

中國 20世紀上半葉

THE FIRST HALF OF THE TWENTIETH CENTURY

English Version



歷史科市場領導

K. W. HO

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最多 5**學生實證 K.W.HO 神技！

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Study Outline

Curriculum Framework	
Source from: Hong Kong Examinations and Assessment Authority, Senior Secondary Curriculum and Assessment Guide (Final Version) (March 2007)	
Key Points	Explanatory Notes
Early attempts at modernisation – reforms and revolutions <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Late Qing Reform ● The 1911 Revolution ● The May Fourth Movement ● Attempts at modernisation by the Nanjing government ● The communist revolution and the establishment of the PRC 	Students will identify the major reforms launched by the late Qing government and by the Nanjing government, and assess their significance for the modernisation of China. They will assess the significance of the 1911 Revolution and the May Fourth Movement in the light of China's transformation into a modern nation. Students will also demonstrate a general understanding of the major political developments in China leading to the formation of the PRC.
Focuses of Learning	
I. Situation in China in the first half of 20th Century: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ Political aspect ➤ Economic aspect ➤ Social aspect ➤ Educational aspect ➤ Military aspect ➤ Diplomatic aspect 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ◇ Modernized ◇ Not Modernized
II. Late Qing Reform: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ Reasons for the Late Qing Reform ➤ Measures of the Late Qing Reform ➤ Significance of the Late Qing Reform for modernisation of China ➤ Limitations of the Late Qing Reform 	

Situation-based Learning Design

Significance-based Learning Design

Significance-based Learning Design

Situation-based Learning Design

<p>III. 1911 Revolution:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ Causes of the 1911 Revolution ➤ Measures and Content of the 1911 Revolution ➤ Significance of the 1911 Revolution for modernisation of China 	
<p>IV. May Fourth Movement:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ Definition of the May Fourth Movement ➤ Causes of the May Fourth Movement ➤ Features of the May Fourth Movement ➤ Measures and Content of the May Fourth Movement ➤ Significance of the May Fourth Movement for modernisation 	
<p>V. Attempts at modernisation by the Nanjing government:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ Reforms of the Nanjing government ➤ Significance of the Nanjing government reforms for modernisation ➤ Limitations of the Nanjing government reforms for modernisation 	
<p>VI. The Communist Revolution and the Establishment of the People's Republic of China:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ The initial period (1919-21) ➤ The thriving period (1921-27) ➤ The difficult period (1927-37) ➤ The upturn period (1937-49) 	

Situation in China in the first half of the 20th Century

1. Political aspect: Autocracy continued (Unmodernised)

- The long-standing autocratic feature of Chinese politics remained unchanged. In terms of powers of the government, the Qing government attempted at constitutional reform but just for consolidation of the imperial office. For example, the *Outline of Constitution by Imperial Order* 欽定憲法大綱 stated that the Emperor enjoyed superior power.
- After that, although the *1911 Revolution* 辛亥革命 put an end to the monarchy that had ruled China for more than 2000 years, the country was caught up in a period of autocracy of *Yuan Shikai* 袁世凱 and *warlords* 軍閥. There was no delegation of power and politics got even darker.
- It was true that the succeeding Nanjing government introduced the *separation of the five powers* 五權分立 and tried to bring constitution government to China; however, it was yet another autocracy that 'ran the state through the political party' and relentlessly purged the Communist Party.
- With respect to the whole picture of China in the first half of the 20th century, there was no general election held, its autocratic feature endured, and the ruler held all the power. The country was far from having a modernized political environment.

2. Economic aspect: Backward and poor economic environment (Unmodernised)

- In terms of *economic model* 經濟模式, although more than 80% of the Chinese population engaged in agricultural activities in the first half of the 20th century, 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* 經濟環境, foreign products remained a setback for the development of local enterprises at that time. 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. During the 1930s, although local companies had better development under the reform by the Nanjing government, the *Big Four Families* 四大家族 (Song, Chen, Jiang and Kong) held monopoly over China's economy, causing difficulties to the development of small and medium-sized enterprises. In addition, this period was characterized by recurrent wars with the chaotic Warlord Era coming first, the *Chinese Civil War* 國共內戰 next, and external threats from Japan as well. These caused destruction of factories and farmland, greatly hampering economic development.

3. Social aspect:

A. Social misbehaviour and feudal thoughts retained (Unmodernised)

- Social evils and feudalistic ideas were deep-rooted in China, and they greatly prevented China from becoming a civilized and enlightened society. In terms of *social evils* 社會陋習, although problems like *foot-binding* 纏足 and *opium-smoking* 鴉片 were solved under the Nanjing regime, many other kinds of misbehaviour like *urinating* 隨地便溺 and *defecating* 吐痰 in public places, spitting and littering still existed.
- In terms of *feudalistic ideas* 封建思想, old-fashioned concepts such as gender inequality and superstition persisted and prevailed, making it difficult for Chinese society to achieve modernization that is characterized by civilization and enlightenment.

B. Social evils, civil rights and rising civic awareness (Modernized)

- In terms of *social evils* 社會陋習, although not all evil social practices were eliminated in China during the first half of the 20th century, most of them were substantially banned including *foot-binding* 纏足 and *opium-smoking* 鴉片 that were eradicated during the Nanjing decade.
- In terms of *civil rights* 人民權利, the Nanjing government passed the *Civil Rights Act* 民權法規 in 1929 to protect the basic rights of its citizens, helping create a modern and equal society in China.
- In terms of *civic awareness* 公民意識, it was encouraged during the period concerned and the most significant example was the *May Fourth Movement* 五四運動 of 1919 against the unfair outcome of the Paris Peace Conference, during which people mounted collective resistance in defence of China's national interests. In addition, during the Nationalist period and Nanjing decade, there were many protests and demonstrations on different scales, including those calling for a boycott of goods from Japan in support of domestic products, *against prostitution* 反對娼妓 and *opposing warlord rule* 反對軍閥統治. Civic awareness among the people was heightened.

4. Educational aspect: Low educational level with gender disparity in enrolment (Not modernized)

- In terms of *educational level* 教育水平, the rural population who took up the majority did not get a chance to receive education. This led to serious illiteracy problem as shown by the literacy rate of mere 10% during the Late Qing period. On top of that, even though the Nanjing government introduced the *Compulsory Education Law* 義務教育法 of 1932, the law was not fully enforced due to financial difficulties and China's literacy rate of mere 30% in the early 1930s showed the low educational level there.
- In terms of *access to education* 教育待遇, 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.

5. Military aspect: Military strength inadequate to resolve internal disputes and defend the country against external threats (Not modernized)

- As for internal disputes, the *New Army* 新軍 built up during the Late Qing Reform became the private troops of Yuan Shikai as a useful weapon to force the Qing Emperor to abdicate. Also, the military strength during the Nanjing decade fell short of what was needed to defeat the Communist Party completely and this left a chance for the communists to launch a counterattack later.
- As for external threats, China was too weak to resist foreign aggression. For example, Japan made repeated intrusions into China's territory in the early 1930s with the *September 18th Incident* 九一八事件(1931) and *January 28th Incident* 一·二八事件(1932), and it even started its full-scale invasion of China in 1937. The Nationalist and Communist forces kept on retreating in defeat. Although Japan ended up surrendering in 1945, the US got credit for that because Japan was defeated thanks to America's fatal blow delivered during the Pacific War, and the result was mainly not the work of the Chinese army.

6. Diplomatic aspect: Low international status and sovereignty under foreign intervention (Not modernized)

- In terms of *international status* 外交地位, China did not achieve diplomatic modernization in the first half of the 20th century because China had low international status and its sovereign rights were still under foreign control. Defeated by the powers in different wars, China was forced to sign several unequal treaties such as the *Treaty of Nanjing* 南京條約 and *Treaty of Shimonoseki* 馬關條約. Although they were all abolished in the year 1943, China was bound by these unequal treaties most of the time during the first half of the 20th century and was put in an unequal position.
- In terms of *sovereignty* 主權, China's sovereignty and internal affairs were under enduring foreign intervention. For example, Japan forced China to sign the *Twenty-One Demands* 廿一條 in 1915 and assisted the establishment of the puppet state of *Manzhouguo* 偽滿州國 in 1932 to enhance its influence there. Even after the Second World War, foreign intervention still affected China's internal affairs. For example, the US and the USSR supported the KMT and the CCP respectively in the *Chinese Civil War* 國共內戰(1946-49) and turned China into a battleground for them during the Cold War.

Late Qing Reform (1901-11)

1. Reasons for the Late Qing Reform

- A. To consolidate the Manzu rule
- B. To modernise China
- C. To reduce public pressure
- D. To suppress the growth of revolutionaries
- E. To suppress the growth of regional authorities
- F. To control foreign aggression
- G. Encouraged by the Russo-Japanese War

2. Measures of the Late Qing Reform

	Measures
Political	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Dismissed redundant officials and abolished the donation system - In 1905, five ministers were sent to Britain, France, Japan, Germany and the US to study their constitutions - In 1906, the Six Boards were replaced by the Eleven Ministries - In 1908, the Outline of Constitution was issued and a 9-year programme of constitutional preparation was announced - In 1909, provincial assemblies were established - In 1910, the National Assembly was set up - In 1911, a cabinet was set up - In 1911, the Nineteen Articles was passed
Economic	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - In 1903, the Ministry of Agriculture, Industry and Commerce was set up - Established a banking system - Drafted commercial laws such as the Company Act and the Articles of Association - In 1909, a focus group was set up to balance the revenue and expenditure of the central and local governments - Constructed railways and nationalised the private railways in 1911

Social	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - In 1902, Manzu-Han intermarriage was allowed - In 1902, women were free from foot-binding - In 1906, opium-smoking was illegalised - Abolished the salary system of Qing Bannermen - Forbade slavery
Educational	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - In 1902, eight-legged essays were replaced by Celun in the imperial civil service exam - In 1902, a modern school system with enlightenment, primary, secondary schools and university was formed - In 1902, students were chosen to study aboard - In 1905, the imperial civil service exam was abolished
Military	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - In 1901, the imperial military service exam was abolished - In 1901, the Wubei Institute was set up - In 1901, 20-30% of the Green Standard army and Defensive Soldiers were dismissed - In 1903, the Bureau of Military Training was set up in Beijing - Military officers were sent to Japan for training
Diplomatic	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - In 1901, Zongli Yamen was reorganised as the Ministry of Foreign Affairs

3. Significance of the Late Qing Reform for modernisation of China

A. Political aspect

Political modernization is represented by rule of law as opposed to rule of man, a government responsible to the people instead of the ruler, and an electoral system. Although political reforms started to unfold in 1905 under the Late Qing Reform, they were attempts at centralization of authority, instead of delegation of power characterizing modernization. In terms of government, the *Outline of Constitution by Imperial Order* 欽定憲法大綱, 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* 資政院(1910) and the *Cabinet* 內閣(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* 諮議局(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. Therefore, the Late Qing Reform failed to bring out political modernization in China.

B. Economic aspect

Economic modernization gives rise to the adoption of advanced mode of production and a sound economic environment. The Qing government attempted at transforming China into a rich country, as displayed by the establishment of the *Ministry of Commerce* 商部(1903), drafting of commercial laws (e.g. the *Articles of Association* 公司章程) and rapid development of the railway network. It made possible the development of Chinese enterprises and introduction of more up-to-date commercial regulations. However, China was not successfully modernized in economic aspect. 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* 關稅 allowed Western powers to dump their goods on China, giving local enterprises operating difficulties with fierce competition from foreign companies. Therefore, the Late Qing Reform was inadequate to transform China into a modernized economic power.

C. Social aspect

Social modernization should lead to a civilized and enlightened society where evil social practices and feudalistic ideas are eliminated. It was true that the Late Qing Reform entailed attempts at social modernization, including freeing women from *foot binding* 纏足, allowing *Manzu-Han intermarriage* 滿漢通婚, prohibiting *opium smoking* 鴉片, abolishing the *salary system of Qing Bannermen* 清旗人俸祿 and banning *slavery* 奴隸. But in fact, these reforms were not implemented thoroughly. 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* 種族歧視, *gender inequality* 男女不平等 and *social stratification* 階級主義 persisted and prevailed. Therefore, the Qing government did not realize social modernization in China.

D. Educational aspect

Educational modernization leads to high educational level and gender parity in education. Although the Qing government abolished *eight-legged essays* 八股文 (1902) and the *imperial civil service exam* 科舉 (1905) with attempt at introducing a new curriculum, China did not achieve educational modernization because the educational level in China remained low before the fall of the Qing Dynasty. 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. Therefore, the effectiveness of the Qing government in promoting educational modernization was very low.

E. Military aspect

Military modernisation means the country should possess *powerful navy and army* 強大的海陸軍 with *advanced weapons* 先進的武備 and it should be able to deal with internal and external threats. The Qing government attempted to strengthen its military by establishing the *Wubei Institute* 武備學堂(1901) and *Bureau of Military Training* 練兵處(1903) and sending military officers to Japan for training. It was successful to build the modernised New Army of 270 thousand soldiers in 1911. Yet, China could not achieve military modernisation. 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. Internally, the Late Qing Reform succeeded in establishing the New Army. But it became the private army of *Yuan Shikai* 袁世凱 and was used to force the Qing emperor to abdicate. Therefore, the Late Qing Reform failed to give China the military strength to deal with internal and external threats, thus China was not militarily modernised

F. Diplomatic aspect

Diplomatic modernization entails diplomatic relations with other countries established on an equal footing, abolition of unequal treaties and preservation of China's independence and sovereignty. Although the Qing Court replaced *Zongli Yamen* 總理衙門 with the *Ministry of Foreign Affairs* 外交部(1901) to redress the inequality faced by China, its reform did not modernize China diplomatically. 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* 南京條約(1842) and *Treaty of Shimonoseki* 馬關條約(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* 關稅自主權, *salt tax autonomy* 鹽稅自主權 and *extraterritoriality* 治外法權. The country was not independent and autonomous. Therefore, the Qing government failed to change the diplomatic situation faced by China and did not achieve modernization in this aspect.

4. Limitations of the Late Qing Reform

A. Political aspect: Internal struggles

Although the Reform was led by Cixi, there were complicated power struggles in the internal government. For example, Yuan Shikai and Prince-Regent Zaifeng did not get along well and Zaifeng dismissed Yuan in 1909. Thus, the New Army lost a capable reform leader. Therefore, internal struggles impaired the effectiveness of the Late Qing Reform.

B. Political aspect: Insincere reforms

The Late Qing Reform lacked sincerity. It aimed at saving the Manchu rule but not realising modernisation. In the cabinet was set up in 1911, 7 out of 13 ministers were royals. They hoped to centralise power and consolidate their rule through reforms. Thus, insincere reforms were unable to bring about a thorough change in China and limited the effectiveness of the Reform.

C. Political aspect: Serious corruption

Corruption had long been a problem in China's politics. It was common for junior officials to embezzle. Worse still, the reform leaders, such as Cixi and Yikuang, skimmed off money from the Reform. Thus, reforms gave corrupt officials opportunities to gain benefits. Without sufficient funds, the effectiveness of reforms was greatly reduced.

D. Political aspect: Lack of capable leaders

The Late Qing Reform lacked capable leaders. Those with experience of reform, including Li Hongzhang and Liu Kunyi, died in the initial stage. Passionate reformers like Kang Youwei and Liang Qichao fled from China after the Hundred Days' Reform. The Late Qing Reform was led by the corrupt and incompetent royals and dignitaries such as Yikuang and Ronglu. After the death of Cixi in 1908, the Reform lost the leading figure. Without capable leaders, reforms were hard to implement and turned out less effective.

E. Economic aspect: Insufficient funds

Owing to repeated defeat of China in foreign wars, huge indemnities burdened the finance in China. For example, the Shimonoseki Treaty and Boxer Protocol demanded 200 million and 450 million taels of silver respectively. The Qing government had to get loans from foreign countries to pay the reparations. Thus, financial difficulties limited the effectiveness of reforms. Without sufficient reforms, many measures were ignored. In military reforms, the army was organised and trained but the navy did not improve much because it lacked funds. Therefore, financial problems limited the scale and quality of reforms.

F. Social aspect: Opposition from the revolutionaries

The society was not fully supportive towards the Reform. When reforms touched upon social interests or beliefs, the public would oppose. Regarding railway construction, some villages reckoned that constructing railways would affect feng shui and they would have to relocate their ancestral graves, thus opposed such reforms. The opposition from conservatives posed obstacles to reforms and hindered their progress and effectiveness.

G. Diplomatic aspect: Economic encroachment of foreign powers

The powers had enormous influence in China in the first half of the 20th century and most areas fell under their scope of influence. Foreign powers used labour, land and resources in China to produce goods to capture the Chinese market. This squeezed interests out of China and limited investment in reforms. Also, new national enterprises could not thrive due to a large amount of cheap foreign goods. Reforms proceeded under a difficult environment. Thus, the economic encroachment of foreign powers limited the effectiveness of reforms.

1911 Revolution

1. Causes of the 1911 Revolution

- A. Political aspect: Incompetence of the Qing government and insincere reforms
- B. Economic aspect: Poor economic environment
- C. Social aspect: Discontent among the gentry
- D. Military aspect: Betrayal of the New Army
- E. Thoughts: Influenced by the Western ideas
- F. Diplomatic aspect: Foreign invasion

2. Measures and Content of the 1911 Revolution

	Measures
Political	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Principle of “democracy”: to establish a republican government elected by people - Ended the monarchy and established the Republic of China
Economic	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Principle of “people’s livelihood”: to distribute land equally among the people and improve people’s livelihood
Social	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Principle of “nationalism”, which turned into “five-group harmony” in the 1911 Revolution: to achieve ethnic equality - To abolish uncivilised conducts, the Republic of China ordered to remove pigtails, ban slave trade and opium-smoking and free women from foot binding.
Diplomatic	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Principle of “nationalism”: hoped to get rid of foreign control and achieve national autonomy

3. Significance of the 1911 Revolution for modernisation of China

A. Political aspect

As for political modernization, the form of government is not the only benchmark. The administration should be a government with actual power that is elected by the people to realize the idea of 'democracy', and the existence of multiple political parties should be allowed. It was true that the 1911 Revolution overthrew the Qing Court, put an end to the monarchy that had ruled China for more than 2000 years and established the first *government of republican* 共和政體 form in China. But the revolution still could not bring about genuine political modernization in China. In terms of government, the one established after the revolution did not correspond with the idea of '*democracy* 民權 proposed by Sun Yat-sen. Yuan Shikai, after becoming the Provisional President, gradually assumed military and political power, and even *reinstated monarchy* 復辟帝制 by making himself China's Emperor in 1915. After his death, China got caught up in the *autocratic and chaotic Warlord Era* 軍閥專權及混戰 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* 國民黨 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. Therefore, the 1911 Revolution had great limitations as an attempt at political modernization in China.

B. Economic aspect

Economic modernization gives rise to the adoption of advanced mode of production and a sound economic environment. It was true that the 1911 Revolution created favourable conditions for the development of national enterprises. After the establishment of the Republic of China, local enterprises sprouted up fast and many overseas Chinese returned with positive expectations for the new China. These combined to make *national enterprises* 民族企業 develop rapidly. But as a matter of fact, the 1911 Revolution did not bring a fundamental improvement in the Chinese economy and achieve economic modernization. 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' 民生 that entailed equalization of land rights was not materialized after the successful revolution, and the plight of *poor and tenant farmers* 貧農及佃農 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* 軍閥混戰 coming first and the *Chinese Civil War* 國共內戰 next. In addition to the *heavy taxation* 重稅 imposed by warlords, the economic environment was even worse than that of the Late Qing period with the people leading tough lives. Therefore, the Chinese economy was going into recession after the 1911 Revolution and could not be qualified as modernized.

C. Social aspect

Social modernization should lead to a civilized and enlightened society where evil social practices and feudalistic ideas are eliminated. It was true that after the revolution, Sun Yat-sen advocated 'five-group harmony 五族共和' that promoted racial equality, and a series of orders were made for the country's social modernization to forcibly remove people's pigtails, change the title 'Da Ren 大人' into 'Mister 先生' and ban slave trade. Yet, the 1911 Revolution did not truly modernize the Chinese society. In terms of social evils, its effectiveness was limited because the Nationalist government adopted a *top-down approach 由上而下* 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 重男輕女* and *superstition 迷信鬼神* 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. Therefore, the 1911 Revolution did not modernize China in social aspect.

D. Diplomatic aspect

Diplomatic modernization entails diplomatic relations with other countries established on an equal footing, abolition of unequal treaties and preservation of China's independence and sovereignty. The revolutionaries wanted to invalidate unequal treaties with other countries by overthrowing the Qing government through the 1911 Revolution to achieve independence, sovereignty and diplomatic autonomy. However, the revolution did not make real improvement in the way China was treated by other countries. 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 馬關條約* (1895). In terms of sovereignty, with these unequal treaties not being terminated, a considerable part of China's sovereign rights, including *tariff 關稅* and *salt tax 鹽稅* 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 廿一條款* with Japan in 1915. China became a de facto protectorate of Japan, further deprived of its sovereign rights and interests. Therefore, the 1911 Revolution did not bring about diplomatic modernization for China.

May Fourth Movement

1. Definition of the May Fourth Movement

A. Narrow perspective:

Narrowly speaking, the May Fourth Movement referred to the students' patriotic and anti-imperialism demonstration against the unequal treatment received by China in the Paris Peace Conference in 1919.

B. Broad perspective:

From a broad perspective, the May Fourth Movement could be traced back to 1915 when Japan forced the signing of *Twenty-One Demands* 廿一條款, which enhanced the patriotic and nation-saving consciousness. It included the nation-wide demonstration on 4th May 1919 and the New Culture Movement in the 10s and 20s. From 1915 to the early 1920s, national consciousness was high. To save the country, intellectuals and youngsters stepped forward to spread patriotic ideas, learn Western ideas and reflect on traditional Chinese thoughts. Such social atmosphere was defined as the May Fourth Movement in a broad sense.

2. Causes of the May Fourth Movement

A. Political aspect: Autocracy and incompetence of Yuan and warlords

B. Economic aspect: Poor economic environment

C. Social aspect: Introduction of foreign ideas

D. Educational aspect: Discontent among intellectuals

E. Diplomatic aspect: Unequal treatment in the Paris Peace Conference

3. Features of the May Fourth Movement

A. Political aspect: Anti-warlord

The May Fourth Movement was anti-warlord and people resented the corrupted and incompetent rule of warlords. *Chen Duxiu* 陳獨秀, the main leader of the movement, was imprisoned for several times because he criticised warlords. Also, in the nation-wide demonstration on 4th May 1919, people shouted out the slogan “*get rid of national traitors internally*” 內除國賊, which referred to warlord governments that betrayed the country. Protestors even attacked *Cao Rulin* 曹汝霖 and burnt down his house. This reflected the anti-warlord feature of the movement.

B. Thoughts: learning from the West

Broadly speaking, the *New Culture Movement* 新文化運動 was included in the May Fourth Movement. The New Culture Movement encouraged the learning of Western ideas such as *Liberalism* 自由主義, *democracy* 民主, *science* 科學 and *Socialism* 社會主義, which were hot topics during the movement. Chen Duxiu founded the *Youth Magazine* 青年雜誌 (1915; renamed the *New Youth* in 1916) promoted science and democracy, which reflected the feature of learning from the West.

C. Thoughts: Anti-tradition

While the May Fourth Movement advocated the learning of Western ideas, it was also an anti-tradition movement. It opposed *Confucianism* 儒家思想 and feudal ideas like “three principles and five virtues” were considered a great hindrance to political improvement in China. Chen Duxiu and Luxun were two of the most radical critics for Confucianism.

D. Social aspect: Against social misbehaviour

The May Fourth Movement was influential in different aspects, including the civic life. People reflected on the Chinese tradition and criticised social misbehaviour. They even protested against uncivilised conduct like *prostitution* 娼妓, *opium-smoking* 吸食鴉片 and *corruption* 貪污, which was one of the features of the movement.

E. Social aspect: A patriotic movement

Undoubtedly, the May Fourth Movement was a patriotic one. It was triggered by the diplomatic humiliation China suffered in the Paris Peace Conference and people hoped to save China. People gathered in Tiananmen Square on 4th May 1919, hoping to “*struggle for national sovereignty externally, get rid of national traitors internally*” 外爭國權，內除國賊 thus defend the interests of China. Even in 1915, the reason why Chen Duxiu founded the Youth Magazine and advocated democracy and science was also to save the country by learning from the West.

F. Educational aspect: A student movement

On 4th May 1919, the large-scale demonstration was initiated by 5000 students of Beijing University and other institutions. Also, students took an important role in the movement. They called on people of different stratum to protest and called for a boycott of Japanese goods as Japan took the rights in Shandong.

G. Educational aspect: Against old literature

The New Culture Movement promoted the Vernacular Movement. *People wrote in the same way they say* 我手寫我口. The movement opposed old literature and encourage people to use vernacular language instead of traditional writing such as eight-legged essays and Classical Chinese. Vernacular language became the main writing style in the future.

H. Diplomatic aspect: Anti-imperialism

Although the May Fourth Movement encouraged people to learn Western ideas, it opposed imperialism. Anti-imperialism feelings went high especially when the powers gave the rights in *Shandong* 山東 to Japan in the *Paris Peace Conference* 巴黎和會 (1919). The slogan of the movement, “struggle for national sovereignty externally”, was to restore sovereignty from imperialism, thus reflecting the feature of anti-imperialism.

I. Diplomatic aspect: Anti-Japan

The May Fourth Movement was a national movement against the Japanese invasion. It could be traced back to the signing of *Twenty One Demands* 廿一條款(1915) and Japan’s gaining of *Shandong* 山東 rights in the Paris Peace Conference (1919). These aroused discontent among the Chinese and they boycotted Japanese goods to oppose Japan’s invasion in China.

4. Measures and Content of the May Fourth Movement

	Measures
Political	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - The nature of anti-warlord - Stimulated the development of communism in China; the Communist Party of China established in 1921.
Economic	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - People supported local goods and boycotted the foreign ones. The Society for the Use of National Goods was set up in Shanghai in 1915. - In 1919, Japanese import to China reduced by 40 %.

Social	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - In 1919, the nation-wide demonstration against the Paris Peace Conference took place. - Citizens' movements against prostitution and exploitation of foreign industries took place later.
Educational	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - The Vernacular Movement in the New Culture Movement: encouraged the use of vernacular language and discarded old literature like eight-legged essays and Classical Chinese.
Diplomatic	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Opposed the unequal treatment received by China in the Paris Peace Conference.

5. Significance of the May Fourth Movement for modernisation

A. Political aspect

With political modernization, a country should be ruled by an elected government with actual power and allow the existence of multiple political parties. It was true that the May Fourth Movement raised political awareness among the people because it was a campaign not only *against warlord rule* 反軍閥統治 but also for learning Western ideas and political ideologies such as *democracy* 民主 and *communism* 共產主義, leading to a great leap in China's intellectual development. However, ideas were just ideas and the actual political situation in China was still far from being modernized. 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* 中國共產黨 in 1921 and became the guiding ideology for the country's development. But communism was in favour of *one-party dictatorship* 一黨專政 and against other political ideologies, and therefore it worked against the progress of China's political modernization and became a major obstacle to that. Therefore, the May Fourth Movement did not turn China's political modernization into a reality.

B. Economic aspect

Economic modernization gives rise to the adoption of advanced mode of production and a sound economic environment. It was true that the May Fourth Movement promoted the development of economic nationalism in China with the people supporting domestic products and boycotting the foreign ones. For example, the *Society for the Use of National Goods* 勸用國貨會 was set up in Shanghai in 1915. This fostered the development of national enterprises. Yet, the Chinese economy still had a long way to go before achieving modernization. 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. Therefore, the May Fourth Movement was not effective in bringing about economic modernization in China.

C. Social aspect

Social modernization should lead to a free society where evil social practices and feudalistic ideas are eliminated. It was true that 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* 廢除娼妓 and *protesting against exploitation by foreign factories* 反對外國工廠剝削. This helped promote the civic awareness of Chinese citizens. Yet, the Chinese society did not fully achieve modernization with this movement. In terms of freedom, many protestors were arrested by the warlord regimes after the May Fourth Movement, with *Chen Duxiu* 陳獨秀 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* 迷信 and *gender inequality* 重男輕女 persisted, and the movement failed to eradicate these deep-seated feudalistic ideas. Therefore, although the May Fourth Movement raised the civic awareness of the Chinese, it failed to bring about social modernization in China.

D. Educational aspect

Educational modernization requires not only academic freedom and freedom of expression but also high educational level and gender parity in education. With no doubt, the May Fourth Movement made tremendous contributions to China's educational modernization. During the New Cultural Movement, the *vernacular movement* 白話文運動 established vernacular Chinese as mainstream to allow people to write more freely. At the same time, different Western philosophies such as *Positivism* 實證主義, *Hegelianism* 黑格爾主義 and *Materialism* 唯物主義 were disseminated freely in China, and this helped the development towards a more liberal academic environment. However, the movement still had great limitations as for complete educational modernization in China. 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. Therefore, although the May Fourth Movement revolutionized the form of written Chinese, the deep-rooted problem of illiteracy remained a huge barrier to China's educational modernization.

E. Diplomatic aspect

Diplomatic modernization entails diplomatic relations with other countries established on an equal footing, and preservation of China's independence and sovereignty. It was true that after the May Fourth Movement, the Western powers took consideration of the strong protest from the Chinese and reformulated the settlement of the *Shandong* 山東 question at the *Washington Conference* 華盛頓會議(1921-22) by revoking Japan's privileges there, which helped restore China's sovereignty. However, the May Fourth Movement did not actually help realize China's diplomatic modernization. In terms of diplomacy on an equal footing, unequal treaties such as the *Treaty of Nanjing* 南京條約(1842) and *Treaty of Shimonoseki* 馬關條約(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* 治外法權 on the grounds that the judicial system of China was flawed, and *tariff autonomy* 關稅自主權 was gradually regained not before the Nanjing decade. China was still not an independent sovereign country. Therefore, the May Fourth Movement helped redress the Shandong question but failed to realize diplomatic modernization in China.

Nanjing government

1. Reforms of the Nanjing government

	Reforms
Political	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - To proceed from military Rule to political tutelage and to constitutional government according to Sun's 'Fundamentals of National Reconstruction' - Transited from military rule during the Northern Expedition (before 1928) to political tutelage; a drafted constitution was announced in 1936 but the Constitution of the Republic of China was not adopted until 1946 due to the outbreak of Sino-Japanese War in 1937. - Five-power system: the Executive Yuan, Legislative Yuan, Judicial Yuan, Control Yuan and Examination Yuan
Economic	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Set up the Central Bank to manage the development of the financial industry in 1928 - Replaced silver taels with silver dollars in 1933 - Replaced silver dollars with banknotes in 1935 - Set up the Railway Bureau in 1928; the Guangdong-Hankou Railway was opened in 1936 - Issued economic regulations like Exchange Act and Weights and Measures Act - Adopted agricultural reforms by sponsoring agricultural research and carrying out irrigation projects
Social	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - In 1929, the People's Rights Ordinance was passed to protect civil rights - Followed the early republican practices to prohibit foot-binding, slave trade and change koutou to nods and the addresses of "Da Ren" and "Lao Ye" to "Minister" - Started the New Life Movement in 1934; promoted the Confucian virtues of "propriety, righteousness, honesty and the sense of shame" (li, yi, lian, chi)

Educational	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Organised the first national education conference in 1928 to research on the school system and plan the educational development - Passed the Law of Compulsory Education in 1932 and planned to provide people with free elementary education - Regulations for primary and secondary education and overseas study were issued in 1933 - The Education Bureau started to provide free education in 1935 - Built many secondary and primary schools; reorganised universities and higher educational institutions
Diplomatic	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Demanded foreign countries to abolish unequal treaties - Attempted to restore sovereignty: recovered British concessions at Hankou and Xiamen (1926-30); tariff autonomy was recognised in 1930 - Recover all sovereign rights in 1943

2. Significance of the Nanjing government reforms for modernisation

A. Political aspect

A modernized form of government should have elected element and allow the existence of other political parties. But these features were absent in China in the mid-1930s. In terms of election, the Nanjing government did follow Sun Yat-sen's '*Fundamentals of National Reconstruction* 建國大綱 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* 中日戰爭(1937), and China was stuck in the phase of *political tutelage* 訓政 at that time. Notwithstanding attempts at *five-power separation* 五權分立, the people did not enjoy voting rights and electoral system was not established in China. Also, in terms of political parties, the Nanjing government followed the principle of '*running the state through the political party* 以黨治國 and adopted one-party dictatorship, eliminating opposition by *purging the communists* 剿共 relentlessly. This was not a multi-party system that characterizes modernization. Therefore, China attempted at a modernized government structure but was not modernized in nature, and it achieved political modernization to a small extent only.

B. Economic aspect

Economic modernization gives rise to the adoption of advanced mode of production and a sound economic environment. It was true that the Nanjing government did a lot to promote commercial reform. It reformed the monetary system by *replacing silver dollars with banknotes* 紙幣取代銀元 in 1935, and issued economic regulations such as the *Exchange Act* 交易所法 and *Weights and Measures Act* 度量衡法 to shape a better business environment. Also, as for industries, it assisted local industries and expand the railway network as exemplified by the *Canton-Hankow Railway* 粵漢鐵路, which was opened in 1936, to enable industrial development at the same time. However, the Chinese economy did not achieve genuine 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* 四大家族(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* 中日戰爭 broke out in 1937 and it halted commercial activities in many regions. The economic environment was very unfavourable. Therefore, China's economic situation was not completely qualified as modernized.

C. Social aspect (Modernized)

In a modernized society, civic awareness is stressed, evil social practices are eradicated and basic civil rights are guaranteed. As a matter of fact, the Nanjing government had started its reform as early as the 1920s to facilitate social modernization. In terms of civic awareness, it launched the *New Life Movement* 新生活運動 in 1934 to promote the traditional virtues of '*propriety, justice, integrity and honour* 禮、義、廉、恥. This helped foster national awakening and the spirit of inclusion and cooperation in order to nurture civic awareness. In terms of social evils, it succeeded in getting rid of many evil social practices, including *foot-binding* 纏足 and the trading of *domestic servants* 奴婢. 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 civil rights, the government passed the *Civil Rights Act* 民權法規 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. Therefore, the reform of the Nanjing government was conducive to China's social modernization.

D. Social aspect (Unmodernised)

Social modernization should lead to a civilized and enlightened society where evil social practices and feudalistic ideas are eliminated. It was true that the Nanjing government proactively put forward its social reform by following the measures in the early Republican period to ban foot-binding and the trading of domestic servants. The *New Life Movement* 新生活運動 also began in 1934 to promote the traditional virtues of 'propriety, justice, integrity and honour' 禮、義、廉、恥. However, the Chinese society did not undergo transformation with its reform. 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* 貪污, *spitting* 隨地吐痰 and *littering* 亂拋垃圾 still existed. In terms of feudalistic ideas, uncivilized thoughts such as *superstition* 迷信 and *gender inequality* 重男輕女 persisted and the Nanjing government failed to transform the Chinese society completely into a modernized one. Therefore, the Nanjing government did not actualize social modernization in China.

E. Educational aspect

A modernized education system entails not only a comprehensive curriculum but also high educational level and gender parity in education. In terms of curriculum, it was true that the Nanjing government issued *regulations* 規程 for primary and secondary education and overseas study successively since 1933 to make the education system of China more sophisticated. Nevertheless, an important benchmark for educational modernization is educational level, but illiteracy remained a serious problem in China under its rule. 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* 義務教育法 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. Therefore, the Nanjing government did improve the curriculum, but since the problems of illiteracy and gender imparity in education persisted, it achieved modernization to a small extent only.

F. Military aspect

Military modernization is characterized by an army strong enough to resolve internal disputes and defend the country against external threats. The Nationalist government established the *Whampoa Military Academy* 黃埔軍校 as early as 1924 and trained its army continuously in the hope of strengthening the Chinese military. However, China was still some way from being militarily modernized. In terms of internal disputes, the Nanjing government completed the *Northern Expedition* 北伐 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* 共產黨 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* 九一八事變 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* 七七事變 for a full-scale invasion of China, and the country failed to resist its encroachment and lost major cities like *Shanghai* 上海 and *Nanjing* 南京 within just a few months. Therefore, the Nanjing government did not fulfil the requirement for military modernization by resolving internal disputes and defending the country against external threats.

G. Diplomatic aspect

Diplomatic modernization entails diplomatic relations with other countries established on an equal footing and preservation of China's independence and sovereignty. It was true that the Nanjing government made great effort to raise China's international status and get rid of the preferential treatment of foreign countries in China. For example, it recovered the British concessions at *Hankou* 漢口 and *Xiamen* 廈門 in the period 1926-30 and retrieved tariff autonomy in 1930 to improve the international status of China. However, China was still not diplomatically modernized. In terms of diplomacy on an equal footing, China at that time was still bound by unequal treaties like the *Treaty of Nanjing* 南京條約(1842) and *Treaty of Shimonoseki* 馬關條約(1895), remaining in an unequal position. In terms of sovereignty, although the Nanjing government successfully regained *tariff autonomy* 關稅自主權, the powers refused to give up their *extraterritorial rights* 治外法權 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. Therefore, despite the improving international status of China, the country did not achieve diplomacy on an equal footing or become an independent sovereign state, and it could therefore be regarded as a modernized country to a small extent only.

3. Limitations of the Nanjing government reforms for modernisation

A. Political aspect: governing by political party and eliminating dissidents

Although the Nanjing government hoped to carry out democratic reforms and adopted a constitution, it retained autocracy and adopted one-party dictatorship. It eliminated dissidents like purging the Communists. For example, Jiang Jieshi ordered to eliminate the Purge in 1927. Thus, despite improvement in the system, the political party remained feudal and conservative, which hindered the establishment of democratic ideas in China. This limited the actualisation of political modernisation.

B. Political aspect: Serious corruption

The Nanjing government was as corrupted as its formers. Cronyism was common. For example, important officials like Jiang Xiaoxian and Jiang Kaozhen were relatives of Jiang Jieshi. Also, some warlords survived as they submitted to the Nanjing government, such as Feng Yuxiang and Yan Xishan. These warlords could retain its original rule and collect tax as they wished. The Nanjing government reforms could not benefit the whole nation. It ignored this to prevent outbreaks of war. Thus, some reforms were not thoroughly carried out.

C. Economic aspect: Monopolised by plutocrats

Under the rule of Nanjing government, plutocrats closely connected with KMT leaders grew in strength through corruption. For example, the economy was controlled by the Big Four Families, namely Jiang (Jiang Jieshi), Song (Song Ziwen), Kong (Kong Xiangxi) and Chen (Chen Guofu and Chen Lifu). Their dominance limited the living space of small and medium enterprises. They could not thrive under the rule of Nanjing government, thus economic modernisation in China was hindered.

D. Military aspect: Devastation caused by lengthy wars

Devastation caused by lengthy wars greatly limited the effectiveness of reforms. It carries a heavy burden left behind by the late Qing and early Republican Warlordism. When North Expedition came to the end, Jiang started to purge the communist party in 1927 and launched several encirclement campaigns against the Communists. Later, Japan invaded China in 1937 and China was embroiled into an 8-year war. After that, a 4-year civil war started. Thus, the Nanjing government carried out reforms in this unstable environment. Lengthy wars did not only harm agricultural and industrial production, they made the government less focused on reforms. The effectiveness of reforms was then limited and unremarkable.

E. Diplomatic aspect: Japanese invasion

The Japanese invasion greatly reduced the effectiveness of the Nanjing government reforms. Japan had already initiated the September 18 Incident (1931) and January 28 Incident (1932) to invade Northeast China and Shanghai. In 1937, Japan initiated the July 7th Incident and invaded the whole of China, forcing the Nanjing government to delay part of its reforms. For example, the Constitution of the Republic of China drafted in 1936 was not adopted until 1946. Thus, the Japanese invasion impeded the progress of the Nanjing government reforms.



The Communist Revolution and

the Establishment of the People's Republic of China

1.A The initial period (1919-21):

At this stage, the revolution was in the making and communism spread rapidly throughout China with related organizations formed successively. Concerning the spread of communism, *Chen Duxiu* 陳獨秀, *Li Dazhao* 李大釗 and other writers made effort to promote this ideology through *New Youth* 新青年, a Chinese magazine, making communism one of the most eye-catching and debated foreign ideologies during the May Fourth Movement. As for communist organizations, the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) had not been established yet at that time, but many related organizations sprouted up, including the *Socialist Youth League of China* 社會主義青年團 and the *Chinese Communist Party in Shanghai* 上海共產黨 formed in 1920. In addition, Chen and other educated people prepared for the formation of the CCP at this stage and communism began to take root in China. It is clear that the development of communism in China just started at this stage, which should be identified as a preliminary one.

1.B Reasons: The Soviet influence and exploitation of the capitalist empires

The Russian toppled the capitalist government in the *October Revolution* 十月革命 and established communist regime. This attracted attention of educated people in China to this new political ideology. They started forming different related organizations to study this. Afterwards, the USSR established the Communist International (Comintern) in 1919 to promote global communist revolution. Its counterpart in China also developed steadily with the help of the organization. For example, the *Comintern* 共產國際 sent *Grigori Voitinsky* 維金斯基 to China in 1920 to assist the formation of the CCP, helping the birth of Chinese communism. In addition, exploitation by capitalist empires was also an important factor leading to development of communism in China. China attended the *Paris Peace Conference* 巴黎和會 as a victorious power; however, capitalist empires like Britain and the US transferred its interests in Shandong to Japan at the conference, stirring up discontent of the Chinese. They thus abandoned capitalism and studied communism instead. This helped communism develop in China.

2.A The thriving period (1921-27):

At this stage, the revolution developed healthily with much more sophisticated organizations and a leap in number of members. In terms of organizations, the *CCP* 中國共產黨 was officially established in 1921 and five National Congresses were called. The communist party had become much refined and mature. Also, members of the CCP could be found throughout the nation and the *Socialist Youth League of China* 中國社會主義青年團, an affiliated organization of the CCP, set up branches in every province of the country. The total number of CCP members expanded rapidly from 57 in 1921 to 57967 in 1927. It had become a significant power that affected China's political development. Therefore, this period was the growth stage of Chinese communist revolution at which it experienced tremendous development.

2.B Reasons: Soviet assistance and cooperation between the nationalists and communists

After Chinese communism took root in 1921, the USSR continuously assisted the development of the CCP. It sent *Maring* 馬林 and *Joffe* 越飛 to China to discuss matters of cooperation. In 1923, Sun Yat-sen and Joffe signed the *Sun-Joffe Manifesto* 孫文越飛宣言, under which the USSR abolished its unequal treaties with China for a favorable impression of the KMT. Its efforts were significant for the First United Front and promoted the development of the CCP. The First United Front onwards was a great chance for the CCP to develop itself. Starting from 1923, members of the CCP were able to join the KMT as individuals and communist influence penetrated into central and local governments. For instance, *Mao Zedong* 毛澤東 was elected as alternate member of the KMT Central Executive Committee in 1924. The spread of communism attracted new members joining the CCP and led to rapid growth of the CCP.

3.A The difficult period (1927-37):

At this stage, the revolution had some progress but its influence was significantly hampered. The communists entered the most difficult period they had encountered. It is true that the number of CCP members kept going up after 1927, up from 40000 in 1928 to 300000 in 1934. However, the CCP suffered several encirclement campaigns and attacks against it that were launched by the KMT. Its strength was greatly reduced. The KMT launched a *purge of the communists* 清黨 in 1927 and started five encirclement campaigns against the communists in the period 1930-34. At last, the CCP had no choice but to give up its controlled area in Ruijin and embarked on the *Long March of 25000 Li* 二萬五千里長征. The number of members consequently plunged from 300000 in 1934 to 40000 at the beginning of 1937. The communist party's development faced a huge obstacle and the most challenging time since the establishment of the CCP. Therefore, this should be the difficult period of Chinese communist revolution.

3.B Reasons: The split of the KMT and CCP

Sun Yat-sen, who supported '*alliance with the Soviet, admission of the communists* 聯俄容共', died in 1925. His successor Jiang Jieshi did not support a united front and, worse still, he was strong anti-communist. After gaining power, he felt the threat of the CCP. For example, in the *Third Plenary Session of the 2nd Central Committee of the KMT* 國民黨二屆三中全會中 in 1927, members of the CCP and leftists in the KMT took up most seats of Central Executive Committee members and alternate members. Therefore, Jiang launched a purge in 1927 and killed the communists relentlessly, causing the first confrontation between the two parties. Afterwards, Jiang insisted on eliminating the communists and started five encirclement campaigns against them in order to completely get rid of the CCP. This posed a great threat to the communist party and tremendously weakened it.

4.A The upturn period (1937-49):

At this stage, Chinese communist revolutionists reversed the hardship at the previous stage and had their influence expanded tremendously. They even defeated the KMT in the Chinese Civil War and reached the revolution's goal in 1949. Concerning number of members, the CCP reversed the decline in 1937 and the number of its members increased from 40000 in 1937 to 4.48 million after the Second Sino-Japanese War (1937-45) and Chinese Civil War (1946-49). The communist party finally overpowered the KMT in terms of influence. In addition, the CCP defeated the KMT in the three major campaigns (*Liaoshen* 遼沈, *Huaihai* 淮海 and *Pingjin* 平津) and the latter retreated to *Taiwan* 台灣 at the end. This marked the victory of Chinese communist revolution. The People's Republic of China was officially established in 1949, showing the success of the revolution. It is clear that this period was the reversing stage of Chinese communist revolution and the revolution was successful.

4.B Reasons: Corruption of the KMT and competence of the CPC

As for the KMT, it was very corrupt and its members took advantage of the reform to make money for themselves. For example, the *Four Big Families* 四大家族 (Song, Chen, Jiang and Kong) had close ties with the government and therefore enjoyed privileges and economic interests. They monopolized the country's economy and the government gradually lost its popularity. In contrast, the CCP left people a clean image, which was much different from the corruption of the KMT. The communists went into rural areas to help peasants boost their productivity and improve their livelihood, winning support from thousands of peasants in China. More importantly, the CCP designed effective strategy during the Chinese Civil War. They targeted at the weakness of the KMT. The internal structure of its army was loose and it was not well managed. Therefore, the CCP gathered troops to attack the KMT bases one by one. It managed to reverse the situation and forced the KMT to retreat to Taiwan in 1949, getting victory in the revolution.

Timeline	
Year	Events
1839-42	Opium War: China was defeated and signed the Nanjing Treaty
1856-60	Second Opium War: China was defeated and signed the Tianjin Treaty and Beijing Treaty
1860-95	Self-strengthening Movement
1894-95	Sino-Japanese war: China was defeated and signed the Shimonoseki Treaty
1894	Sun founded the Xingzhonghui
1895	The 1 st uprising: Guangzhou Uprising
1898	Hundred Days' Reform
1900	Eight-Power Expedition to China: China was defeated and signed the Boxer Protocol in 1901
	Governors of the provinces in Southeast China reached the Southeast Mutual Protection with foreign powers
1901	Zongli Yamen was reorganised as the Ministry of Foreign Affairs
	The imperial military service exam was abolished
	Wubei Institute was set up
	Dismissed 20-30% of the Green Standard army and Defensive Soldiers
1902	Manzu-Han intermarriage was allowed; women were free from foot-binding
	Celun replaced Eight-legged essays in the imperial civil service exam
	A modern school system was formed with enlightenment, primary, secondary schools and university
	Students were chosen to study abroad
1903	Establishment of the Ministry of Commerce
	Bureau of Military Training was set up in Beijing
1904-05	Russo-Japanese War
1905	Five ministers were sent to Britain, France, Japan, Germany and the US to study their constitutions
	Imperial civil service exam was abolished
1906	Six Boards were replaced by the Eleven Ministries
	Opium-smoking was illegalised
1908	The Outline of Constitution was issued
	Death of Cixi and Guangxu

1909	Provincial assemblies were established
	A focus group was set up to balance the revenue and expenditure of the central and local governments
	Prince-Regent Zaifeng dismissed Yuan Shikai
1910	The National Assembly was set up
1911	A cabinet was set up
	Started railway nationalisation
	Railway Protection Movement
	The Nineteen Articles was passed
	1911 Revolution
1913	Song Jiaoren was assassinated; Second Revolution
	Kuomintang disbanded
1915	Yuan signed the Twenty One Demands with Japan
	The Society for the Use of National Goods was set up
	Chen Duxiu founded the Youth Magazine (renamed New Youth in 1916)
	Yuan Shikai restored the monarchy
1917	Zhang Xun restored the monarchy
	Russian October Revolution succeeded in establishing a communist government
1919	Paris Peace Conference; the May Fourth Movement
1921	Establishment of the Communist Party of China
1921-22	Washington Conference
1924-27	First Nationalist-Communist United Front
1927-37	First Confrontation between the CPC and KMT
1928	End of North Expedition; the Nanjing government transited from military rule to political tutelage
	Central Bank was set up
	Railway Bureau was set up
	The first national education conference
1929	People's Rights Ordinance was passed
1930	Recovered tariff autonomy
1931	September 18 Incident
1932	January 28 Incident
	Law of Compulsory Education was passed

1933	Replaced silver taels with silver dollars
	Regulations for primary and secondary education and overseas study were issued
1934	Beginning of the New Life Movement
1935	Replaced silver dollars with banknotes
	Started to provide free education
1936	A drafted constitution was announced, which was adopted in 1946
	The Guangdong-Hankou Railway was opened
1937	July 7 th Incident
1937-45	Second Nationalist-Communist United Front
1946-49	Second Confrontation between the CPC and KMT / Chinese Civil War
1949	Establishment of the People's Republic of China

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Trend Analysis

	DBQ	Essay
SP	<p style="text-align: center;">Q2: Late Qing to the Republican period</p> <p>Whether Sun would be satisfied with China's development</p>	<p>Q7. Select one country or region as example and discuss in what ways was the Second World War a turning point for it in the 20th century.</p>
PP	\	<p>Q2. In what ways was the year 1949 a turning point in Chinese history during the 20th century?</p> <p>Q7. Select any one country or region and discuss to what extent this country or region in the early 20th century was different from what it had been in the late 20th century.</p>
12	\	<p>Q2. Compare the impact of the May Fourth Movement and that of the 1911 Revolution on China.</p>
13	<p style="text-align: center;">Q1: The 1911 Revolution and the Republican period</p> <p>To what extent China was a modernized country</p>	<p>Q2. Trace and explain the development of the Chinese communist revolution in the period 1919-49.</p> <p>Q7. Select one country and discuss its impact on the continent to which it belonged in the period 1900-49.</p>
14	\	<p>Q2. 'The Late Qing government failed to transform China in the period 1900-12, while the Nanjing government succeeded in the period 1927-37.' Comment on the validity of this statement.</p>
15	<p style="text-align: center;">Q1: China(Revolutions)</p> <p>Whether revolutions are violent and if they can be an effective way of strengthening China</p>	<p>Q2. Do you agree that Mao Zedong(or Sun Yat-sen/Chiang Kai-shek/ Deng Xiaoping)'s impact on the development of China was more positive than negative?</p> <p>Q7. Choose two countries and discuss the factors affecting their relationship in the period 1900-49.</p>

16	\	Q2. Choose any two modernization efforts of China in the 20 th century and comment on the validity of the statement 'Chinese modernization efforts had different programmes to achieve the same result'.
17	<p style="text-align: center;">Q2: China(Communist Revolution)</p> <p>Does the gain of power of the Chinese Communist Party in 1949 lead to a transformation to the Chinese leading principle</p>	Q2. Compare reform and revolution as means of transforming a country in the 20th century. Explain your answer using one reform and one revolution of China.
18	<p style="text-align: center;">Q2: China(Reform and Revolution)</p> <p>If you were an intellectual in China in 1911, you would like to be a member of the revolutionaries or a reformist?</p>	<p>Q2. Which of the following leaders do you think was a greater leader for China?</p> <p>(a) Sun Yat-sen</p> <p>(b) Mao Zedong</p>
19	<p style="text-align: center;">Q1: China and Hong Kong</p> <p>Did mainland Chinese and Hong Kong Chinese people share similar views on major events happening in China?</p>	Q2. 'Both the Late Qing Reform (1901-12) and the reform of the Nanjing Nationalist Government (1928-37) aimed at promoting economic development more than political development.' Comment on the validity of this statement.
20	<p style="text-align: center;">Question 2: China and Japan (the first half of the 20th century)</p> <p>Do you agree that Japan did more good than harm to China in the period 1900-45?</p>	\

Reform and revolution in the last decade of the Qing Dynasty

Study Sources A and B.

DBQ

#1

SOURCE A

The following extract is adapted from *The Letter to Chinese merchants in the Americas on why constitutionalism instead of revolution is the only way to go for China* written by Kang Youwei in 1902.

The way of governance that has enabled European countries and America to become powerful and their peoples to achieve self-rule is, as concluded after thorough examination, simply to adopt constitutions and define the power of the ruler and that of the people, and this is the ultimate way of governance... Revolution is not something lucky or good for a country. Given how big China is, different provinces and counties have their own dialects that are mutually unintelligible, their own selfish interest and preference for their native regions. Before revolution reaches its ultimate goals, these provinces and counties will definitely stage uprisings and declare independence. Unwilling to be ruled by other regions, they will attack one another, have their own leaders, annex one another and slaughter one another. Blood will be shed like rivers and people will die like flies. What happened towards the end of the Qin, Sui, Tang and Yuan dynasties will certainly be seen again in the present day. In addition to the power of guns and canons unequalled by that of swords and spears in ancient times, they will cause the death of half of our four hundred million compatriots. Now, the powers compete with each other and keep a close eye on China. Once China is unified, it will be faced with a precarious situation. If our compatriots fight against each other, will it take us several hundred years to pacify the country and then begin to implement governance? When the snipe and the clam quarrel, it is the fisherman who stands to benefit, and this fisherman must be an outsider.

SOURCE B

The following extract is adapted from the article *The True Solution of the Chinese Question* written by Sun Yat-sen in 1904.

The dynastic life in China, as shown from history, is much the same as an individual; it has its birth, growth, maturity, declining and dying. The present Tartar rule has begun to decline since the beginning of the nineteenth century and is dying fast now. Therefore, we say that even this benevolent and chivalric act of maintaining the integrity and independence of China, if such is meant, as we understand, to support the present tottering Tartar house, is doomed to failure.

Now it is evident, in order to solve this burning question, that a new, enlightened and progressive government must be substituted in place of the old one. In such case, China would not only be able to support itself, but would also relieve the other countries of the trouble of maintaining her independence and integrity. There are many highly educated and able men among the people who would be competent to take up the task of forming a new government, and carefully thought-out plans have long been drawn up for the transformation of this out-of-date Tartar Monarchy into a 'Republic of China'. The general masses of the people are also ready to accept the new order of things and are longing for a change for the better, to uplift them from their present deplorable condition of life. China is now on the eve of a great national movement, for just a spark of light would set the whole political forest on fire to drive out the Tartar from our land.

- (a) What did Kang Youwei think was the fundamental factor that made revolution infeasible for China? Identify **one** fundamental factor, and support your answer with reference to clues from Source A. (3 marks)
- (b) What did Sun Yat-sen think was the periodic problem faced by China at that time? Explain your answer with reference to **one** clue from Source B. (3 marks)
- (c) Whose views – Kang Youwei's or Sun Yat-sen's – do you think were more desirable as to strengthening China? Explain your answer with reference to Sources A and B, and using your own knowledge. (Limit your discussion up to the 1900s) (9 marks)

Marking Scheme & Suggested Answer

- (a) What did Kang Youwei think was the fundamental factor that made revolution infeasible for China? Identify one fundamental factor, and support your answer with reference to clues from Source A. (3 marks)

Marking Scheme

Fundamental factor: [1 mark]

e.g. - Selfish interest of provincial governments

L1 Able to cite relevant clues without due explanation [max. 1]

L2 Able to cite relevant clues with due explanation [max. 2]

e.g. - 'Given how big China is, different provinces and counties have their own dialects that are mutually unintelligible, their own selfish interest and preference for their native regions.'

Suggested Answer

The fundamental factor was the selfish interest of provincial governments in China.

From the Source, 'given how big China was, different provinces and counties had their own dialects that were mutually unintelligible, their own selfish interest and preference for their native regions.' In other words, due to the vastness of China and cultural differences across the nation, provincial governments had their selfish interest and were eager to annex other provinces. Therefore, revolution would not succeed as it would only fragmentate China.

From the Source, before the success of revolution, 'provinces and counties would definitely stage uprisings and declare independence' and 'they would attack one another' as they were 'unwilling to be ruled by other regions'. A civil war would inevitably break out and cause a large number of deaths, offering an opportunity for the powers to invade China. It was clear that due to the selfish interest of provinces, revolution would only drag China into a civil war and make the situation even worse rather than better.

(b) What did Sun Yat-sen think was the periodic problem faced by China at that time?

Explain your answer with reference to one clue from Source B. (3 marks)

Marking Scheme

Periodic problem: [1 mark]

e.g. - Death

L1 Able to cite relevant clues without due explanation [max. 1]

L2 Able to cite relevant clues with due explanation [max. 2]

e.g. - 'The present Tartar rule has begun to decline since the beginning of the nineteenth century and is dying fast now.'

Suggested Answer

The periodic problem was that the Qing Dynasty was heading towards its death.

Sun pointed out that every dynasty in China must experience 'birth, growth, maturity, declining and dying', and the Qing government 'had begun to decline since the beginning of the nineteenth century and was dying fast now'. In other words, the Qing government was moving from the stage of declining to that of dying. The general situation of the Qing Dynasty brought uncertainty to China and became the periodic problem faced by the nation at that time.

- (c) Whose views – Kang Youwei’s or Sun Yat-sen’s – do you think were more desirable as to strengthening China? Explain your answer with reference to Sources A and B, and using your own knowledge. (Limit your discussion up to the 1900s) (9 marks)

Marking Scheme

- L1 Vague argument, ineffective in using both Sources and own knowledge. [max. 3]
- L2 Unbalanced discussion with effective use of Sources or own knowledge only, and/or Merely discusses Kang Youwei’s or Sun Yat-sen’s view, or Fails to present a clear viewpoint after discussing their views. [max. 6]
- L3 Sound and balanced discussion with effective use of both Sources and own knowledge. [max. 9]

Kang Youwei:

- e.g. - Establishing a constitution would strengthen a country. (Source A) Japan as a constitutional country defeated Russia, a European power without a constitution, in the Russo-Japanese War (1904-05). (Own knowledge)
- Chinese provincial governments had their selfish interest, and revolution would only fragmentate the nation and cause a civil war. (Source A) During the invasion of the Eight-Nation Alliance, provinces in Southeast China secretly agreed to the Mutual Protection of Southeast China with the powers, showing their intention of separating from the central government. (Own knowledge)

Sun Yat-sen:

- e.g. - The Qing Dynasty was heading towards its death and a new government must be established to replace the old one. (Source B) The Qing government suffered multiple defeats in foreign wars and failed several reforms. (Own knowledge)
- In China, there were many talented people who could run the new government after overthrowing the Qing regime and make the nation strong. (Source B) Under Qing rule, important positions were reserved for the Manchus and other races such as the Han and the Mongols were left out. This was a failure to pool the wisdom of the huge Chinese population. (Own knowledge)

Suggested Answer

I think Sun's views were more desirable.

It was true that Kang Youwei had grounds for his views. From Source A, Kang claimed that the prosperity of European countries and America was achieved by 'adopting constitutions and defining the power of the ruler and that of the people', and that 'this was the ultimate way of governance'. In other words, a constitution would define the power of the ruler and the people and allow them to perform their respective duties, bringing stability and prosperity to a nation.

From my own knowledge, many European countries and America did adopt constitutions. Japan also became a constitutional state after the adoption of the Meiji Constitution in 1890, and it eventually defeated Russia, a traditional European empire, in the Russo-Japanese War of 1904-05, which marked the defeat of a non-constitutional power by a constitutional small state. It was clear that adopting constitution would help strengthen China.

From Source A, Kang also pointed out that after revolution, provincial governments would have 'their own selfish interest and preference for their native regions' and eventually 'cause the death of half of our four hundred million compatriots', while the power would 'stand to benefit' 'when the snipe and the clam quarreled'. In other words, revolution would lead to a civil war and offer an opportunity for the powers to invade China, bringing internal struggles and external threats to the nation.

From my own knowledge, Chinese provincial governments did have their own selfish interest. For example, during the invasion of the Eight-Nation Alliance in 1900, provinces in Southeast China were unwilling to fight against the powers and secretly agreed to the Mutual Protection of Southeast China with them, showing their selfish intentions. Therefore, it was very likely that China would be trapped in a civil war after revolution and the powers would seize this opportunity to invade the nation.

However, Sun's views were more desirable.

From Source B, Sun thought that the Qing Dynasty was 'dying fast' at that time, and any attempt to rely on the Qing government to protect China was 'doomed to failure'. Therefore, 'a new, enlightened and progressive government must be substituted in place of the old one'. In other words, Sun found it necessary to overthrow the Qing regime and establish a new government in order to bring about changes and strengthen China.

From my own knowledge, the Qing government did lose its capability to protect China. The Manchu regime lost several foreign wars in the 19th century and was defeated by the Eight-Nation Alliance in 1900. It was also incapable of stopping the Russo-Japanese War, in which China became a battlefield for other countries. It was clear that overthrowing the Qing regime was the only way to make China strong.

From Source B, Sun claimed that upon the establishment of a new government, 'China would not only be able to support itself, but would also relieve the other countries of the trouble of maintaining her independence and integrity' as there were many talented people in China who could run the newly established government and make China strong again.

From my own knowledge, China's population reached 400 million at that time and many of them were talented. However, the Qing government adopted racist policies in favor of the Manchus and against other races such as the Han and the Mongols. As a consequence, the collective wisdom of the huge Chinese population was not utilized. Only through replacing the Qing regime with a new government could the wisdom of different races be pooled for the good of China.

Upon comparison, Sun's views were more desirable than Kang's.

From my own knowledge, in terms of reliance on the Qing government, the reform of the Qing regime was merely an attempt to keep the dynasty in power. For example, as for the constitutional reform, the Outline of Constitution by Imperial Order of 1908 stipulated that the Emperor enjoy supreme power. The constitutional reform was clearly not aimed to enhance democracy. Therefore, Kang's view that constitution would strengthen China was not applicable to the Qing Dynasty. In contrast, Sun's view that China would only be saved by overthrowing the Qing regime was more desirable.

Also, in terms of the increasing grip on China by the powers, these countries gradually tightened their control over China under Qing rule. For example, after the invasion of the Eight-Nation Alliance, the powers even controlled Chinese tariff and salt tax. This explained why Sun claimed that revolution was the only hope that would free China from foreign control. In contrast, Kang's view was too conservative and China's international status would only continue to dwindle in that way.

China during the republican era
Study Sources A, B and C.

SOURCE A

The following extract is adapted from the speech 'The Principle of People's Livelihood and Social Revolution' made by Sun Yat-sen on 1 April 1912.

Eight or nine years ago, a couple of comrades founded the Tongmenghui in Japan and established three major principles: first, the principle of nationalism; second, the principle of democracy; and third, the principle of people's livelihood. Now, the Manchu Qing emperor has abdicated, and the Republic of China has been founded. The two principles of nationalism and democracy have both been attained, and only the principle of people's livelihood is left to be addressed. This is what we should strive for in the future. Without passing through the level of social revolution, it will never be possible for all people to enjoy a secure and happy life. Only a minority of capitalists will enjoy happiness, while the majority of workers will still endure hardship and be inevitably unable to live together in peace and harmony. China has reached the levels of national and democracy, but it has yet to reach the level of people's livelihood. Some members of our Tongmenghui said, 'Both nationalist and political revolutions are quite easy, whereas social revolutions are the hardest of all, for all that is needed in nationalist revolutions is to remove alien races, and all that is needed in political revolutions is to reform the bureaucracy, but social revolutions can only be achieved only if the populace meets the highest standards.'

SOURCE B

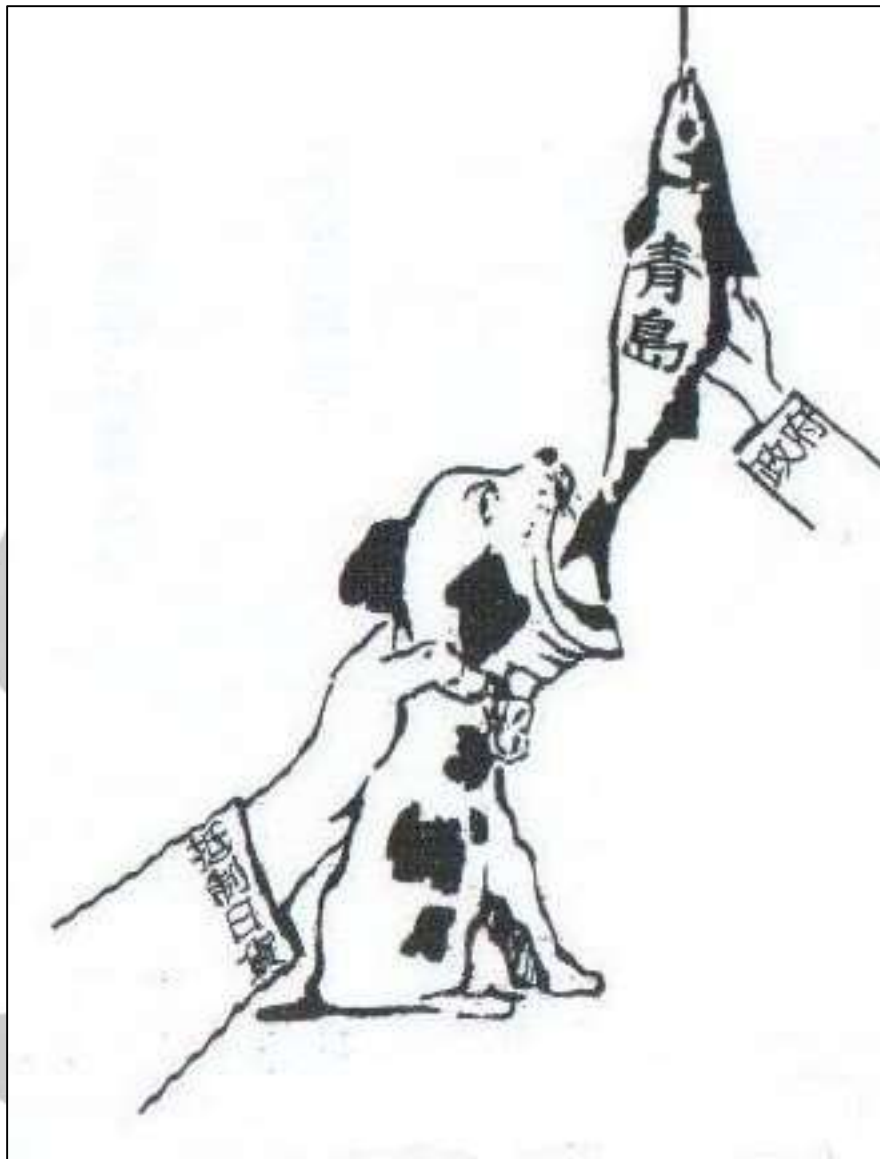
The following extract is adapted from 'Lessons learnt from the past five years' written by Liang Qichao in 1916.

I have reflected on the purpose of the establishment of the Republic that happened five years ago. The regime change was originally inevitable as a means to address the extreme political problems of the time. Throughout the five years, the system of government has remained unstable because none of the political problems have been rectified, and most of them have even worsened. None of what happened live up to our expectations.

Any obsession with the idea of restoring the past has absolutely no place in today's world. Just look at Yuan Shikai. After 1914, he exhausted all means to encourage old ideas and institutions. Apart from the monarchical restoration, what else did he bring about?

SOURCE C

The following cartoon was published in a Chinese magazine in 1919 during the May Fourth Movement.



No pity for the death of a greedy little dog

青島 Qingdao

政府 Government

抵制日貨 Boycott Japanese products

- (a) Of the Three Principles of the People mentioned by Sun Yat-sen in Source A, which one had already been undermined as shown in Source B? Explain your answer with reference to Sources A and B. (4 marks)
- (b) Identify one characteristic of the May Fourth Movement. Explain your answer with reference to Source C. (3 marks)
- (c) To what extent was China modernized in the 1910s? Explain your answer with reference to Sources A, B and C, and using your own knowledge. (8 marks)



Marking Scheme & Suggested Answer

(a) Of the Three Principles of the People mentioned by Sun Yat-sen in Source A, which one had already been undermined as shown in Source B? Explain your answer with reference to Sources A and B. (4 marks)

Marking Scheme

Principle: The Principle of Democracy

L1 Merely uses Source A or Source B, or fails to make effective explanation.

[max. 2]

L2 Makes effective use of Sources A and B, and makes effective explanation with reference to the Sources.

[max. 4]

e.g. - Source A: the Principle of Democracy ('Now, the Manchu Qing emperor has abdicated, and the Republic of China has been founded.')

- Source B: Undermined ('Throughout these five years, the system of government has remained unstable', 'Apart from the monarchical restoration, what else did he bring about?')

Suggested Answer

The principle of democracy had been undermined.

From Source A, Sun Yat-sen mentioned in 1912 that 'the Manchu Qing emperor had abdicated' and 'the Republic of China had been founded'. As a result, the principle of democracy was achieved as 'all that is needed in political revolutions is to reform the bureaucracy'. Clearly, what was needed to achieve the principle of democracy was to improve the system of government by overthrowing the monarchy and founding a republic.

However, from Source B, Liang Qichao pointed out in 1916 that 'the system of government had remained unstable' 'throughout the five years' and 'none of what happened lived up to their expectations'. It was clear that the frequent changes in the system of government of the Republic were not in line with the expectations of the revolutionaries, and that the principle of democracy, which was based on the system of government, had been undermined.

Liang also claimed that Yuan Shikai brought about nothing other than 'the monarchical restoration'. It was clear that Yuan's monarchical attempt led to the restoration of the monarchy and undermined the principle of democracy.

(b) Identify one characteristic of the May Fourth Movement. Explain your answer with reference to Source C. (3 marks)

Marking Scheme

One mark for valid answer and two marks for valid explanation

Characteristic:

e.g. - Anti-Japanese, patriotic

Explanation

e.g. - The hand of 'boycott Japanese products' grabbed the greedy little dog by the throat.

- The May Fourth Movement was to stop the Japanese occupation of Qingdao, China through boycotting Japanese products.

Suggested Answer #1

The movement was characterized as anti-Japanese and Japanophobic.

In the cartoon, the hand of 'boycott Japanese products' grabbed the little dog (Japan) by the throat in order to stop it from eating the fish of 'Qingdao'. It was clear that the May Fourth Movement was an attempt to stop the Japanese occupation of Qingdao by boycotting Japanese products. The approach of holding Japan to ransom illustrated the anti-Japanese sentiments of the May Fourth Movement and its Japanophobic characteristic.

In addition, as shown in the caption of the cartoon 'No pity for the death of a greedy little dog', Japan was vilified as a greedy little dog that would be boycotted by the Chinese people and end up dying miserably if it dared to occupy Qingdao. It was clear that the May Fourth Movement was anti-Japanese and there would be no pity for the death of Japan.

Suggested Answer #2

The movement was characterized as patriotic.

In the cartoon, the hand of 'boycott Japanese products' grabbed the little dog (Japan) by the throat in order to stop it from eating the fish of 'Qingdao'. It was clear that the May Fourth Movement was an attempt to stop the Japanese occupation of Qingdao by boycotting Japanese products with a view to protecting the territorial integrity of China. The movement was therefore patriotic.

(c) To what extent was China modernized in the 1910s? Explain your answer with reference to Sources A, B and C, and using your own knowledge. (8 marks)

Marking Scheme

- L1 Cover only aspects that were modernized or not modernized, and/or using Source or own knowledge only. [max. 4]
- L2 Cover both aspects that were modernized and those that were not, using both Source and own knowledge, with a clear viewpoint. [max. 8]

Modernized:

- e.g. - Both the principles of democracy and nationalism were achieved. (Source A)
- The May Fourth Movement demonstrated the strong civic awareness of the people. (Source C)
 - The idea of five-group harmony helped foster racial equality. (Own knowledge)
 - The vernacular movement helped reform the written Chinese language. (Own knowledge)

Not modernized:

- e.g. - The principle of people's livelihood was not dealt with and people led a hard life. (Source A)
- The recurrence of old ideas and institutions indicated that China was going back to traditions. (Source B)
 - China's interests were still under threats by the powers. (Source C)
 - China remained economically, socially and educationally backward. (Own knowledge)

Suggested Answer

To a large extent, China was not a modernized country.

Economically speaking, from Source A, 'the principle of people's livelihood was left to be addressed' and 'the majority of workers would still endure hardship'. It was clear that people still led a hard life and needed to struggle to have enough to eat and wear, unlike people in a modernized country. Therefore, China could not be regarded as modernized in terms of people's livelihood in economic aspect.

Politically speaking, from Source B, 'the system of government had remained unstable' 'throughout the five years' between 1912 and 1916 because 'because none of the political problems had been rectified'. It was clear that China suffered persisting political problems and continuing instability during the period concerned, and the nation was therefore not under stable political circumstances that would have been a sign of modernization.

Politically speaking, from Source B, Yuan Shikai 'exhausted all means to encourage old ideas and institutions' and brought about 'the monarchical restoration'. Apparently, China at that time took big steps backward ideologically with Yuan even attempting to restore monarchy in the nation, going back to traditions instead of moving towards modernization.

Diplomatically speaking, from Source C, the hand of 'boycott Japanese products' grabbed the little dog (Japan) by the throat in order to stop it from eating the fish of 'Qingdao'. It was clear that China still faced diplomatic threats from the powers and failed to achieve independence and self-rule like a modernized country.

From my own knowledge, politically speaking, apart from Yuan's monarchical attempt, Zhang Xun also attempted to restore the abdicated emperor Puyi in 1917. After Yuan's death, China even entered the chaotic warlord era. The autocratic nature of Chinese politics had never been changed in the period concerned.

In economic aspect, China was still economically backward. About 80% of its population worked in agriculture, but the productivity was low due to the absence of mechanization and chemical fertilizers. Also, the population grew continuously while the area of farmland was limited. The production per person decreased as a result and China was not economically modernized.

In educational aspect, the literacy rate of China remained low and the problem of illiteracy was acute in rural areas. In addition to gender inequality, many women did not get a chance to receive education. China was definitely not modernized in this aspect.

In judicial aspect, a new judicial system had not been created yet despite the founding of the Republic of China. In addition, bribery and lynching were still common. China thus failed to achieve modernization in this aspect.

Diplomatically speaking, the diplomatic status of China remained inferior as it still suffered from unequal treaties. Worse still, Yuan Shikai signed the Twenty-One Demands with Japan in 1915, under which China's interests were exploited by a foreign country again. This was not what would be supposed to happen in a modernized country.

However, to a small extent, China achieved modernization in some aspects.

In political and racial aspects, from Source A, 'the two principles of nationalism and democracy had both been attained' as 'the Manchu Qing emperor had abdicated, and the Republic of China had been founded'. Clearly, the 1911 Revolution was a successful attempt to overthrow the monarchy, expel the Manchu rulers and accomplish the principles of democracy and nationalism. As a result, China showed certain characteristics of a modernized country.

Socially speaking, from Source C, the May Fourth Movement was a campaign to call upon the Chinese people to stop Japan from annexing Qingdao by 'boycotting Japanese products'. It was clear that the people at that time had strong civic awareness that prompted them to start a movement to save the nation and they acted like how citizens should be in a modernized country. In this regard, China showed some signs of modernization.

Racially speaking, Sun also suggested 'five-group harmony' after the success of the 1911 Revolution. His idea promoted racial equality, and China was no longer ruled by one race only. Therefore, China could be seen as modernized in racial aspect.

In educational aspect, the New Culture Movement that started in the mid 1910s was a campaign to abolish the eight-legged essay and advocate the use of vernacular Chinese. It succeeded in reforming the written Chinese language and getting rid of the feudalistic and old-fashioned form of expression, helping China achieve modernization in terms of its written language.

The 1911 Revolution overthrew the monarchy and brought about changes in certain aspects, but China remained backward, feudalistic and autocratic in nature without experiencing a transformation. Therefore, China could only be regarded as modernized to a small extent only.

China during the republican era

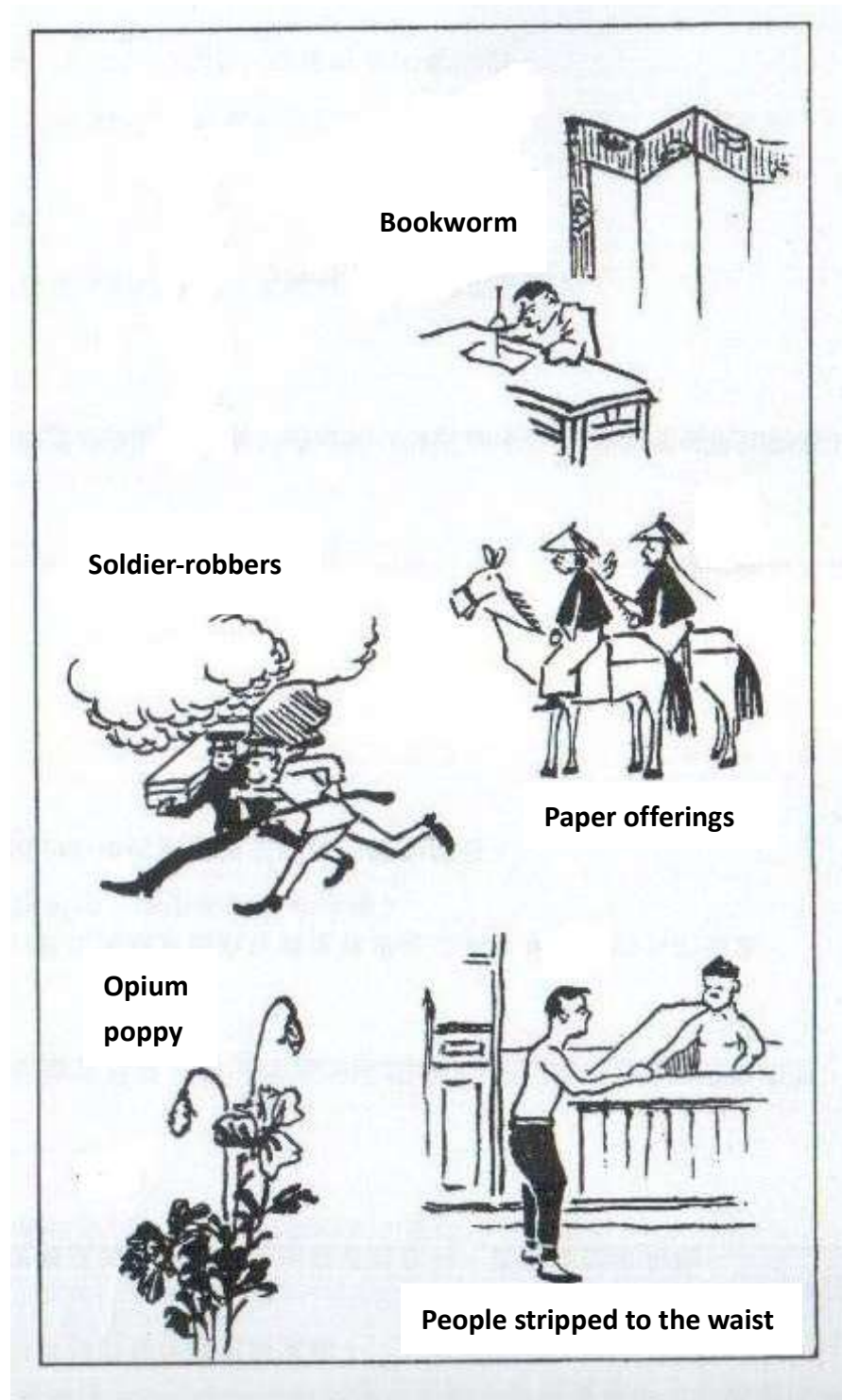
Study Sources A and B.

DBQ

#3

SOURCE A

The cartoon below is adapted from a Chinese magazine published shortly after the fall of the Qing dynasty.



SOURCE B

The following extract is adapted from a passage written by Liang Qichao in 1922 in celebration of the 50th anniversary of *Shen Bao*, a Shanghai-based newspaper. It comments on the political development of China over the previous fifty years.

In the past fifty years, Chinese politics, in its concrete sense, has certainly experienced only regression but not evolution. However, in terms of national awareness, it is definitely becoming more explicit and is expanding every day. Speaking of awareness, what are people aware of?

Firstly, there is the awareness that anyone not Chinese has no right to take charge of China's affairs.

Secondly, there is the awareness that anyone Chinese has the right to take charge of China's affairs.

The first kind of awareness is the spirit of nation-building, and the second, the spirit of democracy. The two were not non-existent in the past but they always appeared in a dormant and vague state, and in the recent fifty (in fact, thirty) years, they have manifested themselves very explicitly... The accomplishments our people have made in the past three decades include: firstly, abolishing entirely the politics of alien rule; and, secondly, exterminating forever the politics of absolute monarchy. These two accomplishments have not come about unknowingly or accidentally, but rather as a result of the fundamental awakening of the people who have made great efforts. Viewed from this point, it is really worth the word evolution.

- (a) Suggest a title for the cartoon in Source A. Justify your choice with reference to Source A. (3 marks)
- (b) According to Source B, what was Liang Qichao's view on China's political development in the period specified in the Source? (4 marks)
- (c) Do Sources A and B adequately reflect the political and social problems China faced after the 1911 Revolution? Explain your answer with reference to Sources A and B, and using your own knowledge of the development of China up to the early 1920s. (8 marks)

Marking Scheme & Suggested Answer

(a) Suggest a title for the cartoon in Source A. Justify your choice with reference to Source A. (3 marks)

Marking Scheme

L1 Attempts to suggest a title with weak support from the Source. [max. 1]

L2 Able to suggest a suitable title with good support from the Source. [max. 3]

Title:

e.g.: - What should have been eliminated

Explanation:

e.g.: - The cartoon was published after the downfall of the Qing dynasty when many problems in China had not yet been solved.

Suggested Answer

The title can be 'What should have been eliminated'.

Firstly, the Source was published in 'a Chinese magazine published shortly after the fall of the Qing dynasty' when all outdated customs should have already been changed, but the cartoon showed that Chinese society remained essentially the same. Therefore, the title can be 'What should have been eliminated'.

In addition, in the cartoon, there were 'bookworm' who cared only about studying but not the outside world and soldiers who were in fact 'soldier-robbers', together with 'paper offerings' and 'opium poppy'. Apparently, many undesirable social practices had not been eradicated. Therefore, 'What should have been eliminated' can be a suitable title for the cartoon.

(b) According to Source B, what was Liang Qichao's view on China's political development in the period specified in the Source? (4 marks)

Marking Scheme

- L1 Vague answer and ineffective use of the Source. [max. 2]
L2 Clear answer and effective use of the Source. [max. 4]

View:

- e.g. - Chinese politics experienced regression.
- But there was the evolution of the spirits of nation-building and democracy that should be recognized.

Explanation:

- e.g. - 'In the past fifty years, Chinese politics, in its concrete sense, has certainly experienced only regression but not evolution.'
- 'In terms of national awareness, it is definitely becoming more explicit and is expanding every day'
- The national and democratic spirits were 'really worth the word evolution'

Suggested Answer

Liang thought that Chinese politics regressed while the national and democratic spirits progressed.

Firstly, Liang claimed that Chinese politics 'experienced only regression but not evolution', holding the view that there was political regression.

However, Liang pointed out that national awareness was 'becoming more explicit', and the word 'national awareness' referred to the national and democratic spirits. Clearly, he thought that the two spirits had certain improvements.

Moreover, Liang said that the Chinese 'abolished entirely the politics of alien rule' and 'exterminated forever the politics of absolute monarchy' to make the national and democratic spirits worth the word 'evolution'. Therefore, his view should be that the two spirits had evolved and such progress should be recognized.

- (c) Do Sources A and B adequately reflect the political and social problems China faced after the 1911 Revolution? Explain your answer with reference to Sources A and B, and using your own knowledge of the development of China up to the early 1920s. (8 marks)

Marking Scheme

L1 Merely refers to the Source or cites relevant historical facts, and/or holds the view of 'adequate', and/or discusses the political or social problems only.

[max. 4]

L2 Refers to the Sources and cites relevant historical facts; discusses the political and social problems effectively in a balanced manner.

[max. 8]

Source:

- e.g. - Political problem: Bookworm who cared only about studying and soldiers who acted like robbers. (Source A)
- Social problem: 'Paper offerings' and 'opium poppy' show that evil practices persisted. (Source A)
 - Political problem: Chinese politics experienced regression rather than evolution. (Source B)

Own knowledge:

- e.g. - Political problem: China's sovereignty was violated as exemplified by the Twenty-One Demands from Japan.
- Political problem: Military rule overwhelmed civil administration after the 1911 Revolution, leading to warlordism after the monarchical attempt of Yuan Shikai.
 - Social problem: There remained feudalist ideas such as gender inequality with preference to men and social stratification.
 - Social problem: There were still undesirable practices such as prostitution as well as urinating and defecating in public places.

Suggested Answer

Subject to certain limitations, the Sources do not reflect them adequately.

Politically speaking, from Source A, the ‘bookworm’ who cared only about studying shows that China faced a lack of political talents due to the disregard of the intellectuals for things outside of textbooks.

In Source A, soldiers are described as ‘soldier-robbers’, which implies that they seized people’s property with no respect for law and order. In political aspect, the cartoon shows the problem of lawlessness resulting from military rule.

From Source B, Liang claimed that ‘in the past fifty years, Chinese politics, in its concrete sense, had certainly experienced only regression but not evolution’. Clearly, there was the problem of political regression in China despite the elimination of absolute monarchy.

Socially speaking, from Source A, there are ‘paper offerings’ showing that Chinese people at that time were still superstitious and would believe things without scientific evidence. In society, there was the problem of superstition.

From Source A, there is ‘opium poppy’ from which opium is obtained. This implies that Chinese people at that time still consumed opium that was bad for their health. There was the problem of opium-smoking that was harmful to society.

However, the Sources still have certain limitations.

Politically speaking, they do not mention the infringement of China's sovereignty. For example, Japan forced China to sign the Twenty-One Demands in 1915 in an attempt to make China its protectorate, violating the country's political sovereignty.

Also, there was the dictatorship of Yuan Shikai after the 1911 Revolution. Not only did Yuan dissolve the National Congress and the Kuomintang, he also attempted to restore monarchy in 1915 to push China back to autocracy. There was apparently political regression.

In addition, China entered the warlord era after Yuan's death. These warlords claimed their territories and practiced autocracy there, and they would even fight against each other. Their dictatorship and constant military conflicts became a serious problem at that time.

Socially speaking, there were still feudalist ideas such as gender inequality with preference to men and social stratification. The country remained feudal from a social perspective.

In addition, undesirable social practices were still ubiquitous, including prostitution as well as urinating and defecating in public places. The 1911 Revolution did not revolutionize the way Chinese people behaved, and China remained a backward society with various undesirable practices prevailing.

Therefore, the Sources do not adequately reflect the problems faced by China.

China in the first two decades of the 20th century

Study Sources A, B and C.

SOURCE A

The following extract is adapted from an article written by Sun Yat-sen on 16 November 1905.

I have pondered the transformation of European countries and America. All of them have followed the three major principles – of nationalism, of democracy, and of people’s livelihood. The collapse of the Roman Empire led to the rise of the principle of nationalism that have enabled European countries to become independent. When rulers govern their countries in a domineering and autocratic manner, their subjects will not be able to bear the suffering and the principle of democracy will rise. Autocracy will eventually fall and a constitutional government will thrive. As the world turns civilized, people become increasingly intelligent and materially abundant. Development in a hundred years now is more rapid than that of a thousand years in the past. Economic issues come after the political ones, and the principle of people’s livelihood will then blossom. The twentieth century has to be the time for the principle of people’s livelihood to thrive. For the time being, China has been poisoned by the several-thousand-year autocracy without being cured. It is devastated by alien races and threatened by foreign states. I am afraid that the principles of nationalism and democracy cannot be delayed for even a moment. As for the principle of people’s livelihood, problems in European countries and America are so deep-seated that it will be very difficult to tackle, while China alone is not terminally ill and will be easier to be cured. This is a huge concern for us, and in order to fix everything of us, it will be necessary to work on different issues simultaneously and flexibly.

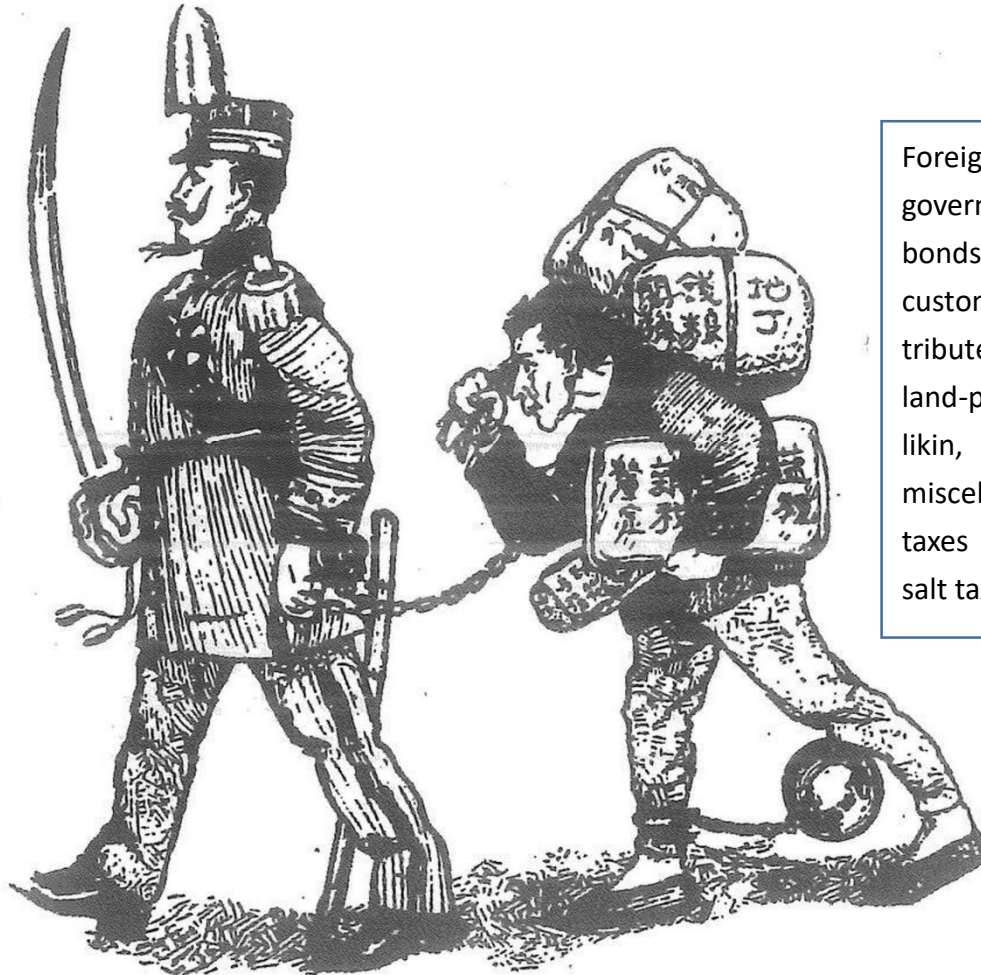
SOURCE B

The following extract is adapted from the history book titled *A Collection of Historical Documents of the Republic of China: National Protection Movement*. It was a telegraph sent by a leader of the National Protection Movement in 1915.

It has been four years since our nation established a republic. Public opinions have been very positive, and the system of government is still new. It was Yuan Shikai who was so ambitious that he made himself monarch. This heinous major culprit tricks the whole nation in the palm of his hand. Duplicitous and dishonest, he hurts people at home and abroad. Worse still, despite warnings from the five powers and the perilous situation they suggest, Yuan recklessly ignores the warnings and actively pushes forward his attempt, for which he will be more than willing to sacrifice four hundred million people and the entire territory of the nation. He is indeed the vilest person of the evil over the ages, and a disaster China has never experienced.

SOURCE C

The following cartoon was published in a Shanghai magazine in 1918.



Foreign debt
government
bonds
customs dues,
tribute grain tax
land-poll tax
likin,
miscellaneous
taxes
salt tax

Who says that the Chinese people can still enjoy freedom and happiness?

- (a) With reference to Source B, infer the purpose of the telegraph sent by the leader of the National Protection Movement. Explain your answer with reference to the language and arguments used in the telegraph. (4 marks)
- (b) Identify **one** nature of warlord rule. Explain your answer with reference to Source C. (3 marks)
- (c) Were the goals mentioned by Sun Yat-sen in Source A achieved in the 1910s? Explain your answer with reference to Sources A, B and C, and using your own knowledge. (8 marks)

Marking Scheme & Suggested Answer

- (a) With reference to Source B, infer the purpose of the telegraph sent by the leader of the National Protection Movement. Explain your answer with reference to the language and arguments used in the telegraph. (4 marks)

Marking Scheme

L1 Attempts to infer the purpose, but explanations are vague or with unbalanced explanations with reference to either the language or arguments used in the Source only. [max. 2]

L2 Infers the purpose properly, and explanations are clear and balanced with reference to both the language and arguments in the Source. [max. 4]

Purpose:

e.g. To solicit public support for the National Protection Movement in a bid to oust Yuan Shikai

Language:

e.g. - Vilifying Yuan Shikai by describing him as a 'heinous major culprit' who was 'duplicitous and dishonest' and 'the vilest person of the evil'.

Arguments:

e.g. - Yuan restored monarchy and tricked the whole nation in the palm of his hand.

- Yuan ignored the warnings from other powers in total disregard of China's national interests.

Suggested Answer

The purpose was to solicit public support for the National Protection Movement in a bid to oust Yuan Shikai from power.

In terms of language, the author described Yuan with phrases such as 'heinous major culprit' and 'duplicitous and dishonest', which were to emphasize his evilness and deceitfulness. This was an attempt to vilify Yuan in hopes of soliciting public support for the National Protection Movement aimed to remove him from power.

The author even described Yuan as 'the vilest person of the evil' to emphasize that he was unprecedentedly cunning, intending to criticize him and gain public support to overthrow his regime.

In terms of arguments, the author pointed out that Yuan 'made himself monarchy' and 'tricked the whole nation in the palm of his hand'. It was clear that the author was discontented with Yuan and considered Yuan's monarchical attempt to be fooling the whole nation. The purpose was therefore to solicit public support for the National Protection Movement in an attempt to oust Yuan from power.

In addition, the author mentioned that Yuan was warned about his monarchical attempt by the five great powers, but he 'recklessly ignored the warnings and actively pushed forward his attempt'. He sacrificed the interests of the four hundred million Chinese people and their territories, bringing 'disaster' to the nation. The author would therefore like to solicit public support to remove Yuan from power with a view to protecting China's national and territorial interests.

(b) Identify one nature of warlord rule. Explain your answer with reference to Source

C.

(3 marks)

Marking Scheme

Valid nature

[max. 1]

e.g. - High-handed, violent

Valid explanation

[max. 2]

e.g. - The warlord held a sword in his hand and locked the man with a chain.

Suggested Answer

Warlord rule was high-handed in nature.

In the cartoon, the warlord held a sword in his hand while keeping the man in a chain. It was clear that warlords inflicted violence to control their people, enslaved them and treated them harshly. Warlord rule was therefore high-handed in nature.

In addition, the man in the cartoon shouldered different debts and taxes such as 'foreign debt' and 'government bonds'. The caption, which said 'who says that the Chinese people can still enjoy freedom and happiness?', was to ridicule warlords who treated their people as slaves and prevented them from enjoying freedom and happiness by controlling them in a high-handed manner. Their rule was therefore high-handed in nature.

- (c) Were the goals mentioned by Sun Yat-sen in Source A achieved in the 1910s? Explain your answer with reference to Sources A, B and C, and using your own knowledge. (8 marks)

Marking Scheme

- L1 Vague argument, ineffective in using both Sources and own knowledge. [max. 2]
L2 Unbalanced discussion with effective use of Sources or own knowledge only. [max. 4]
L3 Sound and balanced discussion with effective use of both Sources and own knowledge. [max. 8]

Sun Yat-sen's goals (Source A):

- e.g. - 'the principles of nationalism and democracy cannot be delayed for even a moment'
- The principle of people's livelihood was 'a huge concern for us, and in order to fix everything of us, it will be necessary to work on different issues simultaneously and flexibly'

Achieved:

- e.g. - The Manchu rulers were expelled and 'five-group harmony' was achieved. (Own knowledge)

Not achieved:

- e.g. - Yuan Shikai restored monarchy in China. (Source B)
- Exploited by warlords, the Chinese people led a hard life. (Source C)
- Yuan Shikai disbanded the National Assembly and abolished the Provisional Constitution. (Own knowledge)
- Sun Yat-sen's idea of distributing land equally among the people was not achieved. (Own knowledge)

Suggested Answer

Sun's goals were achieved to a small extent only.

The principle of nationalism mentioned by Sun in Source A was partly achieved. From Source A, Sun claimed that China was 'devastated by alien races' and the implementation of the principle of nationalism 'could not be delayed for even a moment'. In other words, China experienced alien rule by the Manchus with cruelty and was under extremely dangerous circumstances. There was an urgent need for establishing a Chinese nation state.

From my own knowledge, after the 1911 Revolution, the Qing government was overthrown and alien rule by the Manchus came to an end. The ideal of ‘five-group harmony’ was achieved to pool the wisdom of the five major races, namely the Han, the Manchus, the Mongols, the Tibetans and the Hui, to make collective efforts to develop China. It was clear that China in the 1910s freed itself from Manchu rule and accomplished ‘five-group harmony’, and that one of Sun’s goals was achieved.

However, Sun’s goals were not achieved to a large extent.

From Source A, Sun pointed out that China was ‘threatened by foreign states’ and no delay in practicing nationalism could thus be afforded. In other words, Sun wanted to get rid of foreign control in China and bring independence to the nation.

However, from my own knowledge, the powers gradually tightened their grip on China in the 1910s. For example, in 1915, Japan forced China to accept the Twenty-One Demands and made it a de facto Japanese protectorate, putting China in an even more disadvantageous position. It was clear that the powers stepped up their threats against China, and that the goal of getting rid of foreign control was not achieved.

From Source A, Sun also claimed that there was also a pressing need for achieving the principle of democracy. Under imperial rule that was autocratic and domineering, the ‘subjects would not be able to bear the suffering’ and a constitutional government would eventually be founded. In other words, one of Sun’s goals was to overthrow the existing autocratic regime and create a constitutional government that would embody the principle of democracy.

However, from Source B, Yuan Shikai ‘made himself monarch’ and pushed through the attempt even though he got ‘warnings from the five powers’ and had to sacrifice the four hundred million Chinese people as well as the entire territory of the nation. It was clear that Yuan restored monarchy and China remained autocratic, and that he enjoyed unparalleled power and could not be stopped. This regime was not the democratic government Sun expected.

Also, from Source C, the warlord held a sword in his hand and locked a man with a chain. The iron ball on the man's legs read 'people's freedom', and the caption said 'who says that the Chinese people can still enjoy freedom and happiness?' It was clear that warlord rule at that time was autocratic and cruel, and the Chinese people were enslaved by warlords without enjoying rights and freedom. The goal of founding a democratic government was therefore not achieved.

From my own knowledge, after Sun handed the provisional presidency to Yuan, the latter kept reinforcing his power by disbanding the National Assembly and abolishing the Provisional Constitution in 1914. As a result, the republican government lost its parliament and constitutional basis and Yuan was able to establish his dictatorship. Sun's goal was thus not achieved.

From Source A, Sun regarded the principle of people's livelihood was 'a huge concern' and had to be tackled together with other issues 'simultaneously and flexibly'. In other words, Sun considered economic issues what China urgently needed to resolve, and he thought the principle of people's livelihood should be achieved together with the principles of nationalism and democracy.

However, from Source B, the Chinese people were enslaved by warlords and burdened with various debts and taxes, including foreign debt, government bonds, customs dues and military contributions. It was clear that the people were exploited by warlords and led an extremely hard life, and that it was difficult for the principle of people's livelihood to be achieved under these circumstances.

From my own knowledge, Sun aspired to improve peasants' livelihood by distributing land equally among them. However, after the establishment of the Republic, there was no policy of 'equalization of land ownership, and landlords and wealthy peasants still controlled most of the land in the nation. As a result, ordinary peasants still suffered hardships. In addition to frequent civil wars in the warlord era, the life of the Chinese people turned worse rather than better, and the principle of people's livelihood was therefore not achieved.

In conclusion, the fall of Manchu rule actualized part of Sun's nationalist ideal, but the principles of democracy and people's livelihood were not achieved at all, and the goal of getting rid of foreign influence under the principle of nationalism was also not attained. Therefore, Sun's revolutionary aspirations were fulfilled to a small extent only.

DBQ
#5

Revolution in the first half of the 20th century

Study Sources A and B.

SOURCE A

The following extract is adapted from the book *The Revolutionary Army* written by Zou Rong in 1903.

There are barbarian revolutions and civilized revolutions. barbarian revolutions are the ones that destroy without construction. Violent and unrestrained, they are enough to create eras of terror, such as the Boxer Rebellion in 1900 who brought chaos to the citizens. Civilized revolutions are the ones that destroy as well as construct. They destroy in order to construct, aiming to provide the citizens with all autonomous rights such as freedom and equality, and to bring greater happiness to the citizens. Now I want to ask: what are we starting a revolution for? There is surely a devil who prevents we citizens from exercising our natural rights, and we have to eliminate it in order to reclaim our natural rights. Revolutions remove misfortunes and seek happiness, and to remove misfortunes and seek happiness is a civilized revolution. If one wants thorough construction, one must first engage in destruction; if one wants thorough destruction, one must first engage in construction. This is a timeless principle. The revolution we are carrying out today is a revolution that destroys for the sake of construction.

SOURCE B

The following extract is adapted from the article *On the People's Democratic Dictatorship* by Mao Zedong published in *People's Daily* on 1 July 1949 about the direction of the communist revolution.

Our current task is to strengthen the people's state apparatus, which mainly refers to the people's army, the people's police and the people's courts, in order to reinforce national defense and protect the people's interests. Given this condition, China can develop steadily, under the leadership of the working class and the Communist Party, from an agricultural nation into an industrial nation and from a new-democratic society into a socialist and communist society, abolish classes and realize the Great Harmony. The state apparatus, including the army, the police and the courts, is an instrument by which one class oppresses another. It is an instrument for the oppression of antagonistic classes - it is violence. Yes. We definitely do not apply a policy of benevolence to the reactionaries and towards the reactionary activities of the reactionary classes. Our policy of benevolence is applied only within the ranks of the people, not beyond them to the reactionaries or to the reactionary activities of reactionary classes.

The people's state protects the people. Only when the people have such a state can they educate and re-mould themselves by democratic methods on a country-wide scale with everyone involved, rid themselves of the bad habits and ideas acquired in the old society, not allow themselves to be led astray by the reactionaries, continue to advance – to advance towards a socialist and communist society – and complete the historic task of abolishing classes and realizing the Great Harmony.

- (a) Did Zou Rong support barbarian revolutions or civilized revolutions? Support your answer with two arguments from Source A. (4 marks)
- (b) With reference to Source B, discuss Mao Zedong's view on classes. (3 marks)
- (c) 'Revolution was violent in nature, but it was an effective way to facilitate China's modernization.' Do you agree? Explain your answer with reference to Sources A and B, and using your own knowledge of Chinese history in the first half of the 20th century. (8 marks)

Marking Scheme & Suggested Answer

(a) Did Zou Rong support barbarian revolutions or civilized revolutions? Support your answer with two arguments from Source A. (4 marks)

Marking Scheme

- L1 Vague answer and ineffective use of the Source. [max. 2]
L2 Clear answer and effective use of the Source. [max. 4]

Civilized revolutions:

- e.g. - Civilized revolutions would destroy as well as construct.
- 'They destroy in order to construct, aiming to provide the citizens with all autonomous rights such as freedom and equality'
- 'The revolution we are carrying out today is a revolution that destroys for the sake of construction.'

* Candidates in general will hold the view that he supported civilized revolutions. However, marks may be awarded to answers that hold the opposite view and are presented logically.

Suggested Answer

He supported civilized revolutions that would destroy as well as construct.

Firstly, he pointed out revolutions would 'destroy in order to construct, aiming to provide the citizens with all autonomous rights such as freedom and equality, and to bring greater happiness to the citizens'. It was clear that the revolutions he supported would first lead to destruction before bringing happiness and rights to the citizens. This description tallied with civilized revolutions that would destroy as well as construct.

Secondly, he claimed that 'one must engage in destruction' if one wanted 'thorough construction', and that the revolution they were carrying out was the one that 'destroyed for the sake of construction'. These descriptions tallied with civilized revolutions that would involve both destruction and construction and destroy in order to construct.

(b) With reference to Source B, discuss Mao Zedong's view on classes. (3 marks)

Marking Scheme

One mark for valid answer and two marks for valid explanation

View on classes:

e.g. - The proletariat should be united against the reactionaries.

Explanation

e.g. - 'China can develop steadily, under the leadership of the working class and the Communist Party, from an agricultural nation into an industrial nation'
- 'We definitely do not apply a policy of benevolence to the reactionaries and towards the reactionary activities of the reactionary classes.'

Suggested Answer

Mao's view on classes was that the proletariat should be united against the reactionaries in order to eliminate classes.

Mao claimed that China could 'abolish classes and realize the Great Harmony' 'under the leadership of the working class and the Communist Party'. It was clear that his view was that the Chinese Communist Party should unite the proletariat, including the working class, to develop the country and eventually eliminate classes.

Mao claimed that state apparatus was 'an instrument by which one class oppressed another' and stated clearly that he would 'definitely not apply a policy of benevolence' to the reactionaries. It was clear that Mao found it necessary to leverage state apparatus against the reactionaries in order to achieve the Great Harmony for the proletariat.

Mao also pointed out that people should be educated and re-moulded so that they would not 'be led astray by the reactionaries' and socialism could be developed for 'abolishing classes and realizing the Great Harmony'. Apparently, Mao held the view that classes would be destroyed by eliminating the reactionaries.

- (c) 'Revolution was violent in nature, but it was an effective way to facilitate China's modernization.' Do you agree? Explain your answer with reference to Sources A and B, and using your own knowledge of Chinese history in the first half of the 20th century. (8 marks)

Marking Scheme

- L1 Vague argument, ineffective in using both Sources and own knowledge. [max. 2]
L2 Unbalanced discussion with effective use of Sources or own knowledge only. [max. 4]
L3 Sound and balanced discussion with effective use of both Sources and own knowledge. [max. 8]

Nature of revolution: Violent?

- e.g. - Revolution would lead to destruction, be it barbarian or civilized. (Source A)
- Communist revolution entailed oppression of the opposition with army and police. (Source B)
- The 1911 Revolution launched by Sun was an attempt to forcibly overthrow the Qing regime. (Own knowledge)
- The vernacular language movement was an academic revolution that was not violent in nature. (Own knowledge)

Revolution: Effective way to facilitate China's modernization?

- e.g. - Revolution would bring rights and happiness to the citizens. (Source A)
- Communist revolution would help the country get rid of old thoughts and habits. (Source B)
- The 1911 Revolution was a successful attempt to overthrow the monarchy and revolutionize the political system. (Own knowledge)
- The Boxer Rebellion led to the invasion of the Eight-Nation Alliance. (Own knowledge)

Suggested Answer

To a large extent, the statement is valid.

In terms of the nature of revolution, it was violent to a large extent. From Source A, revolution would lead to destruction, be it barbarian or civilized. The barbarian ones were 'violent and unrestrained' and would lead to eras of terror, while the civilized ones would also 'destroy for the sake of construction'. Revolution was therefore violent in nature.

From Source B, Mao claimed in his statement on the direction of the communist revolution that state apparatus such as state police was 'an instrument for the oppression of antagonistic classes' and was 'violence' itself. It was clear that the communist revolution was violent, and force would be used against the opposition.

From my own knowledge, in the early 20th century, the revolutions launched by Sun Yat-sen was also a military attempt to forcibly overthrow the Manchu regime, as exemplified by the Yellow Flower Mound Uprising (1911) and the 1911 Revolution. The revolutionaries started armed conflicts to undermine and eventually overthrow the Qing government, showing the violent nature of revolution as a way to break the old and establish the new through military means.

Moreover, the communist revolution was also violent. After several wars with the Nationalists, the Chinese Communist Party defeated the Kuomintang in the Chinese Civil War (1946-49) and obtained control over the country. It was clear that the communist revolution was also a violent way to control the country by means of war.

However, revolution was not necessarily violent. From my own knowledge, the New Cultural Movement at the end of 1910s was a revolution in academic field. The substitution of vernacular language for Classical Chinese was promoted and loads of western ideas were introduced with no violence induced. Therefore, one can only say that revolution was generally but not necessarily violent.

In terms of modernizing China, revolution was effective to a large extent.

From Source A, revolution ‘destroyed in order to construct, aiming to provide the citizens with all autonomous rights such as freedom and equality, and to bring greater happiness to the citizens’. It was clear that revolution was to fight for rights such as freedom and equality in order to make people happy and ensure people’s livelihood. It therefore promoted China’s modernization.

From Source B, the communist revolution was to transform China ‘from an agricultural nation into an industrial nation’ with the final goal of ‘abolishing classes and realizing the Great Harmony’ under the leadership of the working class and communism. Clearly, the communist revolution promoted China’s modernization and eliminated classes, helping establish modernized economic and social systems.

From Source B, the communist revolution was to educate and re-mould people ‘by democratic methods’ so as to get rid of ‘bad habits and ideas’. This helped eradicate habits and ideas that were feudalistic and uncivilized, contributing to a civilized society and social modernization.

From my own knowledge, revolution was an effective way to abolish the monarchy that spanned for more than 2000 years. The 1911 Revolution was successful in overthrowing the monarchy that was a symbol of feudalism and establishing a republic. It was clear that revolution facilitated China’s political development and promoted political modernization.

Moreover, revolution revolutionized China’s education system and the way of thinking. The New Cultural Movement in the late 1910s was a case of success. The classical Chinese language was replaced by the vernacular one to facilitate learning and new Western ideas were introduced. It was clear that revolution helped abolish the old and complicated writing system and facilitated educational modernization.

However, revolution also hindered China’s modernization. From Source B, Mao claimed that status apparatus such as state police was ‘an instrument by which one class oppresses another’, and pointed out that he would never apply ‘a policy of benevolence’ to the reactionaries. It was clear that the communist revolution was cruel to the dissidents and limited people’s way of thinking. This hindered the liberalization of thought, which was a benchmark for modernization.

From my own knowledge, the barbarous Boxer Rebellion sparked the Eight-Power Expedition (1900-01). Attacked by several foreign powers, China was defeated and had no choice but to sign the Boxer Protocol (1901), which demanded 450 million taels of silver in reparations. Apparently, barbarian revolution was a disaster for China that caused devastation and significant economic losses, greatly hindering China's modernization.

In conclusion, revolution was not completely violent, and force was used in most cases but not all. Meanwhile, revolution facilitated China's modernization by abolishing the monarchy and revolutionizing the writing system, but it also worked against China's modernization in some aspects. Therefore, what the question suggests is valid to a large extent only.

a) Conclude one problem that hindered China's modernization efforts. (3 marks)

Suggested Answer

One problem was the lack of experts on law and politics.

From the Source, Fan Yuanlian pointed out that Chinese students 'rarely studied law and politics' that were nevertheless 'the essential subjects to study if China was to reform itself'. It was clear that China needed experts on law and politics for modernization's sake but there were very few overseas students studying law and politics and it was thus difficult to promote modernization.

From the Source, Fan also claimed that 'an accelerated school for law and politics' shall be established to offer 'a one-year course' while the head of Hosei University explained that 'an accelerated course usually took three to four years to complete' 'regardless of how urgent it was'. It was clear that the lack of legal and political professionals inhibited China's reforms and the Qing government was in such dire need for experts that it even resorted to one-year courses to nurture its talent pool.

b) How successful were the revolutionaries in overthrowing the Qing government? (4 marks)

Suggested Answer

They were not entirely successful.

According to Huang Xing, 'China's southeastern part had largely settled down, with cities of fourteen provinces flying the revolutionary army's new flag'. It was clear that the revolutionaries took control over southeast China from the Qing government and were somewhat successful.

However, Huang also claimed that 'people in provinces such as Zhili and Shandong' wrote petitions saying that it was 'regrettable' that their army 'had so far failed to launch a northern expedition'. It was clear that the revolution did not overthrow Manchu rule completely and northeast China remained under Qing control.

Also, Huang said given that ‘Yuan Shikai of the Qing government might be remorseful about his wrongdoings’, the two sides ‘had a truce of up to one month to see how peace negotiations might go’ and ‘resorting to war’ would be the only option if a peaceful agreement could not be reached. It was clear that the revolutionaries in the south were fierce rivals with Yuan Shikai of Qing in the north and had yet to overthrow the Qing regime completely.

Since the revolutionaries only occupied southeast China and failed to capture northeast China that was still under Qing control as of January 1912, they were somewhat successful but not entirely.

c) Do you agree that Japan did more good than harm to China in the period 1900-45? (8 marks)

Suggested Answer

I do not agree.

It was true that Japan did some good to China.

From Source C, Chinese students were sent to Japan and they ‘mostly studied military science and education’. It was clear that as early as the Qing Dynasty, China already sent students abroad to Japan to acquire expertise on military and education. Japan was a country from which China learned a lot and it thus did do some good to China militarily and educationally.

From Source C, Fan Yuanlian represented Qing China to request the head of Japan’s Hosei University to ‘set up an accelerated school for law and politics, preferably offering a one-year course’, and Ambassador Yang of Qing China also ‘planned to appeal to provincial Governors-General and submit memorials to the Qing Emperor for sending students over to study’. It was clear that Japan provided accelerated courses on law and politics for Chinese students upon request by Qing China and became the cradle of China’s legal modernization.

From Source D, Huang Xing ‘earnestly requested’ financial support from Japanese politician Inoue Kaoru, and Mitsui Company ‘acted for the Hanyeping Company to raise 2.5 million yen as a loan to the Republican Government’. These showed that the revolutionaries relied on Japanese help to seek sponsorship and loans for their revolutionary cause. It was clear that Japan provided financial support for the Chinese revolutionaries, working for the revolution happening in China.

From my own knowledge, Japan achieved a high level of mechanization as more than 3700 of some 8000 factories in Japan adopted automated production by 1907. In 1908, Yuan Shikai paid a visit to textile factories in Japan and procured 140 weaving machines to replace Chinese wooden weaving looms, leading to the founding of dozens of mechanized textile factories in the Tianjin region. It was clear that Japan promoted China’s industrialization and economic modernization.

However, Japan did even more harm to China.

From Source D, the loan from the Mitsui zaibatsu required ‘the Daye Iron Mine’ ‘as a collateral’ and ‘all fees involved in foreign currency remittance were to be determined by the Mitsui Company’. In other words, the loan from Japan to the revolutionaries required China’s iron mine interests as security and the Mitsui Company could charge whatever service fees it wanted. This was clearly economic encroachment that would do harm to China’s economic autonomy and development.

From my own knowledge, politically speaking, Japan attempted to force China into signing the Twenty-One Demands in 1915 that would have turned China into a Japanese protectorate. In 1932, Japan even established the puppet state of Manchukuo to enhance its influence over China. It was clear that frequent Japanese interventions in China’s sovereignty greatly undermined its autonomy.

Economically speaking, China was brought into war and suffered economic stagnation due to Japan’s repeated invasions, including the September 18th Incident (1931), January 28th Incident (1932) and the July 7th Incident (1937-45). Clearly, Japan launched invasions of China that interrupted the latter’s economic development and caused devastation, doing harm instead of good.

Socially speaking, Japan caused great casualties in China. During their invasions of China, the Japanese killed a lot of Chinese people in incidents such as the notorious Nanjing Massacre that took 300,000 Chinese lives. It was clear that Japanese invasions caused huge casualties in China and unarguably did harm to the country.

In comparison, with respect to modernization, Japan was a role model for China to learn from and many Chinese students studied abroad there, but Japan also intervened in China's sovereignty, started invasions, launched economic encroachment and caused great casualties. Putting China in dire straits, Japan indisputably did far more harm than good to the country.

a) What are the impacts of the Reform? (3marks)

Suggested Answer

Reform would enhance communications across China and make the nation more united.

From the Source, 'a sense of solidarity' was missing in China due to the lack of communications at regional level and even 'a predominance of local over national interests', while reform was 'the remedy' 'for this disease'. It was clear that reform could enhance solidarity in China and address the communication problems between the Qing Court and local authorities.

From the Source, 'railway and telegraph were rapidly welding the disjointed members of the Empire into a solid unity.' It was clear that the reform in transport and communications facilitated interactions between places and made China more united.

b) Explain why the revolutionaries worth the respect by quoting two clues. (4 marks)

Suggested Answer

The reason was that revolutionaries worked for the well-being of the people and the nation despite hardships.

From the Source, revolutionaries had 'no other motive than that of benefiting their fellow-nationals' and were 'prepared to work for the permanent good of their country', being the real reformers of their country. The author thought that revolutionaries contributed to the people and the nation selflessly without asking for anything in return, and he considered such altruism admirable.

From the Source, despite that 'the Qing Government had been hunting them to do them to death', revolutionaries were not afraid of the death threats. They still endeavored to spread the seeds of revolution and even managed to 'light the fuse' overseas. The author thought that revolutionaries made great sacrifices for China's revolution without giving any thought to their personal safety. These sacrifices, which made the establishment of the Republic of China possible, were considered extremely admirable.

c) If you were an intellectual in China in 1911, you would like to be a member of the revolutionaries or a reformist?[S+K](8 marks)

Suggested Answer

I would prefer to be a revolutionary rather than a reformer.

From Source D, revolutionaries had ‘no other motive than that of benefiting their fellow-nationals’ and were ‘prepared to work for the permanent good of their country’. It was clear that revolutionaries contributed to the people and the nation selflessly without asking for anything in return. Such altruism attracted me to join them and work for the well-being of the nation and the people.

From Source D, the book recorded ‘the fruit of the toiling efforts of years of China’s enlightened educated sons’. It was clear that revolutionaries were civilized and well-educated. As a scholar, I would therefore naturally become part of them.

From my own knowledge, Sun Yat-sen proposed the Principle of Democracy, which was to abolish the monarchy, establish a constitutional republic, and grant people the four rights of election, recall, initiative and referendum in order to empower them to influence government policies. Such principle of the revolutionaries would facilitate democratization in China and create a better nation by making the government serve the public. I would therefore support the ideal of the revolutionaries.

The revolutionaries also advocated the Principle of People’s Livelihood, which was to distribute land equally among the people in order to improve the life of the lower strata of society and boost agricultural production, playing an important role in challenging the dominance of wealthy peasants and reviving the economy. Therefore, I would support revolutionaries who advocated distributing land equally in order to make my nation stronger.

The revolutionaries even campaigned for the Principle of Nationalism, which was to get rid of Manchu rule and the control of the powers. This did not only promote racial equality and prevent racial discrimination that often happened under Qing rule, but also helped boost China’s international status. Therefore, I would support the racial ideal of the revolutionaries in hopes of achieving racial equality in the nation and around the world and freeing all China’s ethnicities from foreign rule and oppression.

On the contrary, I would not want to be a reformer.

It was true that from Source C, 'railway and telegraph were rapidly welding the disjointed members of the Empire into a solid unity'. Clearly, the Qing government introduced reforms to improve transport and communications links in the nation, helping promote China's modernization.

However, from Source C, the reform of the Qing government was not aimed at 'a change dynasty' or 'a revolution in the form of government'. In other words, the reform failed to rectify the old problems, and China's future would not change for the better with old wine in new bottles. Skeptical about the effectiveness of the reform, I would not support it as a reformer.

From my own knowledge, the reform of the Qing government was not sincere at all. As for the Cabinet established in 1911, 7 out of the 13 positions were filled by members of the Manchu imperial family, and it was therefore called the Royal Cabinet. It was clear that the Late Qing Reform was merely an attempt to strengthen imperial rule instead of devolving power. I would therefore not want to be a reformer.

Economically speaking, China, after being defeated in the First Sino-Japanese War and the battle against the Eight-Nation Alliance, was forced to pay 200 million and 450 million taels of silver in reparations and offer its tariff and salt tax as guarantees. These all exhausted the national treasury and it would be difficult for the reform to succeed without enough financial support. Therefore, the Chinese people should no longer rely on the reform of the Qing government to strengthen China.

Historically speaking, the Qing government had also launched the Self-Strengthening Movement and the Hundred Days' Reform before the Late Qing Reform. However, they all ended up failing due to the corruption and incompetence of the Qing leadership core. Without significant changes in the leadership, it would be difficult for further reforms to succeed. I would therefore not want to be a reformer.

- a) Cite one clue from the source to discuss the author's attitude towards United States (2marks)

Suggested Answer

The author held a positive, complimentary, appreciative and admiring attitude towards the US.

Mao pointed out that 'the United States had been a pioneer model for backward China in terms of democratic politics'. He thought that the US was a political role model and showed his appreciation.

Mao also claimed that 'we yearned for the West' and wanted 'democracy and science' to be 'the ties between the two great nations of China and America'. In other words, he desired to cooperate and interact with America, holding an admiring attitude.

b) Assume that you are a Chinese scholar, will you support the communist party (4 marks)

Suggested Answer

I would support the CCP.

Firstly, Mao pointed out that ‘one-party dictatorship had lost its appeal to the people’ and there was hardly ‘anything good’ about it. Clearly, the CCP campaigned against the autocratic regime of one-party dictatorship, and for this reason I would support the party.

Also, Mao suggested establishing ‘a central government formed together by representatives from the Kuomintang, the CCP, the Democratic League and non-affiliated elements’. Such suggestion showed that the CCP at that time fought for democracy and wanted to solve disputes with the KMT, as opposed to what a dictatorial regime would do. I would therefore support it.

In addition, Mao said that ‘freedom was not something bestowed by anyone, but won through struggles by the people’. It was clear that the CCP emphasized freedom of individuals and allowed them to choose what they wanted. I would therefore show support for it.

Finally, Mao indirectly claimed that there would be a ‘national assembly’ and ‘a government’ that were ‘truly elected by the people’ if there was freedom. Such claim showed that the CCP supported the right to vote for the people and explained my support for it.

c) Does the gain of power of the Chinese Communist Party in 1949 lead to a transformation to the Chinese leading principle[S+K](7 marks)

Suggested Answer

To a large extent, I agree with this statement.

It was true that the guiding principles of the CCP did not demonstrate drastic changes in some aspects. For example, from Source B, the sentence ‘the more likely a united provisional coalition government will be established’ suggested the party’s support for a provisional coalition government that allowed political participation for all citizens.

From my own knowledge, such principle was put into practice by 1957. For instance, the CCP held the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference (CPPCC) in 1949 to make possible the political participation of democrats from non-communist backgrounds, establishing a provisional coalition government.

In addition, one of the guiding principles of the CCP before 1949 was that 'the party commands the gun', and it believed that 'political power grows out of the barrel of a gun'. Relying on war as a means to defeat the KMT, the CCP placed great emphasis on the principle of fully controlling the military.

From my own knowledge, such principle had not been changed after the time concerned as demonstrated by the fact that the People's Liberation Army was directly under the CCP after 1949. The principle of 'the party commands the gun' was always adhered to without any changes.

However, there were drastic changes in its guiding principles in many other aspects.

Firstly, from Source A, America let the CCP 'understand that boldness, fairness and honesty were needed to establish a democratic and free China'. In other words, the communists wanted to establish a nation with democracy and freedom, and these two values should be the party's guiding principles before 1949.

However, from my own knowledge, the CCP started limiting freedom and suppressing democracy after its rise to power in 1949. For example, it exercised one-party dictatorship and launched the Anti-Rightist Movement (1957) to eliminate dissidents with 550,000 of them arrested. What it did was contrary to the guiding principles of building a free and democratic China, demonstrating drastic changes.

Secondly, from Source A, the sentence 'let democracy and science be the ties between the two great nations of China and America' showed that science was as important as democracy. Another guiding principle of the CCP before 1949 was therefore putting emphasis on science.

However, from my own knowledge, the CCP showed increasing disregard for science after coming to power in 1949. For instance, during the Great Leap Forward, indigenous methods were widely used for steelmaking in blind pursuit of high output volume, and local cadres even encouraged people to use iron objects in their houses for smelting. Consequently, most of the steel produced was below standard. This attitude was contrary to the old guiding principle of emphasizing science.

Thirdly, Source A suggested that ‘the United States had been a pioneer model for backward China in terms of democratic politics’, reflecting that the CCP showed friendliness towards the US and its guiding principle was to learn from the American model.

However, from my own knowledge, the CCP pursued an anti-imperialist policy after its rise to power in 1949 and targeted against the US that was a leading imperialist country. For example, Mao made the declaration titled ‘People Of The World, Unite And Defeat The U.S. Aggressors And All Their Running Dogs’ in 1970 as a fierce criticism of American imperialism. He acted against the principle of learning from America and even considered the country an enemy.

Finally, from Source B, the sentence ‘no one in China still has the courage to say anything good about one-party dictatorship’ showed the CCP’s opposition to one-party dictatorship and support for a multi-party system and a coalition government.

However, from my own knowledge, after the Anti-Rightist Movement of 1957, political parties other than the CCP existed in name only and political participation was out of reach for non-CCP members. China finished its transformation to one-party dictatorship, which was contrary to the CCP’s guiding principles in the past.

In conclusion, some of the guiding principles of the CCP were realized after 1949, but there were policies and developments in many aspects that were contrary to its guiding principles before 1949 and transformed China into an autocratic, science ignoring and anti-American country. Therefore, there were drastic changes to a large extent.

a) Quote one clue and explain what made western countries powerful (2marks)

Suggested Answer A

Comprehensive rule of law led to the strong power of Western countries.

Kang claimed that building a country with rule of law was the key to success for the Western countries. They 'adopted constitutions and defined the power of the rulers and the people' to stabilize the society and let everyone perform well in their positions. They eventually became prosperous and strong.

Suggested Answer B

Adoption of constitutions led to the strong power of Western countries.

Kang argued that after enacting constitutions and 'defining the power of the rulers and the people', people will be granted self-rule and can perform well in their positions. Eventually, a country with rule of law can be achieved and it will become strong.

b) Compare the views of them about the vision of revolution in China (4marks)

Suggested Answer

Their views share certain similarities, but they are greatly different in nature.

The view of 'revolutions bring destruction' was shared by both Kang and Zou. Kang thought that the revolution would lead to independence movement of provinces and counties. They would 'annex one another' and cause civil wars. Zou also held the view that even 'civilized revolutions destroy'. These show that their views on destruction by revolutions are the same.

However, when it comes to whether revolutions could help China become strong, their opinions are different.

Kang thought that the revolution would cause domestic chaos and even the death of half of the 400 million Chinese people. He thus commented that revolution 'is not a lucky or good thing for a country'. He believed that the revolution would harm China, split the country and undermine its strength. The future was not bright at all.

But Zou believed that revolutions 'destroy to construct' and it was a must to start one in China. The Chinese would then get rid of the Manzu rule, declare independence, enjoy equal status with the powers and even 'become a famous country in the world and become its master'. This shows that he thought the revolution was good for China and could make it strong. He was enthusiastic about its prospect.

考生答案 - 分數：4 / 4 分

其一，資料 A 指出康有為說「革命非一國吉祥善事也」反映康氏認為革命不是好事，不可取。相反，資料 B 指出鄒容說「我中國今日不可不革命！」反映鄒容認為革命是必須進行的。可見康氏認為中國革命前景堪憂，而鄒氏認為中國革命前景光明。

其二，資料 A 指出康有為說「革命未大成也，血流成河，死人如麻……四萬萬之同胞死其半」反映康有為認為革命會使中國出現嚴重的死傷，成效有限，令許多中國人喪生。相反，資料 B 指出鄒氏說「革命者，由野蠻而進文明也……」反映鄒容認為革命可以使中國由野蠻進化到文明，是有「建設性」的革命。可見，康有為認為中國革命前景昏暗，而鄒氏認為中國革命前景光明。

- c) Are revolutions violent and could they be an effective way to strengthen China?
[S+K](8marks)

Suggested Answer

The statement is partly true only.

Regarding 'revolutions are violent', Source A shows that many provinces and counties would declare independence and wars originating from territorial conflicts would break out as a consequence of revolutions. 'Blood will be shed' and half of the population killed. It is clear that revolutions are violent.

From Source B, destruction will be caused no matter how civilized the revolution is. Barbarous revolutions are for sure 'cruel and despotic' and will lead to an era of terror. Even if they are civilized, people still 'destroy to construct'. Revolutions are thus proved to be violent in nature.

However, revolutions are not necessarily violent. To my knowledge, the New Cultural Movement at the end of 1910s was a revolution in academic field. The substitution of vernacular language for Classical Chinese was promoted and loads of western ideas were introduced. Yet, no violence was involved. Therefore, we can only say that revolutions are mostly but not inevitably violent.

Although revolutions could strengthen China, they were not an effective means.

Source B points out that revolution was necessary 'for China to gain equal status with powers in the world'. Only through that could China 'break away from Manzu rule', gain independent and become a power again one day. This shows that revolutions could strengthen China.

Source B also states that 'revolution eliminates corruption and preserves goodness'. In this way, China would take the leap from barbarism to civilization and become a strong country.

To my knowledge, the 1911 Revolution succeeded in ending 2000 years of imperial rule. Despite attempts of restoration by Zhang Xun and Yuan Shikai during 1916-17, both of them failed in the end. Imperialism has become a thing of the past.

Moreover, revolution revolutionized education system as well as the way of thinking in China. The New Cultural Movement in the late 1910s was a case of success. Classical language was replaced by vernacular language to facilitate learning and new Western ideas were introduced. Its contribution in educational and academic aspects was enormous.

Nonetheless, revolutions in China in the early 20th century demonstrated limited effectiveness only.

Firstly, Source A shows that revolutions made conflicts and wars likely to happen, which might 'cause death to half of our four hundred million compatriots'. China would go to war and deaths and injuries would be inevitable as a result of revolutions. Its strength would thus be undermined.

Source B mentions that barbarous revolutions like the one started by the Boxers only destroy but never construct, leading the nation to an 'era of terror'. This shows that revolutions may not strengthen China but be the obstacle to its development.

From my own knowledge, the barbarous Boxer Rebellion sparked the Eight-Power Expedition (1900-01). Attacked by several foreign powers, China was defeated and had no choice but to sign the Boxer Protocol (1901), which demanded 450 million taels of silver as reparation. The revolution undermined her national strength and hindered the development of China as a powerful country.

Also, though the 1911 Revolution overthrew the imperial system, China soon came under the autocratic rule of Yuan Shikai. Sun Yixian found it necessary to start the Second Revolution (1913), trying to remove Yuan from power. Afterwards, China was dragged into the chaotic warlord era. These correspond to what is mentioned in Source A -- 'different provinces compete with and attack one another' -- and prove that revolutions prevent China from becoming strong.

Economically, China's economy remained bad after the 1911 Revolution. The Principle of People's Livelihood was not realized because of the cancellation of policy about equal distribution of land. The prolonged armed conflicts among warlords also stroke a severe blow to the economy. They destroyed economic facilities and raised high tax to support their army, making the people even poorer. These worked against China's economic development.

Diplomatically, revolutions never improved China's diplomatic status. After the 1911 Revolution, Sun and Yuan accepted all unequal treaties signed by the Qing Court as they did not want Western powers to destroy the fruit of revolutions. China enjoyed low diplomatic status as before. At the same time, the powers still handed interests on the Shandong Peninsula to Japan despite discontent expressed in the May Fourth Movement. Revolutions failed to raise China's diplomatic status.

Therefore, the statement is not totally valid.

格分法：

a) Explain whether the Three Principles of People had been realized (2marks)

Suggested Answer

To a large extent, the Three People's Principles had been achieved.

Principles of nationalism and democracy were realized when the Manchu king renounced the throne and the Republic of China was established. Therefore, Sun claimed that 'the two Principles of Nationalism and Democracy have both been achieved', showing that the two ideas had been put into practice.

However, the principle of people's livelihood had not yet been achieved, as Sun specified that 'only the Principle of People's Livelihood was yet to be dealt with'. Hence, he thought that his fellow members should exert themselves to improve that.

b) Infer the attitude according to language and arguments (4marks)

Suggested Answer

The author took negative, discontented, hateful and criticizing attitude towards Yuan.

In terms of language, the author used negative wordings like 'evil chief culprit' and 'deceitful and dishonest' to describe Yuan, which are usually used to demonstrate how malicious and crafty a person is. They show his hatred against Yuan.

In addition, he claimed that 'China never has such an evil person over the ages', describing Yuan as an unprecedentedly cunning villain. He intended to criticize Yuan.

In terms of argument, the author stated that Yuan revived monarchical rule and was deceitful. He was discontented with Yuan's attempts to 'fool the entire nation in the palm of his hand'.

Also, he pointed out the fact that the five powers warned Yuan not to restore the monarchical rule. Yuan, however, paid no attention to that, ignoring the interests of four hundred million people and the territory. China would suffer 'disaster' owing to his option. Therefore, the Source does show the author's negative attitude.

c) To what extent was China a modernized country? [S+K](7marks)

Suggested Answer

To a large extent, China could not be regarded as a modernized country.

Firstly, Source A indicates that 'the Principle of People's Livelihood was yet to be dealt with' and people could barely earn a living. Sun also pointed out that social revolution was the 'most difficult'. Therefore, China could not be regarded as a modernized state with respect to her economy and people's livelihood.

Also, Source B shows Yuan's attempt to 'make himself monarch' and revive autocratic rule in China. It was a regression in political system, showing that China was not politically modernized at that time.

In addition, Source B states that Yuan 'fooled the entire nation in the palm of his hand' and even sacrificed four hundred million people to restore monarchial rule. He enjoyed excessive power and ruled China in an autocratic and dictatorial manner. The nation was not democratic and modernized.

From my own knowledge in political aspect, apart from Yuan's restoration, Zhang Xun also attempted to restore the abdicated emperor Puyi in 1917. After Yuan's death, China even entered the chaotic warlord era. The autocratic nature of Chinese politics had never been changed in the period concerned.

In economic aspect, China was still economically backward. About 80% of its population worked in agriculture, but the productivity was low due to the absence of mechanization and chemical fertilizers. Also, the population grew continuously while the area of farmland was limited. The production per person decreased as a result and China was not economically modernized.

In educational aspect, the literacy rate of China remained low and the problem of illiteracy was acute in rural areas. In addition to gender inequality, many women did not get a chance to receive education. China was definitely not modernized in this aspect.

In judicial aspect, a new judicial system had not been created yet despite the founding of the Republic of China. In addition, bribery and lynching were still common. China failed to achieve modernization in this aspect.

Diplomatically, the diplomatic status of China remained inferior. She still suffered from unequal treaties. Worse still, Yuan Shikai signed the Twenty-One Demands with Japan in 1915 and China's interests were exploited by foreign country again. It should not happen in a modernized state.

However, to a small extent, China achieved modernization in some aspects.

In national aspect, Source A stated that China has overthrown Manchu rule, 'removing an alien race'. Nationalism was achieved and China could be regarded as a modernized state in this sense.

From my own knowledge, Sun also suggested 'five-group harmony' after the success of the 1911 Revolution. His idea promoted racial equality and China was no longer ruled by one race only. Therefore, China could be seen as modernized in national aspect.

In social aspect, a series of social reforms were implemented by the government after the 1911 Revolution, like the demand for cutting pigtails and changing the address 'Da Ren' to 'Mister', and the ban on slavery trade. The transformation helped China be in line with social norms of other countries. She could be regarded as a modernized state in this aspect as well.

Although 1911 Revolution brought an end monarchy and changes in terms of national and social, the Backward, feudal and autocratic nature of China remained. Therefore, China could be regarded as a modernized state to a small extent only.

Grid Method:

a) Explain the true solutions to China's problems (2marks)

Suggested Answer

The 'true solution of the Chinese question' is the replacement of the Manchu monarchy by a republic.

From the Source, 'a new, enlightened and progressive government must be substituted for the old one'. In other words, a democratic government should be formed to replace the original absolute monarchy.

Secondly, the Source indicates that the plan to replace the monarchy with a republic was 'carefully thought-out'. It also describes the Manchu monarchy as 'out-of-date'. These demonstrate Sun's thought that it was necessary to overthrow the old government and form a republic to solve the problem.

Moreover, the Source claims that people longed for the formation of a republic in order to solve the Chinese question and 'uplift them from their present deplorable condition of life'. It shows that Sun agreed that forming a republic would help ease the plight.

b) What are the limitations of Sun's revolutionary thought as reflected by the source? (4marks)

Suggested Answer

In the first decade of the 20th century, Sun's revolutionary ideas mainly consisted of the principles of nationalism, livelihood and democracy. But Source B has limitations in reflecting them.

Source B only reflects Sun's principle of nationalism. Before the 1911 Revolution, he still suggested to overthrow the Manchu rule. Therefore, overthrowing the 'Manchu monarchy' as stated in the Source fits his viewpoint on nationalism.

Also, the Source claims that 'China is now on the eve of a great national movement'. It can reflect Sun's national spirit and his suggestion that people should be united to form a nation-state.

However, Source B fails to show his ideas of people's livelihood and democracy adequately.

For people's livelihood, the Source states that the people should be saved, but it does not mention his view on equalization of land ownership and revitalization of industry. Limitations do exist.

For democracy, the Source merely pointed out the idea of establishing a republic to replace the monarchy, but the detail is not mentioned, like the power people should enjoy. The four powers they should have are election, recall, initiative and referendum. They together grant people the power to control the government. All these are not covered by the Source.

c) Infer the purpose of the cartoon (3marks)

Suggested Answer

The cartoon was published by radical intellectuals and its purpose is to bring warlords' corruption to light and stimulate anti-warlord sentiment.

First of all, the warlord in the Source was well-dressed. But the man on the right hand side looks like a prisoner and was pulled by the warlord with an iron chain, making a stark contrast. The cartoonist intended to stir up anti-warlord sentiment through this scene.

Secondly, the man on the right hand side shouldered heavy burdens, like foreign debt and government bonds. His legs were also chain-locked. He enjoyed no 'freedom' and stood in sharp contrast to the warlord who carried no load. The cartoon can therefore arouse discontent among people towards the warlords' rule.

Moreover, the warlord held a blood-stained sword and used an iron chain to pull the man in his back, implying that the warlords used violence to rule their people autocratically. The cartoonist wanted to give rise to discontent among the people by revealing this fact.

Last but not the least, the caption of the cartoon 'Who says the Chinese people can still enjoy freedom and happiness?' implies that they did not really enjoy happiness. As the people were chain-locked, they did not really have freedom. The cartoon is thus able to provoke people's dissatisfaction with the warlords.

d) Would Sun feel satisfied towards China's development [S+K](8marks)

Suggested Answer

To a large extent, I think that Sun would have not been satisfied with the development of China in the period 1912-20.

From Source C, the form of government became 'unstable' at that time. Starting from 1914, Yuan Shikai supported the old ideas and institutions, 'restoring the monarchy'. Such acts went against Sun's idea of democracy, which suggests the formation of a stable and democratic republic. Therefore, he would have not been satisfied with that.

Source D portrays the autocratic rule of the warlords. The people bore heavy burdens like 'government bonds' and 'military contributions', and were even chain-locked, enjoying no freedom. These ran counter to Sun's principles of people's livelihood and democracy.

From my own knowledge, in political aspect, Yuan Shikai strengthened his control after he took over the presidency, and allegedly killed Song Jiaoren. Sun felt obliged to stage the Second Revolution (1912) to rebel against Yuan, showing his dissatisfaction with the political environment at that time.

Worse still, the chaotic warlord era began immediately after Yuan's death. Zhang Xun even attempted to restore the abdicated emperor in 1917. China was in political turmoil and under autocratic rule. Sun should not be satisfied with that.

Diplomatically, Yuan signed the Twenty-One Demands with Japan in 1915, handing China's interests in Shandong over to Japan. The treaty violated Sun's nationalist idea that imperialism should be removed from China. Therefore, he would have not been satisfied.

Furthermore, China attended the Paris Peace Conference (1919) as one of the victorious powers of WW1, but she was still under the influence of imperialism. Other powers even transferred China's interests in Shandong from Germany to Japan. Sun would thus not be satisfied.

Though he would have not been satisfied to a large extent, he would have been satisfied with some aspects.

Sun would have been satisfied with the overthrow of monarchy. Although Yuan Shikai and Zhang Xun attempted to restore it, they did not succeed. Their failure proved that restoration was not possible. Therefore, Sun would have been satisfied with that.

In addition, Sun suggested 'five-group harmony' among the Han, the Manchus, the Hui people, the Tibetans and the Mongols. Generally speaking, the five races achieved peaceful coexistence, conforming to Sun's ideal after the 1911 Revolution. The result should be satisfactory to him.

In general, although there were indeed some positive impacts from the 1911 Revolution, a large extent of limitations existed. The Three Principles of the People could not fully apply, thus Sun Yat Sen only satisfied to the situation of China at that time to a small extent.

格分法：

Analysis of Exam Essays by K.W. HO

A. Factor

★ Declarative and Evaluative

- 1 Examine the factors that hinder modernization with reference to the Nanjing government.

B. Situation

★ Declarative and Evaluative

- 2 Trace and explain the development of the Chinese communist revolution in the period 1919-49.

★ Polar

- 3 To what extent was China modernized by the mid-1930s?
- 4 Discuss to what extent China was modernized in the first half of the 20th century.

★ Comparative

- 5 Compare the attempts at political and economic modernization by the Late Qing government and the Nanjing government.

C. Significance

★ Declarative and Evaluative

- 6 Assess the effectiveness of the Qing government in coping with the problems it faced in the period 1900-11.
- 7 Discuss the impact of China on the continent to which it belonged in the first half of the 20th century.

★ **Polar**

- 8 | 'The Late Qing Reform did not bring about modernization in China.'
Comment on the validity of this statement with reference to the history of China in the period 1901-1911.

★ **Comparative**

- 9 | Compare the impact of the May Fourth Movement and that of the 1911 Revolution on China.
- 10 | To what extent did the 1911 Revolution bring about fundamental changes in China? Explain your answer.
- 11 | Compare the Late Qing Reform (1901-11) and reforms introduced by the Nanjing government (1928-49) in terms of their effectiveness in modernizing China.
- 12 | 'The Late Qing government failed to transform China in the period 1900-12, while the Nanjing government succeeded in the period 1927-37.'
Comment on the validity of this statement.
- 13 | 'Revolution was more effective than reform in achieving modernization.'
Do you agree? Explain your answer with reference to the history of China in the period 1900-49.
- 14 | To what extent was the 1930s a turning point in the history of China in the first half of the 20th century?
- 15 | In what ways was the Second World War a turning point in the history of China in the 20th century?
- 16 | In what ways was the year 1949 a turning point in Chinese history during the 20th century?
- 17 | Is Sun Yat-sen the greatest leader in the 20th century? Justify your view.
- 18 | Do you agree that Mao Zedong(or Sun Yat-sen/Chiang Kai-shek/ Deng Xiaoping)'s impact on the development of China was more positive than negative?
- 19 | Discuss to what extent China in the late 20th century was different from what it had been in the early 20th century.

'The Late Qing government failed to transform China in the period 1900-12, while the Nanjing government succeeded in the period 1927-37.' Comment on the validity of this statement.

"Transformation" means the change in the nature of subject. Obvious differences existed both before and after such transformation as the nature changes from one to another. Both the Qing and Nanjing governments transformed China during their regimes. However, both of them failed to transform all aspects and China could not experience a total transformation. Hence, the statement could only be agreed to a certain extent. Below, it would be discussed in the political, economic, social and diplomatic aspects.

Firstly, the Qing government could not transform the political aspect of China. The politics of China was autocratic all the time. The emperor had absolute power and democratic element was lacked. The Qing government had implemented a constitutional reform since 1905. For instance, in 1908, the *Outline of Constitution* 欽定憲法大綱 was issued, which attempted to transform the politics of China. However, the emperor's power was still superior and the nature of such superiority was the same as before. Apart from that, members of *Provincial assemblies* 諮議局(1909) were elected from gentries from a few places and electoral element was lacked. Worse still, the *National Assembly* 資政院(1910) and *cabinet* 內閣(1911) were responsible to the emperor but not the people. All ministers in the cabinet were appointed by the emperor and it was dominated by *royal families* 皇族(7 out of 13). It was not representative of the people but was rendered an instrument for consolidating the royal power and autocracy remained. In comparison, although the Qing government implemented a constitutional reform, the objective of the reform was to consolidate the royal power instead of changing the nature of Chinese autocratic politics. Hence, the Late Qing Reform did not bring about a fundamental transformation and could not transform the political aspect of China.

The Nanjing government failed to transform the political aspect of China as well. Although the Nanjing government was to proceed from *military Rule* 軍政 to *political tutelage* 訓政 and to *constitutional government* 憲政 according to the Sun's 'Fundamentals of National Reconstruction' 建國大綱, China still remained in the political tutelage period due to the outbreak of *Sino-Japanese War* 中日戰爭(1937). The Constitution was not adopted until 1946. In 1937, China remained at the state of political tutelage and *one-party dictatorship* 一黨專政 was still practiced by Kuomintang. Also, one-party dictatorship was adopted which the government eliminated dissidents like purging the Communists. The nature of autocracy was still the same. Apart from that, the Nanjing government tried to adopt the *five-power system* 五權分立. However, people at that time still did not have any voting rights and hence an election system was not established in China. Democratic element was missing. In comparison, although monarchy did not exist at that time, the politics of China during the era of Nanjing government was similar to the situation before the reform. They were both autocratic and undemocratic. Therefore, the change was superficial and no real transformation was made in the nature of China's politics.

Secondly, the Qing government did not make any transformation in the economy of China. The economic situation of China before 1900 was poor, local enterprises faced difficulties in development and the productivity of average population was low. The Qing government attempted to make the country wealthy by establishing the *Ministry of Agriculture, Industry and Commerce* 商部(1903), drafting commercial laws (e.g. *Articles of Association* 公司章程) and developing the railway network. Chinese companies started to develop and China passed some commercial laws that were rather modernised. Yet, the economic condition of China remained poor. *Opium* 鴉片 still squeezed the assets of people. The Qing government even had to pay an indemnity of 450 million silver taels because of the defeat of the *Eight-Power Allied Forces* 八國聯軍. Also, local industries could hardly develop with the harm done by foreign goods and it was hard to operate the companies. Furthermore, the Qing government did not actively promote the mechanization of agriculture. Hence, mode of small-scale agriculture still remained and the productivity was rather low. In comparison, the economic environment of China was backward and poor before 1900 in China. Although the Qing government tried to improve the economy by reforms, the effectiveness was limited and the economy of China was the same which the productivity was low. This reflected that the Qing government could not transform the economy of China.

Nanjing government could not transform the economy of China as well. The Nanjing government pushed forward economic reforms. It reformed the monetary system by replacing *silver dollars* 銀元 with *banknotes* 紙幣 in 1935. Economic regulations like *Exchange Act* 交易所法 and *Weights and Measures Act* 度量衡法 were passed to create a sound economic environment. Also, it assisted local industries and extended railways, which helped develop the industry. However, the economy of China did not experience any transformation as the economy was dominated by several plutocrats (especially the “*Big Four Families*” 四大家族), hindering the development of local small and medium enterprises. Besides, China was still an agricultural society that most people engaged in agricultural activities. But productivity remained low without introducing machines. Moreover, the outbreak of the *Sino-Japanese War* 中日戰爭 in 1937 halted commercial activities in many areas and the economic environment was still poor. In comparison, although the economy improved a bit after the reform of Nanjing government, the effectiveness should not be overestimated. The economic environment of China was still poor and the backward agricultural mode of production remained. These illustrated that the Chinese economy did not transform with the reform of Nanjing government.

Thirdly, socially, the Qing government did not transform China. There were a lot of social misbehaviour and feudal thoughts in China. In the Late Qing reform, the government imposed orders such as women were free from *foot-binding* 纏足, *opium-smoking* 吸食鴉片 was illegalised and *slavery* 奴隸 was forbidden. These efforts were put in order to modernize the society. However, in fact, the above reforms failed to implement thoroughly. For instance, opium-smoking became an underground activity and was not totally eradicated. Moreover, thoughts including *social classes* 社會階級 and *inequality between men and women* 男女不平等 still existed. The traditional feudal thoughts were deeply rooted and such nature did not change because of the reform made by Qing government. In comparison, the society of China before 1900 was both feudal and backward. Although the Qing government implemented social reforms in attempt of improving the social condition, these reforms were meretricious. Feudal thoughts and uncivilized social misbehaviour still existed. No transformation was made in the society of China.

Nanjing government failed to actualize transformation in the Chinese society as well. Nanjing government actively implemented social reforms, including following the early republican practices to prohibit foot-binding and slave trade. Also, the *New Life Movement* 新生活運動 was started in 1934 which promoted the Confucian virtues of “propriety, righteousness, honesty and the sense of shame” (*li, yi, lian, chi* 禮、義、廉、恥). However, the Chinese society could not transform with the reforms made by Nanjing government. Although some social misbehaviours such as foot-binding and slave trade were halted, a lot of misbehaviours and feudal thoughts remained, such as *corruption* 貪污, *superstition* 迷信鬼神 and *sexual inequality* 重男輕女. Some of these misbehaviours and thoughts even continued until now, showing its failure in bringing a total transformation. In comparison, although the Nanjing government scrapped some of the social misbehaviours, it could not totally reform the Chinese society and eradicate feudalism, uncivilized thoughts and behaviour. Therefore, in this period, the Chinese society did not have much differences in compared to the time before and no transformation was experienced.

Fourthly, the Qing government did not transform Chinese diplomacy. Since the defeat in *Opium War* 鴉片戰爭 in 1842, China failed into an unequal diplomatic status. For instance, *tariff autonomy* 關稅自主權 and *extraterritoriality* 治外法權 were lost. China's sovereignty and independence were not being respected. Although the Qing government replaced *Zongli Yamen* 總理衙門 with the *Ministry of Foreign Affairs* 外交部 in the hope of improving the unequal international status, China's status remained low as the Ministry failed to arbitrate with foreign countries in world affairs. Unequal treaties including *Nanjing Treaty* 南京條約(1842) and *Shimonoseki Treaty* 馬關條約(1895) existed and they controlled the internal politics of China. As a result, China could not enjoy her autonomy and independence. Aspects like *tariff* 關稅 and *judiciary* 司法 were still being intervened and controlled by foreign countries. In comparison, China was being restrained by unequal treaties both before and after 1900. Also, the unequal diplomatic status of China still persisted. These reflected that the Qing government failed to transform China's diplomacy.

The Nanjing government also failed to transform the diplomacy of China. The Nanjing government worked hard in improving the international status of China and scrapping the unequal treatment of foreign countries. For instance, it recovered British concessions at *Hankou* 漢口 and *Xiamen* 廈門 in 1926-30, and regained the *tariff autonomy* 關稅自主權 in 1930 which improved the diplomatic status of China. However, the diplomacy of China was still in an unequal state as unequal treaties were still bounding China. Also, foreign countries had the *extraterritoriality* 治外法權 of China. The unequal situation did not improve in 1937. Apart from that, China failed to maintain her independence and fell prey to Japan. Japan invaded the whole of China in 1937 and China's sovereignty was not being respected. In comparison, until 1937, although China regained some sovereignty, her unequal diplomatic treatment did not totally change. The situation was the same with that before the Nanjing reform. Therefore, transformation did not exist in China at that time.

To sum up, the Qing government and Nanjing government contributed to the construction of China's modernization in 1900-12 and 1927-37 respectively. However, the change did not achieve any transformation in nature. The nature of China in the two periods was still the same. Hence, both Qing and Nanjing governments failed to transform China.

Words: 1569

考生答卷示範

分數：____/15

中國晚清政府於 1900-1912 推行清末新政，好使中國富強，但成效甚微，未能為中國帶來改變；相反，南京政府於 1927-37 年「黃金 10 年」中推行的一系列改革，為中國帶來了蛻變，故題目所言成立，現從政治、經濟、社會、教育、軍事方面討論，析論如下。

先討論清政府於 1900-1912 年的清末新政改革。

首先，政治方面，中國清政府於 1900-1912 年仍然保持專制，未能蛻變。中國自古以來就奉行皇帝制度，以國君，皇帝一統天下，權力也都集中於皇帝身上，是為專制統治。雖然，晚清政府希望透過 1900-12 年其中推行的「清末新政」改變此現象，如於 1908 年頒佈了「9 年憲法欽定大綱」，以及於次年成立責任內閣等，務求將中國打造成為「君主立憲」國家。然而，此政策成效甚微，改革者毫無誠意，如「責任內閣」中共有 7 名的成員是皇族，其他種族，如蒙古族等，僅佔其中 1 人，反映權力仍然集中於皇帝家族之內，仍然專制，未能為中國帶來蛻變。可見，政治方面，中國清政府於 1900-1912 年仍然保持專制，未能蛻變。

其次，社會方面，中國傳統思想根深蒂固，未能帶來蛻變。中國自古以來重視儒家思想，以及強調「長幼有序」和「正名」等思想。更甚，更強調「重男輕女」，認為男性較女性優越。雖然，中國政府於 1900-1912 年推行「清末新政」，務求改善社會上的風氣，例如下令女性不准再纏足，以及「滿漢通婚」，沒有階級分野。更重視去除社會陋習，如下令禁止娼妓，吸食鴉片等，希望改善中國的情況。然而，此改革方法，成效甚微，如中國重男輕女的情況仍然存在，女性仍然纏足，吸食鴉片仍是中國於 1900-1912 年的社會陋習，反映清政府並未能為中國帶來蛻變。可見，社會方面，中國社會陋習仍然存在，清政府未能使中國蛻變。

最後，軍事方面，中國的軍事力量仍然處於落後的水平，未能蛻變。自古以來，中國的軍事力量主要都是利用大炮，大刀等衝鋒陷陣。自 1841 年鴉片戰爭且到西方列強的「船堅炮利」，中國政府便於 1900-1912 年強化中國的軍事實力，如訓練新式的西式陸軍，於 1904 年開設陸軍軍校等，務求使中國的軍事力量得以改變。然而，此政策未能為中國帶來蛻變，中國的軍事力量仍沒有明顯的改變，如 1904 年的日俄戰爭於中國東北發生，中國仍未能加以阻止控制，達致保家衛國的局面，故清政府仍未為中國帶來蛻變。可見，軍事方面，中國的

軍事力量仍處於落後的水平，故未能蛻變。

現從南京政府方面討論。

首先，政治方面，南京政府推訓政下放權力於人民，帶來蛻變。自南京政府成立之前，中國陷入軍閥混戰，儼如「無政府狀態」，政府專橫無道，忽視國民權益。然而，自國民黨於 1927 年北伐成功，成立南京政府反，推行改革，如頒佈「訓政」，並根據孫中山的「建國方略」過渡至「憲政」，務求打造中國成為一個民主的國家。更甚，南京政府推行「五權分立」把立法、司法、行政、監督、考試權力分散，權力下放給人民，是為中國政治上的轉變。可見，比較之下，中國南京政府之前處於軍閥混戰，民權受到忽視；然而，南京政府推行「五權分立」及「訓政」，落實民主政策，為中國政治方面帶來蛻變。

其次，經濟方面，中國南京政府頒行經濟法規，是為轉變。自中國南京政府成立之前，中國經濟發展欠缺明確的制度保障，營商環境十分不好。但當南京政府成立之後，積極推動經濟改革，一方面於 1935 「廢銀改元」，下令白銀收歸國有，市場上只能使用鈔票，從而加劇了貨幣的流動；另一方面，南京政府更頒佈了一系列經濟法規，包括「破產法」，「公司法」等，從而塑造一個良好的營商環境，以及保障商人的利益。可見，比較之下，中國南京政府成立之前欠缺一套完善的經濟法規。然而，南京政府成立之後，改善了營商環境，建立經濟法規，故是之為蛻變。

最後教育方面，南京政府重視教育發展，是為蛻變。自南京政府建立之前，中國兒童並沒有免費接受教育的權力，知識分子大多來自私塾，只有官員子弟才能接受教育。故當南京政府成立之後，重視教育發展，如頒佈「義務教育法」（1936 年），安排中國適齡兒童入讀學校，接受教育，而且是義務的，費用由政府支助。另外，南京政府更一度擴充中小學，好使中國人的知識水平得以提升。可見，比較之下，中國由對教育的忽視，因南京政府推行「教育改革」而得到轉變，教育受到重視，故是為蛻變。

總括而言，以上從政治、經濟、社會、教育、軍事方面說明了清末政府未能為中國帶來蛻變，但南京政府能，故題目所言成立，以上論之。

字數：1721

評分： _____ (part A) + _____ (part B) = _____

考生答卷示範

分數：____/15

清政府和南京政府期間均為中國的蛻變而作出努力，然而前者於政治，經濟教育方面未能對中國有進展性的蛻變，然而南京政府則於社會及外交方面能比起清政府能令中國有更多的蛻變，故此題目所言，我於部分程度上同意。

首先在政治方面，清政府和南京政府均未能對中國政府有明顯的蛻變。中國長久以而為君主專制的國家，然而即使清政府於晚清改革時期進行改革，然而其只屬鞏固政權的工具，未能促進中國的政治轉變，如其所成立的內閣均稱為皇族內閣，其 13 人有 7 名是皇族，可見其所推行的憲法改革只為鞏固皇族力量，中國依然為一君主專制的國家。然而，進入南京政府時期，南京政府以推行「軍政」過渡至「憲政」，作為對中國政治一種轉變楔式，然而其只是捕風捉影，根本未能為中國推動憲政的發展，加上南京政府屬一黨專政，其行為專制，更加未能推動中國民主化的發展，加上南京政府後期更混入軍閥割據的時期，未能改變中國長久以來專制的政治制度。可見清政府和南京政府於政治上的改革，依然為一君主專制以一黨專政的政治模式，推動新政治發展，故清政府及南京政府均未能於政治上成功使中國蛻變。

另外在經濟方面，清政府和南京政府均未能對中國經濟發展成功蛻變。中國長久以來為一農業社會，並非工商業的發展，而且人民的生活仍非常困苦，且清政府推動晚清改革後，農業的發展依然未能得到改善，人民的生活依然十分嚴峻，另一方面的鐵路國有化及建設銀行的措施，均因外國企業壟斷市場只未能成功推動經濟發展。晚清改革後的中國經濟依然原地踏步；然而自南京政府時期，其所建立的「公司章程」、「銀行制度」等的效率並不顯著，加上當時政府貪污問題嚴重，難以推動經濟發展。另外在農業方面，南京政府以推動新技術推農務，然而其技術落後，未能夠提高產成量，更因資金問題而未能讓農業發展，人民的生活依然困苦。可見清政府和南京政府時期，兩者均未能打造中國成為一工業的經濟發展，中國依然為一農業社會，人民生活依然處於苦況，與以往相差無幾，故清政府與南京政府均未能於經濟上對中國做成成功的蛻變。

最後在教育方面，清政府和南京政府均未能為中國教育發展推進新的一頁。中國自古以來並不重視教育，只有一些士紳、官員的孩子能夠接受教育，於清政府的晚清改革期間雖廢除了科舉及武舉等的教育制度，然而其實行的科目依然缺乏科學、新文學等的教材，加上當時沒有免費教育，農村孩子均未能擁有教育的機會。而且女性亦未能有機會接受教育，故清政府期間未能實行普及教育，實現蛻變；但直至南京政府時期，雖南京政府實行「義務教育法」，允許 6 歲

以下的兒童能夠接受免費教育，女性仍有接受教育的機會。然而因資金不足的問題，教育的發展未能成功，加上亦有大多數的人士未能接受教育，一些高等教育等未有發展。可見清政府與南京政府均未能改變以往中國教育水平偏低的問題，依家未能實行高等教育、普及教育的發展，識未率依家偏低，故清政府與南京政府未能於中國教育發展成功蛻變。

然而，南京政府則較清政府於社會外交方面有一定的貢獻，而中國出現了蛻變。

其一，於社會方面，南京政府較清政府能中國有一定的蛻變。中國自古以來為一封建的社會，男女平等和迷信鬼神之說，於晚清改革期間，清政府嘗試改變民間陋習會廢除吸食鴉片、纏足等社會問題，然而因為無法可依，社會上奴隸奴婢等問題依然嚴重而無法解決，故問題依家無法改變。然而直至南京政府時期，其所推行的法例，令到社會上奴婢、纏足的問題得到改善，有一定程度的正面影響。可見南京政府較清政府解決社會的陋習，傳統思想受到改變，雖然一些封建迷信思想依家存在，然而南京政府於改變社會陋習上有一定的貢獻，改變了中國長久以來的陋習，異於清政府，故南京政府較清政府能使中國社會成功蛻變。

其二在外交方面，南京政府較清政府能令中國成功蛻變，中國自古以來受到外國的欺凌，沒有一定的國際地位。於清政府時期中國的外交地位維持惡劣，受八國聯軍的侵略加上「馬關條約」、「南京條約」等未能打破，未能使中國出現轉變。然而直至南京政府時期，成功打破了不平等的條約如「馬關條約」、「辛丑條約」等為中國的外交方面帶來了一定的改善，可見南京政府於外交上較清政府能令中國成功出現蛻變，雖然中國依家受到列強忽視，但其打破不平等條約，是中國外交上的一大轉捩點，不同於清政府，故南京政府較清政府能於外交上使中國成功蛻變。

可見，南京政府於清政府於政治、經濟、教育方面均未能使中國成功出現蛻變，然而南京政府於外交、社會方面則較清政府令中國出現蛻變。

總括而言，我部分同意题目的說法。

字數：1834

評分： _____ (part A) + _____ (part B) = _____

閱卷員評語：將題目重心放於晚清和南京政府的比較

To what extent did the 1911 Revolution bring about fundamental changes in China? Explain your answer.

A fundamental change should not be superficial but alter the nature of the subject, making the situation completely different. The 1911 Revolution ended the 2000 years imperial rule, but it only brought fundamental changes in China to a small extent. The nature of China's politics, economy, society and diplomacy remained unchanged. The only fundamental change was in national aspect.

Politically, the 1911 Revolution did not change the autocratic feature of China's politics. China was an autocratic country and the emperor was the one who made all the decisions. All citizens were under the rule of the emperor. Although there were constitutional reforms in the 1911 Revolution, the autocratic feature remained unchanged. For instance, the *Outline of Constitution* 欽定憲法大綱 was promulgated in 1908, which stated that the emperor holds the absolute power. Though the 1911 Revolution succeeded in abolishing the 2000-year monarchy and hoping to establish *democracy* 民權, the autocratic nature of China's politics remained the same. When *Yuan ShiKai* 袁世凱 became the provisional president, he soon resumed the autocratic ruling. He even dismissed the *Nationalist Party* 國民黨 and *assembly* 國會 in 1913 and 1914 respectively. Autocracy was restored in 1915. The imperial system emerged again. The autocratic feature did not change due to the emergence of the 1911 Revolution. Besides, after Yuan's death, there were lengthy warlordism and armed conflicts. The autocratic situation worsened rather than improved. Hence, though the 1911 Revolution ended the 2000-year monarchy, autocracy still remained and did not change. There were no fundamental changes. In comparison, in terms of the nature of China's politics, although the 1911 Revolution ended the 2000-year monarchy, the autocracy and dictatorship remained unchanged. Only the seeming system changed while the autocratic nature remained unchanged and there was even a more chaotic situation after Yuan's death. As a result, there was no fundamental change in China's politics.

Economically, the 1911 Revolution did not change the poor economic situation of China. Before the 1911 Revolution, China's economy was backward and over 80% of the population participated in agricultural activities. Yet, the mode of production was not advanced. Also, due to the mounting population, there was insufficient agricultural land. Moreover, the Western power monopolized China's economy by dumping their products on China, which harmed the interests of local enterprises. Undoubtedly, a number of national enterprises were founded with the establishment of the Republic of China. Chinese who live overseas had great hope over having their enterprises in the new China so they decided to return. The development of national enterprises was therefore promoted. However, the 1911 Revolution did not change the poor economic condition in China thoroughly as the principle of *People's livelihood* 民生 and *equal distribution of land* 平均地權 were not realized. Peasants and tenants remained poor. Besides, the Western monopolization in China's economy did not change as sovereign rights like *tariff* 關稅 and *salt tax* 鹽稅 were held by foreign countries. A stable regime could not be built after the 1911 Revolution as well. China entered a chaotic warlord era and people suffered a lot as a result of armed conflicts and heavy taxes collected by the warlords. The agriculture failed to develop and the dumping of foreign goods on China still existed. The chaotic warlord era also worsened the economic condition of China. In comparison, in terms of citizens' living and economic problems, the 1911 Revolution did not change the poor economic situation in China. The problem of rural poverty and foreign dumping remained unchanged. There was even a worsened economic situation due to the complicated political situation after the Revolution. Thus, there was no fundamental change.

Socially, the 1911 Revolution failed to bring fundamental changes to the Chinese society as China was still a feudal country. Before the 1911 Revolution, the Chinese society was feudal and the citizens generally valued men than women. Superstitions were prevalent. There were many social misbehaviours like *foot binding* 纏足 and *opium smoking* 吸食鴉片. The degree of social modernisation was low. It is true that the 1911 Revolution launched various policies and reforms which hoped to transform the Chinese society. For instance, pigtails, slavery, opium smoking and foot binding were banned. However, there were no fundamental changes in China as the reforms were not carried out thoroughly and were just on an encouraging basis. There was no punishment. Also, people still called 'Da Yen' and 'Lao Ye' as these address were still acceptable. Moreover, though there were laws for Chinese to abide by, some of the social misbehaviour could not be eliminated instantly like opium smoking. In addition, traditional thoughts like valuing men over women and superstitions were deep-rooted in the society. The 1911 Revolution failed to 'destroy the old and establish the new'. A liberal atmosphere could not be shaped in China. Hence, the 1911 Revolution did not bring fundamental changes to China, not to mention to destroy the old and establish the new. The feudal nature, uncivilised thoughts, behaviours still remained and there were few changes in the society. In comparison, in terms of the feudal thoughts and social misbehaviors, the 1911 Revolution failed to 'destroy the old and establish the new' to the Chinese society. The feudal nature of the society remained unchanged, while the uncivilized thoughts and habits still existed. To a small extent, there was a change to the Chinese society, so there was no fundamental change brought by the Revolution.

Diplomatically, the 1911 Revolution did not bring changes to China's unequal diplomacy. Before the 1911 Revolution, China's status was unequal as it was defeated several times in foreign wars. Unequal treaties were signed by China such as the *Treaty of Shimonoseki* 馬關條約 and the *Boxer Protocol* 辛丑條約 in 1895 and 1901 respectively. The West also had numerous rights in China, including extraterritoriality, tariff and salt tax, which harmed the sovereign rights of China. Undeniably, the 1911 Revolution ended the Qing rule. Yet, the foreign countries were not willing to abolish the unequal treaties. The revolutionaries and Yuan Shikai were proactive in striving for the recognition of the West over the founding of the Republic of China. They dared not confront with the West. Thus, unequal treaties were not eradicated and China's rights such as tariff and salt tax were controlled by the west. China's internal affairs were intervened. Worse still, Yuan signed the *Twenty One Demand* 廿一條款 with Japan in 1915, further jeopardising the sovereign rights as well as interests of Chinese. China had a low international status. Diplomatic equality could not be achieved. As a result, the 1911 Revolution did not change the unequal status of China. China was bound by unequal treaties and rights were controlled by western countries. In comparison, in terms of the diplomatic status and treatment, the 1911 Revolution did not change the diplomatic inequality of China. The unequal treaties that signed before still bound China, sovereignty was still in the hand of the powers. Hence, the 1911 Revolution failed to bring fundamental change to China.

It could be seen that the 1911 Revolution could not bring fundamental changes to China's political, economic, social and diplomatic aspects. Yet, it could bring fundamental changes in racial aspect.

Racially, the 1911 Revolution changed the racial situation of China. Before the 1911 Revolution, China was ruled by Manzu. Han, despite accounting for a large proportion of the population, were suppressed. Only a small number of Han could be appointed as high ranking officials in the government. The Han was not satisfied with the ruling of Manzu. For example, when Dr. Sun founded the XingZhonghui, one of the slogans was 'Expelling the Manchus 驅除韃虜', which hoped to wipe out the ruling of Manzu and replaced with Han. Nonetheless, after the 1911 Revolution, in the hope of gathering the wisdom and strength of different races, Sun changed Nationalism into the *Republicanism of Five Nationalities* 五族共和, which actualized the harmony of the Han, Manzu, Hui, Mongols and the Tibetans. Racial equality was realized and united. Moreover, after the 1911 Revolution, the slogan of *racial harmony* 民族融和 was widespread. Afterwards, Sun advocated the replacement of the Republicanism of Five Nationalities with *Chinese race* 中華民族. The concept of Chinese gradually replaced Nationalism in the past. This helped achieve national unity. Thus, before the 1911 Revolution, China was mainly ruled by the Manzu, hatred existed among different races but after the 1911 Revolution, racial equality as well as racial unity were achieved. In comparison, in terms of racial equality and social inclusion, there was Han class struggle in China before the 1911 Revolution with hatred between races, while ethnic equality was promoted after the Revolution which promoted the solidarity of the races in the country. It was a drastic change in the history so there was a fundamental change.

Generally, the 1911 Revolution was the first revolution in China, initiating from the bottom to the top. It brought great significance to China. After closer examination, the 1911 Revolution could only bring fundamental changes in racial aspect in China. However, it failed to bring changes in political, economic, social and diplomatic aspects, which could not meet the target of 'destroy the old and establish the new'. Therefore, the 1911 Revolution brought fundamental changes to China to a small extent.

Words: 1,218

To what extent was China modernized by the mid-1930s?

A country or region that is modernized has gotten rid of backwardness and feudalism and is essentially modern and civilized. Despite various attempts at modernization by the Nanjing government, China was not modernized in political, economic, educational, judicial and diplomatic aspects by the mid-1930s and showed features of modernization in social aspect only. Therefore, China was modernized in the period concerned to a small extent only.

Politically, China did not achieve modernization by the mid-1930s. A modern form of government should be elected and allow the existence of political parties. Yet, these characteristics were not found in China in the mid-1930s. True, the Nanjing government progressed from the stage of military rule to political tutelage and finally became constitutional in accordance with Sun's 'Fundamentals of National Reconstruction'. Nevertheless, the establishment of constitutional government was postponed until 1946 due to the outbreak of the Second Sino-Japanese War (1937), which means that China was still in the period of political tutelage at that time. Notwithstanding the attempt of separation of powers, suffrage was not granted and election system was missing. Also, it adopted one-party dictatorship and eliminated dissidents by purging the communists. Multi-party system, a characteristic of modernization, was absent there. These show that the Chinese government in the mid-1930s lacked electoral elements and displayed signs of one-party dictatorship. Therefore, the nation was not modernized.

Economically, China's economic condition was far beyond the standard of modernisation. Economic modernisation does not only mean high productivity but also balanced economic development. The Nanjing government implemented economic reforms in the monetary system by replacing silver dollars with banknotes in 1935. Economic regulations like Exchange Act and Weights and Measures Act were passed to create a sound economic environment. Also, it assisted the local industries and extended railways like the Guangdong-Hankou Railway opened in 1936, which helped develop the industry. Yet, China's economy was not really modernised as it was dominated by plutocrats (especially the "Big Four Families"), hindering the development of small and medium enterprises. Besides, China was still an agricultural society that most people engaged in agricultural activities. Yet, productivity remained low without introducing machines. Moreover, the outbreak of the Sino-Japanese War in 1937 halted commercial activities in many areas. Thus, China did not really achieve economic modernisation. In the 1930s, China's economy was modernised to a small extent.

Educationally, China in the mid-1930s failed to achieve modernization. Educational modernisation is that the school system should be sound and most people have the right to receive education. The Nanjing government built many secondary and primary schools and passed the Law of Compulsory Education in 1932 which aimed to provide people with free elementary education to allow more people to be educated. Later, regulations for primary, secondary education and overseas study were issued in 1933. The education system in China became more mature. Yet, China was educationally modernised to a small extent only. In the mid-1930s, the problem of illiteracy was still serious as most rural population were deprived of the chance to receive education. Also, the Law of Compulsory Education was not actualised thoroughly due to limited capital. Thus, although the education system in China became more mature, most people did not receive education. Educational modernisation in China was still in the beginning stage. Therefore, although the education system was becoming modernised, with serious illiteracy, China was modernised to a small extent.

Judicially, China's judiciary condition was not modernized. Judicial modernisation means there should be a sound and independent judicial system and trials should be fair, just and open. Although the Nanjing government set up the Judicial Yuan and passed new laws such as Company Law and Bankruptcy Act, China did not have a modernised legal system. As extraterritoriality and unequal treaties were not abolished in the mid-1930s, China did not have a complete, independent and autonomous judicial system. Also, the judicial system could not guarantee fairness due to serious corruption among Chinese officials. Worse still, Kuomintang's anti-communist acts were against judicial modernisation. It caught and privately purged the communists, which was against the feature of justice and openness in a modernised judicial system. Therefore, the judicial system in China became more modernised but it was actually not modernised in nature. China was judicially modernised to a small extent..

Diplomatically, China's diplomacy in the mid-1930s could not be regarded as modernized. Diplomatic modernisation means the country should have equal international status with foreign countries and should be respected by others. The Nanjing government endeavoured to enhance China's international status and abolish unequal treaties with foreign countries. During 1926-30, it recovered British concessions at Hankou and Xiamen; tariff autonomy was recognised in 1930, boosting China's diplomatic status. Yet, China's diplomacy still suffered from inequality. China was still bound by unequal treaties and foreign countries retained extraterritoriality in China. Such unequal situation did not end in the mid-1930s. Besides, China could not maintain autonomy and become Japan's target. Japan invaded the whole China in 1937. China's independence was not respected. Therefore, there was improvement in China's international status but not equal diplomacy. China was diplomatically modernised to a small extent.

Although China in the mid-1930s did not actualize modernizations in different aspects, it did have a modernized feature in social aspect.

Socially, China in the mid-1930s was basically a modernized society. Social modernisation is that civil responsibility, freedom and equality are emphasised and basic human rights are protected. In fact, the Nanjing government had carried out reforms early in the 1920s to promote social modernisation. The People's Rights Ordinance was passed to protect civil rights in 1929. Besides, to promote the ideas of equality and freedom, the government followed the early republican practices to prohibit foot-binding, slave trade and change koutou to nods and the addresses of "Da Ren" and "Lao Ye" to "Mister". This liberalised and equalised the society. Moreover, the government started the New Life Movement in 1934 which promoted the Confucian virtues of "li, yi, lian, chi", arousing mass consciousness, the spirit of cooperation and civil awareness. At the same time, this helped improve hygiene thus the Chinese society became healthier. Thus, the Chinese society was generally modernised in the 1930s.

Generally speaking, China in the mid-1930s was progressing to modernization. Although it gradually realized a modernized system, some traditional thoughts still existed. Therefore, to a small extent it was a modernized country.

Words: 1,050

To what extent was China in the Nanjing Decade (1928-37) different from how it had been in the Late Qing period (1901-11)?

After the fall of the Qing government in 1911, China went through several phases marked by the establishment of the Republic of China, Yuan Shikai's autocracy, the chaotic Warlord Era and the Northern Expedition respectively. However, during the Nanjing Decade between 1928 and 1937, China was not very different from what it had been in the Late Qing period from political, economic, military and diplomatic points of view, with only significant changes in social aspect. Therefore, the statement concerned is valid to a small extent only.

Politically speaking, China was profoundly autocratic in both periods with no marked changes. During the Late Qing period, China was an absolute monarchy and its autocratic nature persisted despite attempts at constitutional reform. For example, the *Outline of Constitution* 欽定憲法大綱, promulgated in 1908, underlined the superior power of the emperor, and *Provincial Assemblies* 諮議局 (1909) were elected by a small electorate instead of universal suffrage. Worse still, the *Cabinet* 內閣 had all its ministers appointed by the emperor and was dominated by royal families (7 out of 13 members), being merely an instrument for consolidating the royal power. The country was characterized by autocracy politically. As for the Nanjing Decade, it was true that the government followed Sun Yat-sen's *Fundamentals of National Reconstruction* 建國大綱 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). In other words, China in 1937 was stuck in the phase of *political tutelage* 訓政 and under Kuomintang's one-party dictatorship. Also, notwithstanding attempts at *five-power separation* 五權分立, China had no *electoral systems* 選舉制度 established and lacked democratic elements in the absence of suffrage. Comparatively speaking, the Qing government wanted to make China a constitutional monarchy while the Nanjing government desired a constitutional republic, but in both periods the autocratic nature remained unchanged, and China still had rule by law instead of rule of law with no universal suffrage. Therefore, China differed little between the two periods.

Economically, China had poor economy in both periods with no significant differences. In the Late Qing period, the government set up the *Ministry of Agriculture, Industry and Commerce* 商部(1903), drafted commercial laws such as the *Company Act* 公司章程, and developed rail networks in a bid to commercialize China. However, China, with more than 90% of its 400 million population as farmers, had out-of-date agricultural technology and low productivity. In addition, the Qing government was burdened with the indemnity of 450 million taels of silver after its defeat by the *Eight-Nation Alliance* 八國聯軍, and to repay the debts it had to impose heavy taxes that caused hardship for the people. As for the Nanjing Decade, the government endeavoured to commercialize China with new economic regulations like the *Exchange Act* 交易所法, but these were based on laws set up in the Late Qing period and made no big differences. Also, while the economy remained agricultural-based, agricultural mechanization still did not take place and productivity stayed low. Moreover, although there was financial and industrial development under reforms of the Nanjing government, it benefited mostly the rich people, particularly the “*Big Four Families* 四大家族” holding a monopoly on the economy, while the lower class still lived in poverty. Comparatively speaking, there were attempts to commercialize China together with a series of economic regulations during both periods; however, as an agricultural-centric economy, China was still confronted with agricultural underdevelopment, poverty of the lower class and economic stagnation. There were no clear differences between the two periods economically.

In military aspect, China was short of military strength to counter with internal and external threats in both periods with no significant improvement. In the Late Qing period, although China raised the New Army of 270 thousand soldiers by 1911 with the establishment of the *Bureau of Military Training* 練兵處(1903), the country was still weak in terms of military power. For example, it failed to stop the *Russo-Japanese War* 日俄戰爭(1904-05) that took place in its territory and became a battleground for the powers. Also, the central government lacked military power to control local authorities and the New Army, being virtually the private army of Yuan Shikai 袁世凱, was even used to force the Qing emperor to abdicate. They were evidence showing Qing China's incompetent military power. As for the Nanjing Decade, China did not achieve military modernization despite related reforms including setting up the *Whampoa Military Academy* 黃埔軍校 to provide trainings for soldiers and buying weapons from countries like the US and Britain. In terms of internal disputes, the Nanjing government failed to *destroy the Communist Party* 剿共 and end the domestic warfare. Regarding external threats, it also failed to defend the country against Japanese invasion when Japan launched multiple invasions against China, including the *September 18th Incident* 九一八事變(1931) and *January 28th Incident* 一二八事變(1932), and started a full-scale invasion following the *July 7th Incident* 七七事變 in 1937. Comparatively speaking, China was weak in military terms during both periods and did not at least guarantee internal security and external defense. With respect to the relentless internal revolts and foreign encroachment, China remained intrinsically incompetent in terms of military strength and made no big differences throughout the two periods.

Diplomatically speaking, China was on an unequal footing to other countries in both periods and differed little. Although the Qing Court replaced *Zongli Yamen* 總理衙門 with the *Ministry of Foreign Affairs* 外交部 to improve its unequal international status, this did not redress the balance. Qing China had low international status and was bound by several unequal treaties such as the *Treaty of Nanjing* 南京條約(1842) and *Treaty of Shimonoseki* 馬關條約(1895). Also, its tariff and judicial systems were under foreign intervention and control, which means there was no self-determination for China. As for the Nanjing period, the government got back part of its sovereignty, including *tariff autonomy* 關稅自主權 retrieved in 1930. But such inequality was not completely removed by 1937 since the above unequal treaties were still effective and some countries retained their *extraterritorial rights* 治外法權 in China. Worse still, China not only failed to be independent and autonomous but also become a target for Japanese aggression. The *full-scale invasion of China* 全面入侵中國 started in 1937 showed that China's sovereignty was not respected. Comparatively speaking, the Nanjing government achieved higher diplomatic status compared to the Late Qing period, but the unequal treatment and disrespect to its sovereignty did not improve throughout the two periods. China was diplomatically constrained by the powers and did not have fundamental changes.

Although Qing China differed little from how the country had been during the Nanjing period in political, economic, military and diplomatic sense, there were still considerable differences in social aspect.

Socially speaking, China had transformed profoundly during the Nanjing decade compared to the Late Qing period and the differences were significant. In the Late Qing period, Chinese society remained feudalistic and backward. Despite social modernization attempts including a set of orders to ban *foot binding* 纏足 and *opium smoking* 吸食鴉片, they were not fully implemented and these problems had not been solved by the Qing's downfall in 1911. Besides, the Manchu ruling class discriminated against other races, such as *Han and Hui people* 漢族 · 回族, and mobility to the upper class was hardly possible for other ethnic groups with the serious racial discrimination. However, the society became more civilized and open during the Nanjing Decade. To be specific, evil social practices like *foot binding* 纏足 and *opium smoking* 鴉片 were effectively banned, and the *People's Rights Ordinance* 民權法規 was passed in 1929 to protect basic civil rights and overcome social backwardness. In addition, the Nationalist government had promoted the principle of '*Five Races Under One Union* 五族共和 since the fall of the Qing Dynasty. This helped achieve racial equality among the Han, the Manchus, the Mongols, the Hui and the Tibetans, as well as the national identity of '*the Chinese* 中華民族'. Comparatively speaking, the feudalistic features and backwardness of Late Qing Chinese society were much improved during the Nanjing Decade with social evils eliminated, civil rights protected and racial inequality rectified. Therefore, there were considerably huge differences in China between the two periods in this regard.

In conclusion, although it was almost 30 years between the Qing's downfall in 1911 and the establishment of the Nanjing government in 1928, China continued to be politically autocratic, economically underdeveloped, militarily weak and discriminated diplomatically with improvements only in social aspect, which suggests that China was intrinsically the same throughout the two periods and achieved transformation to a small extent only.

Words: 1387

Compare the impact of the May Fourth Movement and that of the 1911 Revolution on China.

The 1911 Revolution was a revolution in the system of China; the May Fourth Movement was a revolution in ideology and it included the New Cultural Movement in a broader sense. The two movements led to a lot of impacts in Chinese political, economic, social, educational, national and diplomatic aspects. In viewing the two movements in detailed, huge differences existed in their impacts. They would be compared in below.

Politically, the 1911 Revolution helped ending the old politics of China, the May Fourth Movement on the other hand started new politics. The 1911 Revolution in 1911 successfully caused the provinces of China to declare independence one after another. It forced the Qing emperor to abdicate and ended the *monarchy* 帝制 which lasted for 2000 years. The republic established later was unstable, for instance, *Yuan Shikai* 袁世凱 and *Zhang Xun* 張勳 tried to restore monarchy in 1915 and 1917 respectively. However, the 1911 Revolution consolidated the fact that monarchy was ended in China. People who tried to restore monarchy after that failed and could not stop the current of history. In opposite, the May Fourth Movement opened a new page in Chinese politics. As one of the victorious nations participating in the *Paris Peace Conference* 巴黎和會, China was being exploited unreasonably by the great capitalist powers. The interests of Germany in China were transferred to Japan. As a result, the Chinese intellectuals abandoned capitalism and turned to research on communism. This sowed seed to the establishment and development of the *Communist Party of China* 中國共產黨 in 1921. In comparison, the 1911 Revolution ended the monarchy, but it failed to introduce China into new political system; the May Fourth Movement could bring in communism which greatly affected the development of Chinese politics despite of the fact that it failed to end the old politics of China. This implied that although the effects of both movements were different, they both brought a long-lasting impact to China.

Economically, the 1911 Revolution and May Fourth Movement facilitated the development of domestic enterprises, however, the 1911 Revolution at the same time brought some negative impacts. The 1911 Revolution helped the development of domestic enterprises. After the revolution, both Chinese living in China and those abroad had high hopes on the new country. Hence, they started up new businesses and the domestic enterprises established like bamboo shoots after a spring rain after the revolution. However, at the same time, the 1911 Revolution did not bring upon a stable regime after overthrowing the late Qing government. Thus, China got into a period of long-term wars. It began with *war conducted by Sun Yat-sen to against Yuan Shikai* 孫中山的討伐戰爭, and *Warlordism* 軍閥混戰 after the death of Yuan. The development of Chinese economy faced great barriers. In opposite, the May Fourth Movement brought positive impacts to the economy of China. During the May-Fourth Movement, the citizens supported local goods and boycotted the foreign ones. For instance, in 1915, the *Society for the Use of National Goods* 勸用國貨會 was set up in Shanghai. This facilitated the development of domestic enterprises and had positive impacts to Chinese economy. In comparison, both the 1911 Revolution and May Fourth Movement facilitated the development of Chinese domestic enterprises. However, the chaotic situation after 1911 Revolution created huge barriers to the economic development; and the May Fourth Movement did not bring the negative impacts like the 1911 Revolution did.

Socially, the impacts of 1911 Revolution in changing the society were less than that of May Fourth Movement. After overthrowing the Qing government in 1911 Revolution, the newly established national government announced a series of orders. It included removing *pigtails* 髮辮 and banning *slave trade* 奴隸買賣. It aimed at transforming the society and removing the social misbehaviors before. However, the reform was introduced by the government from top to bottom which lacked the consciousness of citizens. Hence, the effectiveness was limited. It failed to change the customs and habits, and revolt the society. However, in the period of May Fourth Movement, the movement was motivated and joined by people automatically. Apart from protesting against the unequal treatment received in *Paris Peace Conference* 巴黎和會 in 1919, many other protests happened such as those against of prostitution and exploitation by factories. These protests and demonstrations drove the revolution in society from bottom to top and hence had more effectiveness. Worse still, the May Fourth Movement became a model of the Chinese societal movements later. For instance, the *1989 Tiananmen Square protests* 八九民運 was transcending the May Fourth Movement. It showed that the May Fourth Movement had great significance in reforming thoughts. In comparison, although both 1911 Revolution and May Fourth Movement helped driving the modernization of society, the 1911 Revolution was a societal revolution from top to bottom and the initiative of people was rather low. Its effectiveness was much less than the May Fourth Movement which was carried out from bottom to top.

In the educational aspect, the 1911 Revolution did not create an immense impact to its development, but the May Fourth Movement was a milestone in the development of education in China. After the 1911 Revolution, the republic once enacted law to motivate the development in education. For instance, *women were permitted to receive education* 准許女性接受教育. However, the school system was still the same as that in Late Qing, and the political situation was unstable after the revolution. Also, the long-term Warloadism made some reforms during the republic failed to implement. Therefore, the 1911 Revolution did not bring a significant effect in the educational aspect of China. However, the May Fourth Movement was a turning point in the development of education in China. During the May Fourth Movement, the intellectuals actively learnt the foreign thoughts in the hope of saving the country. A lot of foreign ideologies spread to China, such as *liberty* 自由主義, *communism* 共產主義, *democracy* 民主 and *science* 科學. These ideologies grew in China. Apart from that, people were encouraged to actively express their ideas. In the *New Cultural Movement* 新文化運動 during May Fourth Movement, old literature was opposed and vernacular language was encouraged. This consolidated the main writing style in the future with such new style. In comparison, the impacts of 1911 Revolution was limited, however, the May Fourth Movement could help the foreign ideologies to be growing in China. Also, the writing style was reformed and hence had a long-lasting significance. Therefore, the May Fourth Movement had greater impacts on the development of education in China.

In the national aspect, the 1911 Revolution facilitated national amalgamation, while May Fourth Movement helped the awakening of national consciousness. 1911 Revolution ended the ruling of Manchu Chinese. After the revolution, in order to gather the wisdom and force of different ethnicities, Sun Yat-sen changed the Principle of 'nationalism' into "*five-group harmony*" 五族共和. Five-group harmony was actualized in Han, Man, Hui, Meng and Zang. Moreover, Sun advocated that the five-group was belonged to the *Chinese nation* 中華民族 and such belief replaced the unilateral nationalism before. It helped the actualization of national unity. May Fourth Movement was a patriotic campaign. All people in China had a high national sentiment in which they took the initiative to protest on streets so as to show their discontent towards the powers due to their treatment in *Paris Peace Conference* 巴黎和會 and the incapability of warlord government. Apart from that, they initiated campaign to boycotted foreign goods and supported local ones. This greatly stimulated the national sentiment and was the climax of the development of nationalism. In comparison, the 'five-group harmony' put forward in the 1911 Revolution could help facilitating national amalgamation. It also consolidated the Principle of nationalism of the country. On the other hand, the May Fourth Movement was a catalyst of Chinese nationalism which could help awakening the ethnicity. This reflected that although the two movements had different impacts to the national aspect, they shared the same significance.

In the diplomatic aspect, the 1911 Revolution could not improve the diplomatic treatment received by China, the May Fourth Movement could on the other hand regained some interest of China. 1911 Revolution ended the ruling of Manchu Chinese. However, the revolutionists and Yuan Shikai afraid that the foreign powers would intervene the achievement of the revolution. Therefore, they recognized the unequal treaties signed by the Qing government before. It included the *Nanjing Treaty* 南京條約 and *Boxer Protocol* 辛丑條約. It did not improve the diplomatic treatment of China. Worse still, Yuan Shikai played the role of President after the revolution. He signed the *Twenty-One Demands* 廿一條 with Japan in 1915 in the hope of restoring monarchy by gaining Japan's support. The interests of China were once again betrayed and the status was even poorer. In opposite, the May Fourth Movement could successfully regain part of the interest of China. The May Fourth Movement opposed the unequal treatment of the foreign powers in the *Paris Peace Conference* 巴黎和會, in which the interest of Germany in China were transferred to Japan. Protests and demonstrations sparked off in China. As a result, in the *Washington Conference* 華盛頓會議 in 1921-22, the powers demanded Japan to hand in the interest in Shandong and part of the interests were regained. In comparison, the May Fourth Movement brought more positive impacts than 1911 Revolution in the diplomatic aspect. The government recognized the previous unequal treaties after 1911 Revolution in order to gain support from powers. However, the May Fourth Movement was solely initiated by people. They protested against the unequal treatment of powers and could successfully get back some of the interest from Japan in China.

To sum up, the 1911 Revolution and May Fourth Movement brought long-lasting impacts to China. In an overall view, the 1911 Revolution was a revolution in the system of China, and May Fourth Movement was a transformation in ideologies.

Words: 1599

Compare the Late Qing Reform (1901-11) and reforms introduced by the Nanjing government (1928-49) in terms of their effectiveness in modernizing China.

A modernized country or region must have got rid of backwardness and feudalism, being modern and civilized in nature. The Late Qing Reform and that of the Nanjing government had little contribution to China's modernization. But in comparison, the reform carried by the Nanjing government was unremarkably more effective than the Late Qing one. This essay is going to compare the effectiveness of the two reforms in political, economic, social, military, educational and diplomatic aspect.

Politically, both the reforms introduced by the two regimes did not modernize China effectively. The Late Qing Reform was an attempt at constitutional reform in China. This is supported by examples like the *Outline of Imperial Constitution* 欽定憲法大綱 promulgated in 1908, *provincial assemblies* 諮議局 established in 1909, *national assembly* 資政院 set up in 1910 and the formation of a *cabinet* 內閣 in 1911. However, the reform was aimed at keeping the Qing rule and therefore lacked democratic elements. This was manifested by the Royal Cabinet, in which 7 of the 13 members were from royal families, and the absence of a constitution before the collapse of the Qing dynasty. As for another reform, the Nanjing government followed the *Fundamentals of National Reconstruction* 建國大綱 proposed by Sun Yat-sen, transforming China step by step through the stages of military rule, political tutelage and constitution government. However, the formation of constitutional government was postponed until 1946 due to the Second Sino-Japanese War (1937-45). It was too late and the rule of the Nanjing government was approaching its end. Also, the people did not enjoy *suffrage* 投票 despite attempts at separation of powers. Electoral system was not established in China. In comparison, both reforms entailed attempts at promoting China's political modernization, but none of them was effective in realizing it. Democracy, as a feature of modernization, was never firmly established in China and the nation remained autocratic in nature. The effectiveness of these reforms was unsatisfactory.

Economically, the achievements of the Nanjing government's reform were apparently greater than those of the Late Qing Reform. The Qing government attempted at transforming China into a rich country. For example, it set up the *Ministry of Commerce* 商部 in 1903 to organize programmes for economic development. It also drafted commercial laws like the *Company Act* 公司章程 and the *Articles of Association* 公司律 with the hope of shaping a more business-friendly environment. But China was not economically modernized by the Reform. The Late Qing Reform was a piecemeal approach that was small in scale. It focused on coastal areas only, leaving rural and inland areas economically backward. Also, the introduction of foreign goods stifled the development of local industry. The environment was not business-friendly at all. As for the Nanjing government, it also did a lot to promote commercial reform. For instance, it reformed the monetary system by replacing silver dollars with *banknotes* 紙幣 in 1935. It also issued economic regulations like the *Exchange Act* 交易所法 and *Weights and Measures Act* 度量衡法. Nevertheless, genuine economic modernization did not take place in China. A small group of wealthy families (especially the *Four Big Families* 四大家族) held monopoly over China's economy, causing difficulties to the development of small and medium-sized enterprises. In addition, China, being an agrarian society, had its population mostly working in agriculture. But the productivity was low due to lack of machinery. It is true that both reforms failed to modernize China economically. In comparison, however, the reform introduced by the Nanjing government was more effective because development could be found in finance, transportation, communication, commerce and industry at that time. The situation was still better than the hardship under the Qing rule.

In social aspect, the Late Qing Reform was less effective than that of the Nanjing government. The Qing Court promulgated a series of new regulations, including prohibition of *foot binding* 纏足, *slavery* 奴隸 and *opium smoking* 吸食鴉片, permission for *Manzu-Han intermarriage* 滿漢通婚 and abolishment of salary system of the Manchu Bannermen. These were attempts at modernizing society. However, these reform programmes were not fully implemented and old thinking like social classes and gender inequality still existed with the prevalence of traditional and feudalistic thoughts. As for the Nanjing government, it also carried out reform for social modernization. For example, it passed the *People's Rights Ordinance* 民權法規 in 1929 to protect basic rights of citizens. Besides, it launched the *New Life Movement* 新生活運動 in 1934 and promoted traditional virtues like propriety and righteousness. The movement helped promote national awakening, social inclusion and consciousness of citizenship. In comparison, the reform of the Nanjing government was more effective because many evil practices, including opium smoking and slavery, that were not eradicated during Qing dynasty have been solved during the Nanjing government period. Therefore, it was more effective than the Late Qing Reform in facilitating the civilization of the society and promoting freedom.

In military aspect, both reforms failed to actualize military modernization. The Qing government attempted at enhancing China's military strength. The Late Qing Reform included creation of *provincial academies* 武備學堂(1901) and the *Bureau of Military Training* 練兵處 (1903). Officers were sent to Japan for training as well. Though the reform gave China the New Army of 270000 soldiers in 1911, it did not modernize China in military aspect. China remained weak in military strength and failed to resist enemies from the outside. For example, China failed to stop Japan and Russia from having a war in Chinese territory (1904-05). Besides, the central government had not enough military power to control local authorities and the New Army was nothing different from the private troop of *Yuan Shikai* 袁世凱. The army became the most powerful weapon for Yuan to arrange abdication of the Qing Emperor. As for the Nanjing government, it also implemented reform to strength China's military. It trained soldiers at the *Whampoa Military Academy* 黃埔軍校 and bought armaments from countries like the US and Britain. Despite the efforts, it did not make China a militarily modernized country. The Nanjing government was not strong enough to resolve internal disputes and eliminated the communists. It also failed to defend the country against external threats, which were the aggression of Japan exemplified by the *September 18th Incident* 九一八事件 and *July 7th Incident* 七七事件. In comparison, both reforms did not bring about military modernization in China and the country remained weak in military. China did not escape from lengthy wars and both reforms were not effective in this aspect.

In educational aspect, the Nanjing government had a more effective reform than the Qing Court. During the Late Qing Reform, the Qing government gave up the *eight-legged essay* 八股文 as an assessment tool (1902) and abolished the whole *civil service examination* 科舉 (1905). A modern school system, consisting of enlightenment, primary and secondary schools, and universities, was set up in 1902. But China did not become modernized because of the reform. The level of educational attainment was still low in China with serious illiteracy. Also, the new curriculum was strongly influenced by the old examination system and *Confucius ideas* 儒家學說 constituted most of the content. This kind of education failed to cultivate students' knowledge in science and humanities. As for the Nanjing government, it not only reformed some universities and higher educational institutions but also implemented the *Law of Compulsory Education* 義務教育法 in 1932, planning to provide free elementary education for citizens so that more people could be accessible to education. It also issued regulations for primary and secondary education and overseas study successively since 1933. After that, the educational system of China became much more sophisticated. In comparison, despite the untouched problem of serious illiteracy in the midst of the 1930s, the establishment and development of educational system did help modernize China's in educational aspect. The Nanjing government thus had a more effective reform than the Qing regime.

Diplomatically, the reform implemented by the Nanjing government was apparently greater than the Late Qing one. As a programme of the Late Qing Reform, the Qing government established the *Ministry of Foreign Affairs* 外交部 to replace the *Zongli Yamen* 總理衙門 upon the Western powers' request. But this did not modernize diplomatically and China remained its low international status. China was still bound by unequal treaties like the *Treaty of Shimonoseki* 馬關條約(1895) and *Boxer Protocol* 辛丑條約(1901), losing its *tariff autonomy* 關稅自主權 and *extraterritoriality* 治外法權. Concerning another reform, the Nanjing government tried hard to raise China's international status. It recovered the British concessions at *Hankou* 漢口 and *Xiamen* 廈門 in the period 1926-30 and retrieved *tariff autonomy* 關稅自主權 in 1930. After the Second World War, most of the unequal treaties were also abolished. In comparison, the Qing government brought about limited progress in modernization, while the Nanjing regime successfully raised China's international status and China was no longer treated unfairly by the Western powers. Therefore, the reform of the latter was more effective than that of the former.

In conclusion, the effectiveness of both the reforms in modernizing China has received mixed reviews. But after careful analysis, the reform introduced by the Nanjing government was slightly more effective than the Late Qing one in economic, social, educational and diplomatic aspects.

Words: 1475

Compare the Late Qing Reform and the 1911 Revolution as ways to promote China's transformation.

Transformation refers to a fundamental change that leads to a transition from one state to another with significant differences in the situations before and after. Both revolution and reform serve the purpose of replacing the old with the new, but their difference lies in the fact that a revolution brings about changes in a bottom-up movement while a reform is implemented by the one in power in a top-down manner. Both the Late Qing Reform and the 1911 Revolution were intended to bring about groundbreaking changes in China, and the following essay is going to compare them from political, economic, educational and diplomatic perspectives.

In political aspect, the Late Qing Reform was an attempt at constitutional monarchy while the 1911 Revolution was the more effective one with constitutional republic as its goal. The Late Qing Reform was an attempt to transform China into a country with constitutional monarchy with reforms implemented accordingly. For example, the *Outline of Constitution* 欽定憲法大綱 by Imperial Order was promulgated in 1908 as an announcement of a 9-year programme of constitutional preparation. *Provisional assemblies* 諮議局(1909), the *National Assembly* 資政院 (1910) and the *Cabinet* 內閣(1911) were also established to build up a constitutional regime step by step. In contrast, the 1911 Revolution was to overthrow the existing regime by revolutionary means and establish a constitutional republic elected by the people as an embodiment of 'democracy' 民權. As the starting point of the revolution, the *Wuchang Uprising* 武昌起義 was staged by the New Army under the influence of Sun Yat-sen's revolutionary ideas. As a result, there was a wave of independence among different provinces of the country and the Qing Emperor was forced to abdicate with the *Republic of China* 中華民國 established as an attempt to build a constitutional republic. To compare the two efforts in terms of their ideologies, the Qing Reform attempted to introduce a constitution while retaining the monarchical system, but the 1911 Revolution was intended to abolish monarchy and build a constitutional republic. Also, in terms of effectiveness, the Late Qing Reform failed to replace the old with the new and even attracted criticisms for its goal of consolidating the imperial office, leading to the downfall of the Qing Dynasty; meanwhile, the 1911 Revolution ended the 2000-year monarchy despite the fact that no new system in the form of constitutional republic was established right after. Achieving the goal of replacing the old, it had greater effectiveness than the Late Qing Reform.

In economic aspect, the Late Qing Reform revolutionized China's economy by boosting industrial and commercial development while the 1911 Revolution improved people's livelihood by distributing land equally, and the Late Qing Reform was more effective than the other. The Late Qing Reform greatly promoted industrial and commercial development through laws and regulations promulgated by the central government. These efforts included different commercial laws such as the *Company Act* 公司律 and the *Articles of Association* 公司章程 for a more business-friendly environment, and the establishment of the banking system for greater support for small and medium-sized enterprises. In addition, the Reform entailed the plan of railway development as a way to promote economic growth and the railway nationalization attempt in 1911. It was clear that the Late Qing Reform came with great emphasis on industrial and commercial development. In contrast, the economic emphasis of the 1911 Revolution was placed on agriculture. Given that most of the Chinese population engaged in agricultural activities, the revolutionaries proposed the principle of 'people's livelihood' 民生 in order to improve peasants' livelihood and enlist their support. They aimed at stimulating agricultural development through equalization of land rights with land from rich landlords distributed to poor and *tenant peasants* 佃農. To compare the two efforts in terms of their scopes, the Late Qing Reform aimed at making China's economy strong through industrial and commercial development, but the 1911 Revolution put most efforts into agriculture that was related to most of the population, demonstrating clear differences in their strategies. Also, in terms of effectiveness, both efforts were inadequately effective in boosting economic development, but the Late Qing Reform at least revolutionized China's commercial legislation that was followed by the Nanjing government, while the 1911 Revolution failed to fulfill the goal of 'people's livelihood' by distributing land equally and even created political instability that worked against economic development. Therefore, economically speaking, the Late Qing Reform brought about economic transformation more than the 1911 Revolution did.

In social aspect, the Late Qing Reform tried to transform China in a top-down manner while the 1911 Revolution was a more effective attempt to transform the country in a bottom-up manner. In the early 20th century, the Qing Court as the one in power promulgated nationwide social reforms such as freeing women from *foot-binding* 纏足, allowing *Manzu-Han intermarriage* 滿漢通婚, illegalizing *opium-smoking* 吸食鴉片, abolishing the *salary system of Qing Bannermen* 清旗人俸祿 and forbidding *slavery* 奴隸 in an effort to modernize Chinese society. In contrast, the 1911 Revolution was started by Sun Yat-sen among the people. As early as 1895, he put forward the nationalist slogan of 'expel the Northern barbarians' when establishing the *Xingzhonghui* 興中會. The success of the Revolution marked the rises up in revolt against the existing authorities, followed by proactive efforts to abolish social evil practices such as *removing pigtails* 剪辮 among men. In addition, Sun advocated *five-group harmony* 五族共和 during the Revolution and received enthusiastic support from different races oppressed by the Qing rulers, contributing to racial equality in society. To compare the two efforts in terms of form, the top-down Late Qing Reform with low spontaneity contrasted with the bottom-up 1911 Revolution with high spontaneity. Also, in terms of extent, the Late Qing Reform was not supported by the people wholeheartedly with their low spontaneity and many of the reform measures were ineffective, including the ban on slavery and opium-smoking. On the contrary, as for the 1911 Revolution, people were more involved in social reforms and, as a result, more open to foreign things and ideas. With the changes in social customs, the Revolution replaced the old with the new to a certain extent and was more effective than the Late Qing Reform.

In diplomatic aspect, the Late Qing Reform and the 1911 Revolution were ineffective attempts to change China's international status through negotiations. As for the Late Qing Reform, the *Ministry of Foreign Affairs* 外交部 was established in 1901 to replace *Zongli Yamen* 總理衙門 as a specialized agency to deal with China's foreign affairs in an attempt to rectify China's unfair treatment through communication. In addition, before the *Russo-Japanese War* 日俄戰爭 broke out on Chinese soil in 1904, China sent officials to mediate between them in a neutral position to prevent a war in China, intending to deal with the problem through communication. As for the 1911 Revolution, before its success, Sun Yat-sen had already travelled to many countries to ask for support; and after that, the *revolutionaries* 革命黨 and *Yuan Shikai* 袁世凱 also requested the powers to maintain their neutrality and their status quo in China with respect to China's internal affairs by not invading when the country was off guard. To compare the two efforts in terms of their approaches, only peaceful negotiations were adopted in both attempts as a means to change China's unfair treatment. However, in terms of effectiveness, both of them were inadequately effective. As for the Late Qing Reform, China remained treated unfairly as a sub-colony. Meanwhile, after the 1911 Revolution, the revolutionaries and Yuan did not struggle hard against unequal treaties in a bid for foreign recognition of the Republic with tariffs and extraterritorial rights controlled by the powers. Japan even strengthened its control over China later by forcing it to sign the Twenty-One Demands. China remained treated unfairly by foreign countries. Therefore, both peaceful attempts with concessions and negotiations failed to bring diplomatic transformation to China.

In conclusion, both the Late Qing Reform and the 1911 Revolution were attempts to bring about groundbreaking changes and modernization in China, but different approaches were adopted and their effectiveness in transforming the country varied in different aspects. In the end, China remained autocratic, feudalistic and backwardness after the two efforts.

Words: 1331

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China has been struggling for transforming herself through different revolutions and reforms in the 20th century. And it is going to use May 4th Campaign as the revolution example and Nanjing Government Reform as reform example to compare revolution and reforms in transforming China in political, economic and diplomatic aspect as follows.

First, in terms of political aspect, both reforms and revolution impact very little to the political transformation in China. Chinese political condition has been autocratic and chaotic with different warlords and powers in the country, which may not listen to the central government. For example, in terms of revolution, May 4th Movement, students and society protested against the warlord “Beiyang” government for its autocracy and ineffectiveness. They demanded a greater degree of freedom and political reforms to grant democracy to the people. However, they voices was suppressed by the government and the government did not listen to them but arrested the participants, like Chen Duxiu was arrested for 5 times as he criticized the Beiyang Government. Democracy and greater degree of freedom did not grant to people. China still remained autocratic and under warlords’ rule. May 4th Campaign did not transform China politically.

In terms of reforms, Nanjing government also impacted a little in transforming Chinese autocratic and chaotic political situation. Although Nanjing government superficially follow Dr. Sun’s fundamentals of National Reconstruction to build up Chinese democracy and even passed “People Rights Ordinance” to protect human rights. However, Nanjing government reforms was actually autocratic. For example, Nanjing Government did not allow the Communist Party existence and use powerful military to purge them. The government also lack democratic elements because of the absence of election. Nanjing Government even failed to control the national situation whereas Outer Mongolia was independent, Tibet was not controlled by Nanjing and Communist also occupied some land in Jiangxi. In comparison, both May 4th Campaign and Nanjing Reform failed to bring new situation to China and failed to sweep off Chinese political features of autocracy and China could not be under one central government. After the May 4th Campaign, China still under warlords rule until the success of North Expedition while Nanjing Reform could carry put the Constitution after the Second World War but it was ended quickly with the

Civil War. It shows that both revolution and reforms failed to transform Chinese politics.

In terms of economy, reforms had greater impacts to transform China than the revolution. Chinese economy had been very weak with the indemnity to be paid and foreign economic invasion with tariffs. In May 4th Campaign, people were encouraged to support the national goods to support local industry development. For example, Society for The Use of National Goods were founded to encourage people buy national goods. It helps Chinese industry to some extent. But it failed to transform China after the campaign Chinese economy still remained weak and under control of the foreign. For example, 70% of the national capital were occupied by foreign countries but less than 30% are occupied by Chinese industry. It shows that Chinese economy did not transform.

In terms of reforms, Nanjing Government helped to improve Chinese economy and transform it. Nanjing Government introduced series of financial reforms such as replacing the silver tales with banknotes and issuing series of commercial laws such as “Company Act” and build Guangdong Hankou Railway. It helped to facilitate the Chinese economy and thrive Chinese industry by establishing a more comprehensive and solid business environment and led to “Golden Ten Years” . In comparison, May 4th Campaign encouraged people to support Chinese local goods and industry by products, but the general economic condition remain unchanged, economy of China remain weak. In terms of Nanjing reforms, the relatively stable environment made the government successfully carried out economic reform and facilitates building, shaping a better business environment and improve the economy with “Ten Golden years”. It shows that reform is more effective in transforming Chinese economy than revolution.

In terms of diplomatic aspect, reforms was more effective to transform China than revolution. In early to mid 20th century, China had a very low status in international society and sovereignty was infringed by foreign countries by unequal treaties like Nanjing Treaty and Beijing Treaty and they still took effect in Republic era. In terms of May 4th Movement, people protested and strive to take back Shandong interests in Paris Peace Conference and successfully forced the government reject to sign the peace treaty as a kind of protest to the international society. Chinese government even successfully regained Shandong in Washington Conference in 1922 due to the movement. It shows revolution had good impact on improving diplomatic status. Although Shandong was taken back, Chinese sovereignty was still greatly damaged

by foreign with extraterritoriality, the ceded land and not self- controlled tariff. The May 4th Movement actually did not transform Chinese diplomatic status, China remained low status.

In terms Nanjing Reform, it successfully raised Chinese diplomatic status and transformed China. Nanjing government first took back Xiamen and Hankou from the UK in the 1930s and regain tariff autonomy from foreign countries, improving the Chinese diplomatic status by removing unequal treaties. In 1943 China even recovered all lost land (except those occupied by Japan) from the powers and establish equal diplomatic relations with Belgium, Britain and USA. After the Second World War, China even became one of the permeant members of the Security Council for united Nations. China diplomatic status raised dramatically.

In comparison, May 4th Movement impact very little to Chinese diplomatic status and only regain Shandong but did not raise Chinese international status. but Nanjing Government successfully regained all the occupied land from the foreign power and re- established equal diplomatic relationships with powers add even became 1 of the “5 big countries” in UN. It shows that Nanjing reforms successfully and greatly improve Chinese diplomatic status and impact much more than May 4th. t shows that reforms is more effective in transforming Chinese diplomacy.

All in all, reforms and revolution both impacted China, but reforms transformed China in more aspects than revolution

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Revolution, refer to from bottom to top movement while reform refer to a from top to bottom movement as a means of transformation. In the following, I would choose 1911 revolution and Nanjing government reform as comparison in political, economic, social and diplomatic aspect. Although both have very limited effect in transforming China. In deeper inspection, Nanjing government was a more effective means.

Politically, 1911 revolution was a revolution from bottom to top against autocratic monarchy while Nanjing government reform was from top to bottom reform building constitutional republic. In terms of 1911 revolution, it aimed at fight against China 2000-year monarchy rule to transform China from autocratic rule to democratic ruling by abdicate the late Qing emperor. It was successful to end late Qing ruling. However, after 1911 revolution, Yuan ShiKai and Zhang Xun tried to restore monarchy and China was struggled in chaotic warlordism. It failed to form a democratic government. On the other hand, Nanjing government reform aimed to transform China from chaotic warlordism ruling to political tutelage to established a constitutional republic and upheld the three-people principle. Five power system was built under the president. However, China was still under one-party dictatorship and did not have electoral system. The constitution could not adopt due to Japanese invasion until 1940s. in comparison, 1911 revolution was a means of transformation from Chinese monarchy to democratic rule but failed to achieve it. It was an attempt from the citizens to the incumbent while Nanjing government reform was a reform initiated from incumbent but also failed to establish a democratic and multi-party rule, such as Nanjing government purging communists. However, Nanjing government had a larger effectiveness as setting up a constitution in China than 1911 revolution.

Economically, 1911 revolution was an attempt from citizens with rough planning to improve livelihood but failed while Nanjing government reform was a more effective means with better planning. From the perspective of 1911 revolution, it aimed at upheld livelihood in three people's principle and implemented land reform by redistributing land to farmers. However, it was a failure by limited planning and chaotic warlordism it led. Farmers were still suffered from the heavy tax collected by warlord and could not live a healthy life. On the other

hand, Nanjing government reform was a means of transformation with well-planned. The reform contained established banking system, set up exchange act, measure act, turning silver tales to banknotes, building Guangzhou-Hankou railway. More thorough planning was set up. However, it also had limited effect in transforming China like the domination of big four families and serious corruption was happened. Comparatively speaking, although Nanjing government reform could not have a fundamental change in China economy and improved livelihood. It still performed better than 1911 revolution. Also, since the revolution was initiated by ordinary citizens effective planning and measures was hard to realize, so Nanjing government reform had a better planning than 1911 revolution as a means of transformation.

Socially, 1911 revolution aimed at transform on the ethnic aspect while Nanjing government focused on people's misbehavior. 1911 revolution aimed to upheld nationalism in three people principles set by Sun Yat-Xin and introduced five group harmony between different races and promoted ethnic equality. It was successful in this aspect to transform the races discrimination. On the other hand, Nanjing government reform focused on the social misbehavior transformation. It introduced New Cultural Movement and promoted traditional idea like "li, yi, lian, chi" and banned misbehavior like opium smoking. It promoted cooperation and conscious spirit of citizens to led a better life. It was quite successful to combat the misbehavior and introduced a fundamental change. In comparison, although 1911 revolution had measure on combating social misbehavior but it was less effective and the transformation on five group harmonies was more significant. While Nanjing government reform had greater effectiveness in transforming social misbehavior than 1911 revolution.

Diplomatically, 1911 revolution aimed to increase international status but failed while Nanjing government reform could get back the sovereignty and more successful in this aspect. 1911 revolution wanted to upheld nationalism and get rid of western power exploitation. However, it was not successful to transform China to a diplomatically strong power. Foreign influence was still serious in China like the extraterritoriality in China was given to foreign powers. On the other hand, Nanjing government reform was more effective and could get back all sovereignty in 1943 like collected back British concession in Xiamen and hangout and tariff autonomy. However, China international status was still very low with foreign discrimination and suffered Japanese invasion in 1940s. Comparatively speaking, 1911 revolution wanted to increase Chinese international status without successful planning.

Generally, revolution adopter likes Yuan will eager to have western power recognized the status of the China like yuan did so they were less confident in bargaining with the foreign power like yuan signing Twenty-One Demand. However, reformers had better courage and determination in this aspect and turned out Nanjing government reform had greater effectiveness in this aspect than 1911 revolution.

To sum up, although both reform and revolution in China failed to transform China in many aspects, Nanjing government reform generally had greater effectiveness and well-planned.

Words: 856

‘Revolution was more effective than reform in achieving modernization.’ Do you agree? Explain your answer with reference to the history of China in the period 1900-49.

Both “revolution” and “reform” have the same target. They hope to destroy the old and establish the new, bringing innovation to the situation. Yet the difference between them is that “revolution” brings changes from bottom to top, whilst “reform” is carried out by the incumbent from top to bottom. In the first half of the 20th century, revolution mainly included the 1911 Revolution, the May Fourth Movement and the Communist Revolution, whereas reform primarily included the Late Qing Reform and the reforms of the Nanjing government. In terms of achieving modernization in China, revolution was more effective than reform in social aspect. However, in political aspect, revolution had similar effectiveness with reform. In economic and diplomatic aspects, revolution was even less effective to reform. Therefore, to a small extent, I agree with the statement.

In social aspect, revolution had greater effectiveness than that of reform in achieving modernization in China as it could awaken people’s civic awareness more. Undoubtedly, reform could get rid of some undesirable social customs. For example, the *ban of Manzu-Han intermarriage* 禁止滿漢通婚 was lifted in the Late Qing Reform and *foot-binding* 纏足 and *opium-smoking* 鴉片 were prohibited in the reform of Nanjing government. The *New Life Movement* 新生活運動 was launched in 1934, which promoted the Confucian virtues of “propriety, righteousness, honesty and the sense of shame” (li, yi, lian, chi), arousing mass consciousness, the spirit of cooperation and civil awareness. However, revolution was more significant than reform in achieving social modernization. After the 1911 Revolution, Sun Yat-sen proposed the “*five-group harmony* 五族共和”, which was an important step to equal and harmonious coexistence of different races in China, and respect ethnic diversity. Later, the large scale protest during the May Fourth Movement became the model of citizens’ movement. People joining citizens’ movements more voluntarily later, such as movements against *prostitution* 娼妓 and *exploitation of foreign industries* 外國工廠剝削. Civic awareness of the Chinese was raised. By comparison, as reform was carried out from bottom to top which people join it voluntarily to make changes, people’s civic awareness was raised greatly. The spirit of the May Fourth Movement still passed down to us now. On the contrary, reform was carried out from top to bottom, therefore people’s incentives to join was lower. The effectiveness of reform was not as good as that of revolution.

As shown above, revolution was more effective than reform in achieving social modernization in China. Yet, in political, economic and diplomatic aspect, revolution was not more effective than reform.

In political aspect, both reform and revolution had low effectiveness in achieving political modernization in China. For reform, the late Qing government and the Nanjing government made efforts to attain political modernization. For example, the late Qing government attempted to carry out constitutional reform. *Provincial assemblies* 諮議局, the *National Assembly* 資政院 and the *cabinet* 內閣 were established, trying to turn China into a country with constitutional monarchy. The Nanjing government adopted the *five-power system* 五權分立, and try to turn China into a republican country gradually according to Sun Yat-sen's '*Fundamentals of National Reconstruction* 五權分立'. For revolution, the 1911 Revolution successfully ended the 2000-year monarchy and established the first republic, breaking the old politics of China. The Communist Revolution led by Mao Zedong also ended the rule of the Nanjing government. In 1949, the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) set up the People's Republic of China, starting new politic rule in China. Yet, both reform and revolution lacked effectiveness in achieving political modernization in China. This was because, first, the constitutional reform in late Qing was just trying to carry out *centralization* 中央集權 and consolidate the power of the emperor. Second, the Nanjing government also *ruled China by one party* 一黨治國 and it tried to exterminate the CCP continuously. On the other hand, although the 1911 Revolution ended the monarchy, democratic system was not established. Even worse, China fell into the dictatorship of *Yuan Shikai* 袁世凱. Revolution was not successful. As for the Communist Revolution, although it was successful, it was an autocratic political system, which violated democratic politics which were considered as modernized. Therefore, by looking at the overview of the political development in China in the first half of the 20th century, China was still in autocratic rule, so both reform and revolution had low effectiveness.

In economic aspect, revolution was not more effective than reform in attaining modernization. Undoubtedly, revolution had certain effectiveness in promoting economic modernization in China. For instance, after the 1911 Revolution, national enterprises sprouted up. Also, overseas Chinese had high hopes for the new China and returned, helping *national enterprises* 民族企業 to develop rapidly. During the May Fourth Movement, people supported local goods and boycotted the foreign ones. For example, the *Society for the Use of National Goods* 勸用國貨會 was set up in Shanghai in 1915, which helped the development of national enterprises. Yet, the effectiveness of reform was even greater. For example, in Late Qing period, commercial laws such as the *Company Act* 公司律 and the *Articles of Association* 公司章程 were drafted, reforming commercial laws in China. Later, the Nanjing government pushed forward economic reforms. It reformed the monetary system by replacing silver dollars with *banknotes* 紙幣 in 1935. At the same time, it assisted local industries and extended railways like the *Guangdong-Hankou Railway* 粵漢鐵路 opened in 1936, which helped develop the industry. It was called the “*Golden Ten Years* 黃金十年” of the economy in China. The effectiveness was quite great. By comparison, the effectiveness of revolution was lower because economic modernization relied more on central planning by the government. Measures could be carried out by the government to create beneficial business environment. Revolution itself would cause political chaos, which was not beneficial to economic development so it was less effective. On the contrary, reform could meet the criteria mentioned above more than revolution did. The reforms on *commercial laws* 商業法則 and *monetary system* 貨幣制度 by the Late Qing government and the Nanjing government reached brilliant effectiveness as they could destroy the old and establish the new, which were more effective in attaining economic modernization in China.

In diplomatic aspect, revolution was not more effective than reform in achieving modernization. Admitted, revolution could raise the diplomatic status of China. For instance, in the *May Fourth Movement* 五四運動, due to the strong protest, the Western powers revised the decision about Shandong problem in the *Washington Conference* 華盛頓會議(1921-22). Japan's rights were abolished, which restored the sovereignty of China. Yet, reform was more effective in attaining diplomatic modernization in China. Although the Ministry of Foreign Affairs which was set up in the Late Qing reform was not significant to diplomatic modernization in China, the reform by the Nanjing government did. In the period of Nanjing government, it endeavored to raise the international status of China and abolish the unequal treaties of the foreign countries in China. For example, it recovered British concessions at *Hankou* 漢口 and *Xiamen* 廈門 during 1926-30. *Tariff autonomy* 關稅自主權 was recognised in 1930. China successfully recover all sovereign rights in 1943 and regain its independence in sovereignty, realizing equal diplomacy in China and reaching modernization. By comparison, revolution had limited effectiveness in achieving diplomatic modernization in China. This was because, in the 1911 Revolution, *Yuan Shikai* 袁世凱 and the revolutionaries dared not to demand foreign powers to abolish the unequal treaties in an attempt to fight for the recognition of the Republic of China from the foreign powers. As for the May Fourth Movement, only the right of Shandong was regained. On the contrary, the reform by the Nanjing government could successfully resume all the sovereignty. Constraints which were set by the unequal treaties to China were abolished, helping China realize diplomatic modernization. Therefore, reform had greater effectiveness than revolution.

All in all, although both revolution and reform had limited effectiveness in facilitating modernization in China in the first half of the 20th century, the effectiveness of revolution was lower than that of reform by careful comparison. Therefore, to a small extent, the statement is valid.

Words: 1298

‘Both the Late Qing Reform (1901-12) and the reform of the Nanjing Nationalist Government (1928-37) aimed at promoting economic development more than political development.’ Comment on the validity of this statement.

The Late Qing and Nanjing government had put forward great reform in China during their governance. But both regime emphasised on economic development more than political development. While they endeavoured to rescue China from its economic plight and develop a modernised business environment, they showed little regard to the development of Chinese political institutions and systems. Therefore, the statement is valid. Below, this essay will justify this claim based on the rationale, content of reform and its result of the two reforms.

In terms of their rationale, both the Late Qing and Nanjing government were forced to reform because of the political pressure they faced. In terms of Late Qing government. On the one hand, she was threatened by the prevailing revolutionary campaign championed by Dr.Sun Yat Sen, as Sun established the *Tung Men Hui* 同盟會(1905), bringing about the solidarity of the revolutionary camp. Meanwhile, Japan, adopting a constitutional government, defeated the autocratic Russia in the *Russo-Japanese War* 日俄戰爭 of 1905. The demand for constitutional reform became increasingly popular in China. Under such circumstances, the Late Qing government introduced constitutional reform to regain public’s support and consolidate its rule from 1905 onward. In terms of the Nanjing government, though the 1911 revolution overthrew the Qing government. But the Republic of China merely established a formative democratic rule with no genuine achievement. It was even subjected to the autocratic rule of Yuan Shi Kai and other warlords. As such, Sun drafted the “*Principles of National Reconstruction* 建國大綱” in 1924, in which he divided the formation of states into military rule, political tutelage and constitutional rule. He aspires to overthrow the dictatorial warlord politics and gradually establish a democratic China.

Economic pressure is also a profound force that drove the two governments to reform. In terms of Late Qing government, it was subjected to a disastrous economic devastation since late 19th century. External wars forced the Qing government went into the red, for instance, in the *First Sino-Japanese War* 甲午戰爭, China has to pay an indemnity of 2 billion silver taels, while the defeat in the *Eight Nation Expedition War* 八國聯軍 forced her to pay a reparation of 4.5 billion silver taels. The right to impose tariff and salt tax was fallen to the grip of the powers, while enormous amount of foreign goods was sold in China, which ultimately caused a fatal blow to the amateur local industries. Worse still, natural disasters also incurred a detrimental impact to society. Frequent floods in early 20th century led to a shortage of food. Public discontent consequently went rampant and forced the Qing government to introduce immediate economic reform to maintain its rule. In terms of Nanjing government, it also faces enormous economic pressure. Years of prolonged wars, including the conflicts between warlords in the 1910s, and the *KMT's Northern Expedition effort* 國民黨北伐 in the 1920s resulted in the destruction of factories and agricultural lands. Economic production was severely interrupted. People's livelihood suffered. Worse still, *tariff* 關稅 was still manipulated by the powers, and foreign goods could be sold in China in great volume, e.g foreign capital accounted for 70% of the aggregate capital of the entire nation. But national capital only accounted for a figure of less than 30%. Therefore, the top priority for the Nanjing government is to revitalise the economy, assist the development of national corporations and bring about prosperity after the success of the Northern Expedition Campaign of 1928.

In comparison, both regimes has prioritized their economies over political development. In terms of the degree of *threat* 威脅性, the hierarchies and obedience emphasised by Confucianism which is deeply rooted in the minds of Chinese has made liberal democratic values irrelevant to them. On the contrary, economic and agricultural issues are closely related to the people. Looking back to Chinese tradition, most revolutionary campaigns launched by the Chinese only took place when there was economic devastation. Should people's livelihood be well-protected, there would be no desire to resort revolutions. Therefore, both Late Qing and the Nanjing government intended to cope with the threat posed by economic problems. Only when the economy flourished, could the two regimes maintain their authority. As such, inferring from the rationale of reforms, the two regimes prioritised economic development over political development.

In terms of the content of reform, the two governments made major achievement in political aspect. During the Qing Dynasty, the government sent 5 ministers to Britain, France, Japan, Germany, and America in 1905 to investigate their constitutional system. Later in 1908, “*Outline of Imperial Constitution* 欽定憲法大綱” was introduced, declaring a constitution would be drafted in 9 years. *Provincial assemblies* 諮議局 (1909), *National Assembly* 資政院 (1910) and the *Cabinet* 內閣 (1911) were later set up to formulate a *constitutional monarchy system* 君主立憲制度. In terms of the southern government, it intended to gradually transform China from *military rule* 軍政, *political tutelage* 訓政 to *constitutional rule* 憲政 based on Sun’s vision in the “*Principles of National Reconstruction* 建國大綱”. By promulgating a constitution, it is hoped that there is a separation of powers and division of powers between the Five executive, legislative, judiciary, control and examination yuan. People’s give “four rights” of *election* 選舉, *recall* 罷免, *initiative* 創制, and *referendum* 複決. Sun’s imagination of a “perfect government” is hoped to be established.

Both governments also invested loads of effort on economic reform. In terms of the late Qing government, it set up Ministry of Agriculture, Industry and Commerce in 1903 in order to coordinate economic affairs. They then started to establish the bank system, and to draft business laws, like “*Company Act* 公司律” and “*Articles of Association* 公司章程”, which attempts to boost the development of the business and financial sectors in China. Furthermore, a *focus group* 專職小組 was set up in 1909 to balance the central and regional budget in the hope of improving the budget deficit of the Central government. Chinese economy was in many ways transformed under the effort of the Late Qing government. In terms of the Nanjing government, economic policies were widely introduced after the successful Northern Expedition Campaign in 1928. For instance, it entered into negotiations with the foreign powers to reclaim the *autonomy over tariffs* 關稅自主權. Such autonomy was gradually recovered since 1928. This successfully relieved the pressure on domestic industries caused by dumping of foreign goods. In terms of the financial industry, the *Central Bank* 中央銀行 was set up in 1928 to manage the development of the financial industry, as well as the gradual abolition of silver tael and silver coins and the introduction of bank notes, fostering market transaction. In terms of the industrial sector, National Railway Bureau, set up in 1928 has enhanced the railway development. An array of economic regulations, like the *Exchange Act* 交易所法 and *Weights and Measures Act* 度量衡法, in order to create a friendly economic environment. The Nanjing government has spared no effort to promote a series of economic reforms. Changes in policies blossomed in China.

In comparison, both regimes has obviously prioritized economic over political development. In terms of *sincerity* 誠意, both regimes has lacked sincerity in political reform. Policies from the late Qing government were mostly aimed to strengthen the monarchical rule. For example, 7 out of 13 cabinet members are from the royal families, which was later illiterate as the “royal cabinet 皇族內閣”. Also, although the Nanjing government has attempted to implement constitutional rule, it purged on the Chinese Communist at the same time. Both regimes maintained its autocratic rule, and that reforms are formative, with no genuine change in nature of governance. There is a lack of sincerity. . On the contrary, both regimes has put enormous effort on reforming their economies. In particular, following the success of the Northern Expedition campaign in 1928, the Nanjing government swiftly introduced a comprehensive reform, with measures covering trade, industrial and financial sectors. There is adequate sincerity, and a great desire to implement the reforms. Therefore, from the substances of reform, it can be observed that the two regimes prioritized economic over political development as their goals.

In terms of result, both the Late Qing and Nanjing government showed little focus on political development. Due to the lack of sincerity in reform, it stipulated a nine-year period of drafting the constitution in the “Outline of Imperial Constitution 欽定憲制大綱”, and reiterated the supremacy of the imperial authority. This consequently shattered more people’s faith in constitutional reform, and forced them to resort to support the revolutionaries. After the 191 Revolution, in the dire hope of soliciting public support, it urgently promulgated the “Nineteen Constitutional Articles 君主立憲重大條款”. Regardless, the declaration itself also stressed that “The Emperor is sacred and infringeable”, reflecting that it had no intention to put forward genuine constitutional reform. As the reform is superficial and deceiving, the government eventually lost its legitimacy and was overthrown. Regarding the Nanjing government, it was inefficient in political reform. After the success of the Northern Expedition Campaign of 1928, the administration did not actively implement political reform. Only until 1936 did it introduce the *drafted version of the Constitution* 憲法草案. Constitutional development was disappointingly and unrealistically slow. Eventually, even when the Nanjing government had to move its capital in 1937 due to the Japanese invasion, the real constitution was never introduced. Based on the failure of delivering a constitutional system, it can be reasonably inferred that the Nanjing government was not committed to political reform.

On the contrary, in terms of the outcome, it could be seen that both the Late Qing and Nanjing government strongly emphasized economic development. In terms of the Late Qing government, it abandoned its previous dogmatic approach of monopolizing the economy by *appointing government officials to run businesses* 官督商辦. Rather, it started to encourage and commend the emergence of private capital. From 1895 to 1913, the national industrial capital increased by 15% per year. National industrial and mining enterprises sharply rose from 156 in 1901 to 700 in 1911. This led to a change in the Chinese economic structure: From the previous traditional structure towards modernized commercial and industrial development. In terms of the Nanjing government, its economic achievement was stunning and was even hailed as the “Golden Decade 黃金十年”. Overall, the aggregate value of national industry rose at an annual growth rate of 8.4% from 1927-1938. Besides, the unwavering effort of the Nanjing government was manifested in different aspects. For example, in terms of railway, the total length of railway in China increased from 8000km in 1928 to 13000 km in 1936; in terms of bank, the number of commercial banks skyrocketed from 57 in 1927 to 146 in 1936. The result of the Nanjing government was remarkable. Thanks to its prioritization of economic development, did it successfully create the “Golden Decade”.

In comparison, both regimes prioritized economic over political development. In terms of its *effectiveness* 成效, both regimes were insincere in political reform, resulting in inefficiency. Eventually, no constitutional rule was actualized before the Late Qing government collapsed and the Nanjing government moved to another capital. Reform was proposed but never realized. Failure was the only outcome. In contrast, the two regimes did their utmost in economic reform. The Late Qing regime facilitated the early phase of commercial and industrial development of China, while the Nanjing government further consolidated the foundation of industrial and economic modernization. This shows that the two governments aimed to promote economic more than political development.

In conclusion, political development was barely significant to the two regimes. But economic development remained to be a top priority to them. Therefore, the statement is valid.

Words: 1874

Could China be regarded as a 'power' in the first half of the 20th century? Explain your answer.

'Power', as its name suggests, refers to a country that is powerful. It can be defined in two ways. One is hard power in economic, military and other terms, which means it should be rich and strong. Another is soft power in political, educational and other aspects, which means it should enjoy significant influence and progress that allow it to survive in the international arena and even shape worldwide development. Failing to satisfy the criteria of a power in the said aspects, China could not be regarded as a 'power' in the first half of the 20th century.

In economic aspect, China did not satisfy the criteria of a 'power'. An economic power should be abundantly prosperous and rank high for different industries in its economy. It was true that in the first half of the 20th century, different Chinese regimes implemented various economic reforms, including rail network development under the Late Qing Reform, and financial and industrial development during the Nanjing decade (1927-37), which was even dubbed *'the Golden decade 黃金十年'*. However, China at that time still had a long way to go before turning into an 'economic power'. In terms of prosperity, people's livelihood in China was far from prosperous, and there were several famines due to drought (Northern China) and flooding (Yangtze River Basin) that caused difficulties in meeting basic needs. Also, China was bound by various unequal treaties to repay indemnity far beyond its affordability, as exemplified by the 450 million taels to be paid under the *Boxer Protocol 辛丑條約*. This drained the treasury and made China more distant from being a wealthy nation. In terms of economic output, more than 80% of the Chinese population practiced agriculture in the period concerned, but the traditional smallholding pattern endured, under which agricultural productivity remained low without mechanization or the use of technology. Agricultural backwardness remained a serious problem. Worse still, China in the first half of the 20th century was characterized by recurrent wars with the chaotic *Warlord 軍閥* Era coming first, the *Chinese Civil War 國共內戰* next, and external threats from Japan as well. These caused destruction of factories and farmland and a fall in output, keeping China further away from the world's top ranks. Therefore, China could not be regarded as a power in economic aspect in the period concerned.

In military aspect, China had inferior military strength and could not be regarded as a power. A military power should possess state-of-the-art armaments and be capable of guaranteeing internal security and external defense. It was true that in the first half of the 20th century, different Chinese regimes made various efforts to enhance the country's military capability. For instance, the *Bureau of Military Training* 練兵處 (1903) and the *Whampoa Military Academy* 黃埔軍校 (1924) were established by the Qing Court and Kuomintang respectively to train a modern army. Nevertheless, China remained militarily incompetent. In terms of armaments, China relied on arms imports and lacked military aircrafts and battleships, falling behind other countries with its military equipment. Worse still, in terms of internal disputes, the *New Army* 新軍 built up during the Late Qing Reform became the private troops of Yuan Shikai as a useful weapon to force the Qing Emperor to abdicate. Also, the military strength during the Nanjing decade fell short of what was needed to defeat the Communist Party completely and this left a chance for the communists to launch a counterattack later. As for external threats, China was too weak to resist foreign aggression. For example, Japan made repeated intrusions into China's territory in the early 1930s with the *September 18th Incident* 九一八事件 (1931) and *January 28th Incident* 一二八事件 (1932), and it even started its full-scale invasion of China in 1937. The Nationalist and Communist forces kept on retreating in defeat. Although Japan ended up surrendering in 1945, the US got credit for that because Japan was defeated thanks to America's fatal blow delivered during the Pacific War, and the result was mainly not the work of the Chinese army. Therefore, China could not be regarded as a power in the period concerned due to its military incapacity.

Not only did China fail to satisfy the criteria of a power in terms of hard power in economic and military terms, it was also not modernized in political and educational aspects.

In political aspect, China did not qualify as a power with its insignificant political influence. A political power should enjoy political influence enough to play a key role in international affairs. China had the name of '*Celestial Empire* 天朝大國' back in the day but it had been on decline since the 18th century, with shrinking political influence not enough to make an impact on the development of neighbouring regions and save it from being ravaged by foreign powers and losing its sovereignty. For example, Japan forced China to sign the *Twenty One Demands* 廿一條 in 1915 as an attempt to make China its protectorate. Afterwards, China attended the *Paris Peace Conference* 巴黎和會 of 1919 as a victorious country but was treated as if it was defeated. The powers transferred the German interests in Shandong, China to Japan, and China could say nothing but accept this humiliating arrangement. Even after the Second World War, there was still foreign intervention in China's internal affairs, as exemplified by the *Chinese Civil War* 國共內戰(1946-49) in which the US and the USSR supported the Kuomintang and the Chinese Communist Party respectively and made China their remote battleground during the Cold War. In other words, China did not only fail to exert significant influence on global issues but also fall prey to foreign aggression. Being in an extremely unequal position, China showed itself to be a weak country instead of a strong one. Therefore, China could not be regarded as a power in political aspect.

In educational aspect, China could not be regarded as a power due to its low educational level. An educational power should enjoy high educational level. Education greatly contributes to how strong a country is because it directly facilitates technological development that will change the production mode and types of weapons used. It was true that there were educational modernization efforts in China, such as the abolishment of the *imperial civil service exam* 科舉(1905), the *New Cultural Movement* 新文化運動 in the 1910s that advocated replacing Classical Chinese with Vernacular Chinese, and the attempt at compulsory education by the Nanjing government. However, China remained backward in terms of educational level in the period concerned. In terms of elementary education, the rural population who took up the majority did not get a chance to receive education. This led to serious illiteracy problem as shown by the literacy rate of mere 10% during the Late Qing period. On top of that, even though the Nanjing government introduced the *Compulsory Education Law* 義務教育法 of 1932, the law was not fully enforced due to financial difficulties and China's literacy rate of mere 30% in the early 1930s showed the low educational level there. Also, in terms of tertiary education, its foundation was weak with the limited numbers of universities and university graduates in the period concerned. For example, there were only 3,252 graduates in 1928 and this number was very low for a country with a population of several hundred million. It was clear that China was backward in terms of educational level and could not be regarded as a power.

In conclusion, China remained economically and military weak in the first half of the 20th century with low political influence and educational backwardness. From a holistic view, the country did not satisfy the criteria of a 'power' and could not be regarded as one.

Words: 1261

HK

K.W. HO

歷史 HISTORY

考場戰神 · 求敗 · 高考歷史科全卷88%分數奪A

【變強，首先要承認自己的不足】

K.W.HO於會考及高考期間，深知單憑學校教導不足以取得最強成績，因此不斷補習取經，進而歸納技巧，再不斷反覆驗證答題方法，最終於會考取得A級成績，更在高考以88%的求敗分數奪A！

【天才 · 出於勤】

歷史科只有「努力型天才」，並不存在「天賦型天才」。只要透過努力及正確方法，任何人均可以於歷史科獲取佳績。K.W.HO出身於天水圍一所band 2中學，歷史科在中四時候僅取得中游成績，但往後透過不斷積極求學，以及鑽研答題要求及方法，最終於高考取得88%的求敗成績，誰與爭鋒？

【專注 · 極至】

K.W.HO除了高考歷史科獲A外，高考通識科亦以Straight A(三份卷全A)的完美姿態奪A。然而，K.W.HO斷然放棄學生人數較歷史科多近10倍的通識科[^]，專注鑽研、任教歷史科。原因僅單純出於興趣及責任，希望專心致志地教好一科、教好每一個學生，這才是問心無愧。

【革命 · 顛覆所有】

於高考過後，K.W.HO內心有一個很強烈的念頭，就是將他對歷史科所有的研究毫無保留地公諸於世。於是，K.W.HO於19歲時開設了K.W.HO_History Blog (<http://cyruzho.mysinablog.com/>)，記錄他在高考2年來點滴積累的論文、考試心得，供人免費觀看。在他不斷堅持下，累積超過500篇文章，瀏覽人次高達165萬。於2015年，K.W.HO感覺到單純以「網站分享」已經到達了瓶頸，必須有更強大的力量支持方能完成他的革命。所以，K.W.HO加盟英皇教育，親身將答題技巧教授予同學，徹底改變同學對於讀歷史科的思維模式！

【戰績 · 有誰可比？】

連續4年(2016-2019年)蟬聯全港最多DSE歷史科5+、5**學生
歷史科市場領導! 4年合共打造過百名5**學生!
大幅拋離坊間其他導師!

2017年有重考門生由Level 2跳升至5**，創造重考傳奇!
2016年有門生僅用10個月時間新修歷史科取得5**，開創新修傳奇! [^]

[^]根據學生向英皇教育提供的數據或資料分析



K.W. Ho



kwhohistory

