10% for the last 30 years. But with the social and economic transformation, the Chinese policymakers endeavor to whip up domestic demand to maintain steady and rapid economic growth, and the high-speed rail can take the important role. The high-speed railway can greatly shorten travel time between regions, boost regional economic and cultural exchanges, and accelerate integration of different regions. In the international financial crisis, the high-speed railways take a more important role on economic development. As part of the 4 trillion-yuan ($585.7 billion) economic stimulus package, China invested about 600 billion yuan in railway construction last year, an upsurge of 80 percent. At the same time, the massive investment in high-speed railway construction fueled the demand for tens million tons of steel and hundreds million tons of cement while creating about millions jobs, which promoted and maintained the high GPD growth in the past few years.

4. HSR technology leads the world development direction

In 2007, China first introduced its locally assembled high-speed trains based on foreign technology platforms. Today, the railways authority said that the newest Chinese trains contain amenities not found in competitors' trains and, according to their Chinese manufacturers, are more technologically advanced than their foreign counterparts. China is leading the world in a key next-generation transportation technology. Based on the knowledge they have gained over the past decade, Chinese rail manufacturers have now turned their attention to markets abroad, participating in high-speed rail projects in Venezuela and Turkey, and bidding on contracts in Brazil, Russia, and even the United States. While the Chinese government is quick to claim that its advances in rail technology were achieved independently through Chinese ingenuity and innovation, some industry insiders have characterized such claims as mere propaganda.

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5) International Union of Railways. *HIGHSPEEDLINESINTHEWORLD,* http://www.uic.org/IMG/pdf/20110701_al_high_speed_lines_in_the_world.pdf, acceess on 2011-8-31.

5. High-speed railway network changed the travel mode of Chinese people

In 1993, the commercial train service in China averaged only 48.1 km/h, and steadily losing market share to airline and highway travel on the country's expanding network of expressways. But when the Spring Festival travel season arrives, a holiday rail passenger migration involving millions of workers and students complain "one vote was difficult to achieve", the rail transport system is overloaded. The Ministry of Railway (MOR) focused modernization efforts on increasing the service speed and capacity on existing lines, and construct new lines, especially the high-speed railways. A huge rail investment will change the situation, and Chinese government believes that the country would like to embrace the railway boom. The Guangzhou to Wuhan high-speed rail and the Beijing to Shanghai high-speed rail cut the journey time to less than half than before and hurt airlines operating on the busy route plagued by delays and cancellations, businessmen would like to choose HSR for their preferred travel way. The ordinary passengers also just want to experience the HSR or for a tour, although the ticket is very expensive. Take Beijing to Shanghai high-speed rail for example, the minimum ticket price is 410 yuan, and the highest 1750 yuan, but the people would like to take HSR for the fast and comfort.

Ⅳ. Response and Recovery of Train Collision

Disaster response process

1. Response of state leaders.

The HST crash tragedy shocked the whole country. The Chinese government launched an unprecedented rescue. Shortly after the train derailing accident, Chinese President Hu Jintao and Premier Wen Jiabao called for all-out efforts to rescue passengers and ordered to make rescue work a priority, and Zhou Yongkang, a Standing Committee member of the Political Bureau of the Communist Party of China Central Committee also instructed relevant departments to manage the rescue work well. About 12:00 on 24th July, Chinese Vice-Premier Zhang Dejiang visited the scene of the accident and urged local authorities to mobilize all available resources to save the life of the injured, provide counseling and aid for the relatives of the dead. Zhang said the State Council, or China's cabinet, has set up an investigative group chaired by Luo Lin, head of the State Administration of Work Safety, to look into the accident. He pledged that the investigators will find out the cause of the accident and those responsible will be seriously punished according to laws. On 24th July, the Ministry of Railway dismissed three high-level railway officials and would be subject to further investigation, including Long Jing, head of the Shanghai Railway Bureau; Li Jia, head of the bureau's Communist Party of China committee, and He Shengli, a deputy chief of the bureau. Mr. An Lusheng replaced Long as the Shanghai railways chief, although he himself was demoted in 2008 for his role in the Jiaoji train accident that killed 72 people. At 21:00 on July 24, the Ministry of Railways held a transport safety emergency video conference. On behalf of the Ministry of Railways, Party Secretary and Minister of Ministry of MOR expressed deep condolences to the victims, deep

sympathy to the injured and victim families, and deep apology to the vast numbers of passengers. At 22:40 on July 24, about 26 hours after the train collision, the spokesman of MOR Wang Yongping attended a press conference to release the latest information about the collision response and rescue.

2. Response of government and rail authority.

After receiving the incident report, the Ministry of Railways activated emergency plan, and Party Secretary and Minister of MOR Sheng Guangzu immediately arrived at the dispatch and control center to develop the relief programs. At the same time, more than 2,400 firemen, special police, armed police, traffic police, and public security police were mobilized to the incident quickly into relief work, and nearby villagers dashed to the disaster scene and joined the rescue work immediately, residents used their own vehicles to transport the injured, and Wenzhou citizens rolling up their sleeves to donate blood. The first response and rescue was effective and efficient, but just hours after the accident, at 4 a.m. on 24th July, officials at the scene declared that there were no more signs of life in the train and that no more survivors would be found. However, one hour later, at 5 a.m., with the insist on searching the carriage thoroughly, police officer Shao Yerong and his rescuing team found a 2-year-old surviving girl trapped in a carriage for 20 hours, which was set to remove from the viaduct by a crane. On one hand, the Chinese people were excited by the rescued little girl, on the other hand, they angered towards the way that the rescue operation was being handled. When asked about the reasoning behind making a declaration that there were no survivors when that fact has not been verified, Ministry of Railway's spokesperson Wang Yongping says that it the girl's rescue was "a miracle of life."

From around 6 a.m. on July 24, seven loading shovels began to dig a hole in the field near the accident scene. When the hole finished 1.5 hours later, Chinese authorities used heavy machinery to destroy front car of the crushed carriage and bury the wreckage in it. At the early morning of 24th, Chinese government released the causes of initial investigation for train crash that is the bullet train D3115 lost power because of light striking, forcing to stop in the middle of the bridge, then suddenly, the bullet train D301 rushed and crashed from the behind. Anger and skepticism over the cause of the deadly collision has emerged on the internet since the burial of the train wreckage, and the netizens criticized that the burial was an attempt to destroy evidence of train crash, which there should be a thorough investigation into blatant safety issues. Ministry of Railways spokesman Wang Yongping said that burying parts of the wreckage was "part of the rescue operation and not an attempt to hide evidence. It was necessary to bury the damaged carriages to make way for mechanical equipment to proceed with rescue efforts."

Heavy machinery has kept working for about 22 hours to disassemble broken carriages and take them away for further investigation, around 19:00 July 24, the clean-up operation at the bullet train crash site has been completed and have opened to traffic conditions. At 6:57 on 25 July, only 36 hours later, the train DJ5603 passed by the accident area, and it is the first train after the

train collision. Japanese experts considered the burial act "incredible" and said that if a similar incident were to occur in Japan, the government would spend weeks investigating and clarifying its causes before resuming train operations. On July 28, the full list of 39 fatalities was made public after police released the identities of all, and there were three foreigners, two Chinese Americans and an Italian on the death toll of the accident.

A number of polls have sprung up on Sina Weibo to try and clearly represent public feelings surrounding the accident and the government's reaction to it. One poll[6] with a question "Do you satisfied with the government response to the train collision", shortly with over 80,000 replies, shows that 93 percent of respondents find the handling of the situation to be "extremely disappointing" to the point of "human lives being as worthless as pieces of straw." 4 percent express "dissatisfaction," saying that "emergency measures have been deficient." The remaining three percent are either slightly satisfied or satisfied by the handling of the crisis. Similar polls have also attracted tens of thousands of responses. The poll shows that the government response to the train collision lost trust from the public.

To response the doubt, criticism, and distrust of people and netizents, Chinese authorities on July 26th dug up the buried wreckage of the first car. The Ministry of Railway retorted the accusation, saying "the wreckage are all out there" and "there is nothing we can hide," and officials explained that the trains contained valuable "national level" technology that could be stolen and thus must be buried.

3. Compensation underway for train crash victims.

Right after the train crash, the government of Wenzhou, where the collision happened, and the Ministry of Railways started to compensate the train crash victims. The MOR proposed an initial compensation amounts at 175,000 yuan (US$ 27343), but called forth a vehement attack from the public because it is believed too low compared with the loss of victims family and soon be cancelled. After some discuss, the compensation amounts raised to 500,000 yuan (US$ 78125), and the government described bonuses of 10,000 yuan, or more than $1,500, for families who signed compensation agreements quickly. Some victim families agreed to reach a compensation deal with the local government. But around Chinese Premier Wen Jiabao visited the accident scene in 28 July, the government discussed to raise the compensation amount again in order to stick to the principle of "putting people first." The next day for Wen's visit, local government and rail authority agreed to the final official solution. The accident rescue headquarters declared that an adjustment was made earlier to raise the compensation amounts to 915,000 yuan (about $142,169) based on the Liability for Tort Law of the People's Republic of China. The payments will include death compensation, funeral expenses, and compensation for emotional distress and one-off aid that will help cover living expenses for the victims' children. Ministry of Railways said that families of foreign travelers who were killed in train collision will get the same compensation payment as families of Chinese victims. The ministry avowed on its website that their first and foremost goal is expend all efforts

6) http://blog.english.caing.com/article/360/2/, access on 2011/09/10.

comforting the victims' families in a humane way, and will provide the compensation.

Train Collision Recovery

1. High-speed trains slow down to improve safety.

The bullet train crash made China government realized that safety is much more important than speed. Premier Wen Jiabao on 10 August ordered railway authorities, who had planned to invest over $400 billion into new projects in the next five years, to conduct thorough safety inspections on all high-speed rail lines both in operation and under construction. Railway minister Sheng Guangzu said in August 11 edition of the People's Rail newspaper that "Right now we are checking and eliminating all potential safety vulnerabilities," "Down the road we want to strengthen our management to ensure rail operations be safe, sustainable and stable." Then on August 10, 11, and 12, the Chinese Government issued three announcements in three days to suspend approval of all new railway construction projects, slow down all of the country's high-speed trains and commence safety checks on its high-speed railways. After six rounds speed-up, China's railway started its first round slow down.

In order to complete the government instruction and order, the railway authority took three actions for it. Firstly, recall the trouble model trains. Beijing-Shanghai high-speed railway was reduced from 88 pairs a day to 66 pairs a day, because China North Locomotive and Rolling Stock Corp Ltd (CNR), one of China's two major train manufacturers, recalled 54 CRH380BL trains. Secondly, bullet trains would run 40 to 50 kilometers below their top design speed. For example, the last 350 km/h rail service between Shanghai and Hangzhou will slow to 300 km/h starting Aug 28, and seven other lines that had operated at 250 km/h will now go 200 km/h with ticket prices would be reduced accordingly. The third is to commence safety checks on its high-speed railways.

2. Investigation team alteration.

Next day of Wenzhou train crash, Chinese Vice-Premier Zhang Dejiang urged local authorities to mobilize all available resources to aid and to save the life of the injured and provide counseling and aid for the relatives of the dead. Premier Zhang declared the State Council, or China's cabinet, has set up an investigative panel, which includes authorities from the security, supervision and judiciary departments, chaired by Luo Lin, head of the State Administration of Work Safety, to look into the accident. On July 27, at an executive meeting of the State Council, China's Cabinet, Chinese Premier Wen Jiabao ordered a "swift, open, transparent" and "under public supervision" investigation into train collision. Wen said that the government shall carefully listen to public opinions and reach a responsible result, and he promised that the result that can "stand the test of history". The public believe that the investigation panel should be independent but they found some members of the investigation panel were officials of MOR, and the railways companies are created, owned, and operated by the government, so they doubt and worry about the fairness of investigation findings. On August 10, the members of investigation team were partly altered. Additional members were added to both the investigation team which

has expanded from 15 to 23 members and an associated expert group which now includes 12 people, up from the original 8. Two officials from the ministry of Railways that had originally been members of the investigation team, Vice Minister Peng Kaizhou and director of the work safety department Chen Lanhua, have both been removed from the investigation team to make the investigation more credible and to response to the public's calls for the investigation to be conducted without help from representatives of the railway system. Following the rearrangement, nearly half of the 22 seats in the team's investigation group were taken by officials from the State Administration of Work Safety and the local government in Zhejiang province. The rest were filled by officials from other interested parties both inside and outside the government, including the Ministry of Supervision, the State Electricity Regulatory Commission, the Ministry of Industry and Information Technology and the China International Engineering Consulting Corp. Although railway authorities have denied such allegations, Huang Yi, the spokesman of the State Administration of Work Safety confirmed that the alteration was to response the public concern.

3. Dismiss of Spokesman Wang Yongping.

On August 16, chief spokesman Ministry of Railway was dismissed from office and transferred to a Warsaw-based international railway cooperative. The rail authority did not disclose the reason for Wang's dismissal, but assumed that the reason should be "improper wording and comments" at the news conference on 24 July, in which he was showered with questions from hundreds of newspaper and television reporters. In answer to a question about why emergency workers soon buried a damaged train car instead of focusing on saving lives, Wang said the conduct was used to smooth the later rescue. "Whether you believe it or not, I believe it anyway." Wang added. And when asked to comment on a toddler who was saved from the wreck almost a full day after the rescue work was claimed to be finished, Wang said: "This is a miracle." Many internet users sarcastically mimicked Wang's remarks when talking about weird or ridiculous happenings, and to show their frustration at statements made by officials that they could not believe. Wang responses to the criticism with a clear conscience that his statements on press conference may be insufficient, but did not tell lies and words against his will. The rail authority has realized the serious situation caused by Wang's remarks, and tried to restore public confidence by transferring Wang to a position for away from media. But the train crash has exposed a lot of problems with Chinese government, and the public trust cannot be restored unless these problems are fixed.

V. Reasons for the Train Collision

Right after the train collision, railway authority blamed the accident on lightning that hit the signal system and knocked the system vital for safety out of service, and the collision was totally belongs to a natural disaster. Professor Wang Mengshu of Beijing Jiaotong University said that the driver error was a potential cause of the crash. In normal circumstances, he said, if a train car has stopped up ahead, a control system will

automatically warn other cars to stop by signaling with yellow, then red, lights. In his opinion, the crash was a driver error caused man-made disaster.

Luo Lin, the team leader of investigation team and minister of the State Administration of Work Safety, said on 11 August that the initial investigation has exposed design defects that are likely to have both caused equipment failures and the accident itself. The deadly high-speed train crash that killed at least 40 passengers was "a completely avoidable accident" and "should not have happened[7] The team's initial conclusion was reached in part through a series of very useful experiments. One of them attempted to simulate what exactly happened when one high-speed train crashed into the back of another. Mr. Luo also said the crash has revealed flaws in the railway's emergency plans, but did not elaborate. From his speech can draw that the train crash is totally a man-made disaster.

Minister of MOR Sheng Guangzu said that the Wenzhou train crash was a "bloody lesson", and he also said at a meeting that "The timetables for railway projects should not be cut, and construction quality should always be the top priority". To eliminate safety risks, the ministry should improve its high-speed railway management system and strengthen personnel training, but the construction quality and drivers are always a hidden danger to train accidents. According to the MOR, the time taken to build the Beijing-Shanghai high-speed railway was two years and seven months, half the original schedule of five years, and engineers only carried out two months of debugging and calibrating before the service's maiden ride June 30, a day before the 90th anniversary of the founding of the Communist Party of China. Test runs should be conducted in all weathers and all seasons, which cannot be done in just two months. The drivers' training programs for high-speed train had also been shortened. The official People's Daily reported that Li Xiaodong, the first certified driver of trains running on the Beijing-Shanghai high-speed railway, completed his training program in just 10 days, however, the German technicians who helped with the project in Shanghai said training should last two to three months. Moreover, after just 10 days of training, Li drove the train back to Beijing at 350 kph, and was promoted to become a trainer for other drivers. The shortened test of the Beijing-Shanghai high-speed railway and shortened driver training reflected the MOR's pursuit of development over safety. Premier Wen demanded that "Railway departments must give top priority to the safety (of operation) while continuing to improve their service quality" at the opening ceremony of Beijing-Shanghai high-speed railways, but rail authority actually ignored the safety.

From 10th to 13th July, there were three breakdowns in four days hits China's new high-speed railway. Power failures previously halted 11 trains on 10th July and 29 others on 12th July, and on 13th July, the train broke down again and hundreds of passengers have to transfer to another train to complete their journey. Three accidents in four days should have been the danger signals to the HSR safety, but some

7) Crash probe blames faulty design. http://www.chinadaily.com.cn/cndy/2011-08/12/content_13097191.htm, access on 2011/9/15.

academic authority declared publicly to the China Central Television that the HSR is safe, and the spokesman of MOR said on 14th July, 2011 that the breakdown of HS train does not mean unsafe. For the foreign media's rationalization proposals and criticism in good faith on the HST faults, the spokesman said that Chinese people have the ability to solve their problems. The spokesman pointed out that Chinese government will take four measures, which are railway safety inspection, optimizing the transportation organization, perfecting all kinds of emergency plans, and strengthening professional guidance to ensure the safety of Beijing-Shanghai high-speed railway. Unfortunately, just nine days later, Wenzhou High-speed Train collision occurred before these safety measures taking effect. The Wenzhou train crash was not an occasional accident, but actually was an inevitable accident.

Ⅵ. Discussion and Conclusion

The high-speed railways is so important to CCP, Chinese government, Chinese economy, railway company, and Chinese people that China has enough motivation to construct the railways with all efforts. High-speed railway and high-speed train has greatly changed China in recent years, but the extraordinary development of rail construction leaves a lots of hidden safety trouble. The Wenzhou bulletin train collision, killing 40 and 192 injured, was resulted of great-leap-forward rail industry, but fortunately, a "bloody lesson" provides an opportunity to review the deep reasons for the train crash. Both governments at all levels and rail authority realized that train safety should be at the top priority, but the train crash indicated that the safety concept was abandoned in the railway construction and train operation.

As discussed above, the train accidents was not an occasional accident, but actually was an inevitable accident. The reason for train crash was not only due to the rail system, but derived from the Chinese political system and development model. From late 1978, when Chinese government began to reform and open up in economic field, it turned to focus on economy, efficiency, and effectiveness (3Es, which I called hard values in this paper) and no long insist on equality. Based on the newly chosen values, China's economic growth has been developed at an average rate of more than 10% for 30 years, and which brought China a great deal of confidence in its development model. In the tsunami of financial chaos that engulfed the world in the first decade of this century, China almost saved the world as an engine of global economic growth, which strengthened the confidence of China's value choice and development model.

The rail industry follows the hard values that Chinese government chosen for its rapid development. The analysis of the whole process of rail construction and train collision shows that the hard values was chosen by rail authority even involves the safety of passengers and put the public in danger. There is nothing in the world can immune from risk and danger, so the bulletin train has to prepare fully for the potential accidents, but only hard values can be seen in the mitigation and preparation stages of crisis. Six-round speed-up, shortened railway construction

periods and train diver training time, the design defects and railway emergency plan flaws are all following the hard values, such as economy, efficiency, effectiveness, and leadership, which made the passengers exposed to danger. When train crash happened, the state leader's response, national railway safety check, government rescue and relief, sack of three railway officials, wreckage moving, train head burial, compensation for victims, and railway re-operate were all mainly related with economy, efficiency, and effectiveness. With the hard values-oriented disaster response, the public trust in government was almost totally lost due to an online survey. This situation is much more dangerous than trail collision for it will threaten the legitimacy of the government. When the disaster management turned into recovery stages, the government and rail authority took some measures to improve the train safety, such as HST slow down, suspending approval of all new railway construction projects, recall the trouble model trains, investigation Team member alteration, dismiss of spokesman Wang Yongping, and releasing completely avoidable accident conclusion were mostly related to the soft values, like accountability, transparency, ethics, and professionalism. The train collision management process and values are listed in 〈Table 2〉.

The Wenzhou collision made government and rail authority began to self-examine the hard values that chosen for support the economic development and social progress. Moreover, at the pressure of netizens call for a fairness investigation of the train accidents, and with the command and director from state leaders, the government and rail authority turn to accept soft values, such as accountability, transparency, ethics, and professionalism as their ideology for disaster

Table 2. Train collision management process and values

Emergency management stages	Facts or Measures of Government	Values	Value Classification
Mitigation and Preparation	Six-round speed up	3Es	Hard values
	Shortened railway construction periods	Efficiency & Effectiveness	
	Shorten train driver training time	Efficiency & Leadership	
	Design defects	Efficiency	
	Railway's emergency plans flaws	Leadership	
Response	State leaders response	Leadership	Hard Values
	National railway safety check	Efficiency & effectiveness	
	Government Rescue and relief	Efficiency	
	Three railway official sack	Efficiency & Leadership	
	Move wreckage	Efficiency	
	Bury train head	Efficiency	
	Compensation for victims	Efficiency	
	Railway re-operate	3Es	
	Press conference	Transparency	Soft Values
Recovery	HST slow down	Professionalism	Soft Values
	Suspend approval of all New railway construction projects	Accountability	
	Recall the trouble model trains	Professionalism	
	Investigation Team member alteration	Transparency	
	Wang Yongping Dismiss	Accountability & Ethics	
	Releasing of completely avoidable accident conclusion	Transparency	

* 3Es refers to economy, efficiency, and effectiveness.

management. Although the final investigation report do not release yet, the public can be sure to get a "standing the test of history" report. From hard to soft value transformation in disaster management can also reflect the progress of Chinese governance. If there is no serious political and economic crises happen, the Chinese economy will be kept to develop at a rapid speed in the next decades, but the hard values-oriented development model exposed the existed system defects which could not ensure a sustainable development to China, no matter in emergency and disaster management field, or in governance. The soft value-oriented development model will overcome the challenges both from economic development and social progress, and will achieve success of disaster management and good governance.

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중국정부 재난관리에 대한 ‘하드’적가치의 ‘소프트’적 가치 전환

– 원저우 철도 충돌사고를 중심으로 –

국문초록 2011년 원저우 철도 충돌사고는 초고속 철도의 참사로 중국은 물론 전 세계에 그 충격이 전해졌다. 그런데 중국의 해당 부처들이 서로 다른 견해를 펼쳤다. 이에 본 연구는 위기・재난관리에 가치이론을 접목시킴으로써 왜 행정기관들이 재난 원인에 대하여 서로 다른 설명을 하는지 분석하고자 하였다. 우선 행정의 핵심 가치 총 8개 중 경제, 효율, 효과 및 지도력은 ‘하드’적 가치로 분류되는 한편 책임, 투명성, 윤리 및 전문성은 ‘소프트’적 가치로 분류되었다. 그리하여 재난관리 단계의 차이에 따라 가치의 초점이 변화됨을 발견하였다. 나아가 향후 ‘하드’적 가치지향 재난관리 모델은 중국을 하여금 보다 신속한 재난 대응을 가능하게 하는 한편 ‘소프트’적 가치지향 재난관리 모델은 보다 안전하고 굿 거버넌스로 이끌어갈 것으로 전망하였다.

주제어 : ‘하드’적 가치, ‘소프트’적 가치, 가치 전환, 재난관리, 철도 충돌사고

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