

	Political aspect				Economic aspect		Diplomatic aspect	
	rule of law as opposed to rule of man	an electoral system	a government with actual power that is elected by the people	multiple political parties	adoption of advanced mode of production	a sound economic environment	an equal footing	Independence and sovereignty
Late Qing Reform	In terms of government, the Outline of Constitution by Imperial Order, promulgated by the Qing Court in 1908, stated that the Emperor enjoyed superior power. This was apparently rule of man instead of rule of law. In addition, government bodies such as the National Assembly (1910) and the Cabinet(1911) were responsible to the Emperor instead of the people. The Cabinet even had its members all appointed directly by the Emperor and was dominated by royal families (7 out of 13), being not representative of the people. It was clear that the government was responsible to the ruler instead of the people.	In terms of electoral system, provisional assemblies (1909) at local level had some elected element, but the electorate were confined to the local gentry and there was no universal suffrage. Until the fall of the Qing Dynasty, China remained an absolute monarchy with no general election held.			In terms of economic model, the Late Qing Reform put much emphasis on industrial and commercial reform when more than 80% of the Chinese population engaged in agricultural activities. This led to the continuation of the traditional smallholding pattern, under which agricultural productivity remained low without mechanization or the use of technology. The problem of agricultural backwardness remained acute.	In terms of economic environment, despite attempts to create a favourable business environment, foreign control of tariff rates allowed Western powers to dump their goods on China, giving local enterprises operating difficulties with fierce competition from foreign companies.	In terms of diplomacy on an equal footing, the establishment of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs was not helpful for China in negotiating with foreign countries on international affairs. Unequal treaties such as the Treaty of Nanjing(1842) and Treaty of Shimonoseki(1895) were still effective, which means China was still in an unequal position.	In terms of sovereignty, unequal treaties were not yet abolished and many sovereign rights in China were under foreign control, including tariff autonomy, salt tax autonomy and extraterritoriality. The country was not independent and autonomous.
1911 Revolution			In terms of government, the one established after the revolution did not correspond with the idea of ‘democracy’ proposed by Sun Yat-sen. Yuan Shikai, after becoming the Provisional President, gradually assumed military and political power, and even reinstated monarchy by making himself China’s Emperor in 1915. After his death, China got caught up in the autocratic and chaotic Warlord Era for a long time, during which China did not achieve any political progress but became even more autocratic than it was during the Late Qing period. It was clear that the revolution did not give rise to an elected government with actual power.	In terms of political parties, Yuan dissolved the Kuomintang for being a seditious organization and paralyzed the parliament in 1913 in order to remove dissidents. China was under Yuan’s dictatorship and the opposition were basically not allowed to exist.	In terms of economic model, despite the fact that more than 80% of the Chinese population engaged in agricultural activities, the idea of ‘people’s livelihood’ that entailed equalization of land rights was not materialized after the successful revolution, and the plight of poor and tenant farmers remained. In addition, the traditional smallholding pattern persisted, under which agricultural productivity remained low without mechanization or the use of technology. The problem of agricultural backwardness remained acute.	In terms of economic environment, there was no stable regime established after the 1911 Revolution, and China was caught up in prolonged wars with the chaotic Warlord Era coming first and the Chinese Civil War next. In addition to the heavy taxation imposed by warlords, the economic environment was even worse than that of the Late Qing period with the people leading tough lives.	In terms of diplomacy on an equal footing, foreign countries were reluctant to abolish the unequal treaties signed before despite the fact that the 1911 Revolution was a successful attempt to overthrow the Qing regime and establish the Republic of China. The revolutionaries and Yuan Shikai dared not to put up determined resistance to that since they were seeking recognition from the powers of the newly established republic. As a result, China’s internal affairs were kept restrained by unequal treaties such as the Treaty of Shimonoseki(1895).	In terms of sovereignty, with these unequal treaties not being terminated, a considerable part of China’s sovereign rights, including tariff and salt tax autonomy, was still under foreign control, and the goal of being an independent sovereign state was not achieved for China. Worse still, Yuan signed the Twenty One Demands with Japan in 1915. China became a de facto protectorate of Japan, further deprived of its sovereign rights and interests.
May Fourth Movement			In terms of government, although the May Fourth Movement advocated against warlordism, the warlord regimes were not taken over by a new government and continued their autocracy until the late 1920s. There was no remedy for the political darkness.	In terms of political parties, the movement greatly promoted the rise of communism in China, which led to the formation of the Chinese Communist Party in 1921 and became the guiding ideology for the country’s development. But communism was in favour of one-party dictatorship and against other political ideologies, and therefore it worked against the progress of China’s political modernization and became a major obstacle to that.	In terms of economic model, the May Fourth Movement did not make much of a contribution to agricultural development when more than 80% of the Chinese population engaged in agricultural activities. This led to the continuation of the traditional smallholding pattern, under which agricultural productivity remained low without mechanization or the use of technology. The problem of agricultural backwardness remained acute.	In terms of economic environment, foreign products remained a setback for the development of local enterprises. In 1920, foreign investment made up 70% of the country’s total industrial capital while national capital only took up less than 30% of that. Worse still, after the First World War, the powers returned to the Chinese market and greatly cramped the growth of national enterprises, leading to a one-sixth decrease in China’s total exports in 1920. As a result, national enterprises faced another stagnation in the 1920s and their development was greatly hampered.	In terms of diplomacy on an equal footing, unequal treaties such as the Treaty of Nanjing(1842) and Treaty of Shimonoseki(1895) were still effective, which means China was still in an unequal position.	In terms of sovereignty, despite the revocation of Japan’s concessions in Northeast China, China failed to recover its sovereignty and independence completely. Countries like Britain and France retained their extraterritorial rights on the grounds that the judicial system of China was flawed, and tariff autonomy was gradually regained not before the Nanjing decade. China was still not an independent sovereign country.
Nanjing government		In terms of election, the Nanjing government did follow Sun Yat-sen’s ‘Fundamentals of National Reconstruction’ to proceed from military rule to political tutelage and to constitutional government, but the constitution was not adopted until 1946 due to the outbreak of the Sino-Japanese War(1937), and China was stuck in the phase of political tutelage at that time. Notwithstanding attempts at five-power separation, the people did not enjoy voting rights and electoral system was not established in China.		In terms of political parties, the Nanjing government followed the principle of ‘running the state through the political party’ and adopted one-party dictatorship, eliminating opposition by purging the communists relentlessly. This was not a multi-party system that characterizes modernization.	In terms of economic model, in spite of considerable industrial and commercial development, the Nanjing government made inadequate efforts to push forward agricultural reform when more than 80% of the Chinese population engaged in agricultural activities. This led to the continuation of the traditional smallholding pattern, under which agricultural productivity remained low without mechanization or the use of technology. The problem of agricultural backwardness remained acute.	In terms of economic environment, the Big Four Families(Song, Chen, Jiang and Kong) held monopoly over China’s economy, causing difficulties to the development of small and medium-sized enterprises. In addition, the Sino-Japanese War broke out in 1937 and it halted commercial activities in many regions. The economic environment was very unfavourable.	In terms of diplomacy on an equal footing, China at that time was still bound by unequal treaties like the Treaty of Nanjing(1842) and Treaty of Shimonoseki(1895), remaining in an unequal position.	In terms of sovereignty, although the Nanjing government successfully regained tariff autonomy, the powers refused to give up their extraterritorial rights on the grounds that the judicial system of China was flawed. Given that foreigners could break the law in China without being governed by it, the country still could not enjoy full sovereignty.

	Social aspect				Educational aspect				Military aspect		
	civic awareness of citizens	basic civil rights are guaranteed	a free society	evil social practices	feudalistic ideas	a comprehensive curriculum	academic freedom and freedom of expression	high educational level	gender parity in education	able to deal with internal threats	able to deal with external threats
Late Qing				In terms of evil social practices, the Late Qing Reform fell short of what was needed and the problems of opium-smoking and slavery were solved only until the Nanjing decade. Social evils were still prevalent.	In terms of feudalistic ideas, old-fashioned concepts such as racial discrimination, gender inequality and social stratification persisted and prevailed. Therefore, the Qing government did not realize social modernization in China.			In terms of educational level, most of the population did not get the chance to receive education at that time, especially for those in rural areas. Its literacy rate of mere 10% showed the low educational level there.	In terms of access to education, gender inequality with preference to men was very common and, as a result, most of the female population had no access to education as exemplified by their enrolment rate of less than 1%. There was serious gender imparity in education.	Internally, the Late Qing Reform succeeded in establishing the New Army. But it became the private army of Yuan Shikai and was used to force the Qing emperor to abdicate.	Externally, the Qing government failed to stop the war between Japan and Russia within its territory (1904-05). China was rendered a battlefield for foreign countries.
1911 Revolution				In terms of social evils, its effectiveness was limited because the Nationalist government adopted a top-down approach for these initiatives after the success of the revolution and there was a lack of enthusiasm for the people to participate voluntarily, plus these orders were mostly on an encouraged basis and people could choose not to follow. The problems of opium-smoking and slavery were solved only until the Nanjing decade, and evil social practices were still common.	In terms of feudalistic ideas, old-fashioned concepts such as gender inequality and superstition remained deep-seated, and the 1911 Revolution failed to replace the old with the new and shape a civilized and enlightened social climate in China.						
May Fourth Movement	The May Fourth Movement helped motivate people to react more proactively to social issues. The widespread protest of 1919 set a good example of citizens' movement and encouraged people to participate voluntarily in various movements including those demanding a ban on prostitution and protesting against exploitation by foreign factories. This helped promote the civic awareness of Chinese citizens.		In terms of freedom, many protestors were arrested by the warlord regimes after the May Fourth Movement, with Chen Duxiu as one of the examples. The people's freedom was still greatly limited.	In terms of social evils, many kinds of misbehaviour such as prostitution and corruption were not addressed properly and the effectiveness of the movement should not be overestimated.	In terms of feudalistic ideas, uncivilized beliefs such as superstition and gender inequality persisted, and the movement failed to eradicate these deep-seated feudalistic ideas.		During the New Cultural Movement, the vernacular movement established vernacular Chinese as mainstream to allow people to write more freely. At the same time, different Western philosophies such as Positivism, Hegelianism and Materialism were disseminated freely in China, and this helped the development towards a more liberal academic environment.	In terms of educational level, considering the rural population who took up more than 80% of the total population, most of them did not receive education and the literacy rate among them was extremely low. In this sense, the country did not even meet the minimum requirement for educational modernization.	In terms of access to education, gender inequality with preference to men was very common and, as a result, most of the female population had no access to education as exemplified by their enrolment rate of less than 1%. There was serious gender imparity in education.		
Nanjing government	In terms of civic awareness, it launched the New Life Movement in 1934 to promote the traditional virtues of 'propriety, justice, integrity and honour'. This helped foster national awakening and the spirit of inclusion and cooperation in order to nurture civic awareness.	In terms of civil rights, the government passed the Civil Rights Act in 1929 to protect the basic rights of its citizens, including publication right and the right to free speech. This was an important milestone for civil rights in China.		In terms of social evils, it succeeded in getting rid of many evil social practices, including foot-binding and the trading of domestic servants. In addition, kowtowing was replaced by nodding while the address 'Mister' was used as a substitute for 'Da Ren' and 'Lao Ye'. These made society more civilized and humane.  In terms of social evils, although evil practices such as foot-binding and the trading of domestic servants were banned, many other kinds of misbehaviour like corruption, spitting and littering still existed.	In terms of feudalistic ideas, uncivilized thoughts such as superstition and gender inequality persisted and the Nanjing government failed to transform the Chinese society completely into a modernized one.	In terms of curriculum, it was true that the Nanjing government issued regulations for primary and secondary education and overseas study successively since 1933 to make the education system of China more sophisticated.		Even though the government set up primary and secondary schools massively and planned to provide free basic education for its people with the introduction of the Compulsory Education Law of 1932, the law was not fully enforced due to financial difficulties and China's literacy rate of mere 30% showed the low educational level there.	In terms of access to education, gender inequality with preference to men was very common. In the early 1930s, the male enrolment rate was 45.2% while that of women was only 2.2%. It was clear that there was wide disparity in their enrolment in schools.	In terms of internal disputes, the Nanjing government completed the Northern Expedition in 1928, but its military strength was insufficient to settle all revolts within the country. For example, it mounted several purges of the Communist Party but still failed to defeat the communists and embroiled China in the enduring civil war.	As for external threats, the Nanjing government was again not strong enough to resist foreign aggression. For instance, Japan staged the September 18th Incident in 1931 to invade Northeast China but the Nanjing government was too weak to drive the Japanese Kwantung Army out of China. Afterwards, Japan started the July 7th Incident for a full-scale invasion of China, and the country failed to resist its encroachment and lost major cities like Shanghai and Nanjing within just a few months.