

ABSTRACT

Title of Dissertation: WOMEN IN THE CHINESE MILITARY

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This dissertation provides a sociological analysis of patterns of women's military participation in ancient China (5000 years ago-1840), during the post-Opium War period (1840-1949), and in modern times. It addresses three sociological issues: 1) under what conditions have Chinese women taken part in military operations? 2) Do Chinese women participate in direct combat? 3) Does the military institution facilitate women's social mobility to education, jobs and higher social status? The following questions are also addressed: does Chinese women's military participation go through cycles of expansion and contraction? What are the People's Liberation Army (PLA) women's evaluations of their military lives? The study scrutinized 717 Chinese military women from the secondary sources and 230 PLA women through a survey conducted in Beijing in 1992. Women participate in Chinese conventional and unconventional warfare across time. From the first female general, Fu Hao, who lived about 3200 years ago, to the 12 women generals who serve in the PLA today, women's frequent presence has been observed in both regular and irregular military formations. Chinese women participated in direct combat--50% in this study with a 12% combat casualty. Female guerrilla fighters suffered the heaviest, but no casualty of women has been recorded since 1949. Sixteen

percent of these women commanded battles. Seventeen percent ranked major and above, 3.5% of them became national leaders. Most women warriors are of the Han nationality. Nearly half of the ancient and the PLA women were from official and officers' families. Cultural and ideological support for women's military participation has also been frequent. Military service is one of the social mobility channels which allow women to achieve or hope for social recognition or higher status. The scope of women's military participation goes in cycles of expansion and contraction, particularly affected by group security situation and shortage of manpower. Women's representation in regular military formations has been increased. Modern military women in mainland China and Taiwan are career makers. Most PLA women did not expect combat participation nor becoming a woman general.

WOMEN IN THE CHINESE MILITARY

by

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ACRONYMS

AJAA	Anti-Japanese Allied Army
CCP	Chinese Communist Party
CNP	Chinese Nationalist Party in this document, KMT in Western scholarship
ERA	Eighth Route Army
GGSA	Guangxi Girl Student Army
GNP	Gross National Product
GPD	General Political Department of the PLA
NFA	New Fourth Army
NRA	Nationalist Revolutionary Army under CNP
PLA	People's Liberation Army
POW	prisoner of war
PRC	People's Republic of China
RMB	Ren Min Bi--Chinese Currency
WSDA	Women Self Defense Army
ZSWB	Zhejiang Shaoxing Women Battalion

Chapter I INTRODUCTION

Introduction

Chinese women warriors have played roles on ancient battlefronts, in peasants' uprisings, and in guerrilla warfare. They have also participated in modern military operations and served in regular military formations (Segal, Li and Segal, 1992; Li, 1992). Chinese women's participation in military operations has a long history, from the time of the first female general, Fu Hao 妇好, who lived about 3,200 years ago,¹ to the twelve women generals who serve in the People's Liberation Army (PLA) today. Legends of heroic women warriors form an important part of China's history and cultural heritage.

Women revolutionaries contributed to the ending of the last feudal dynasty at the beginning of this century. Chinese women fought vigorously as defenders of their motherland when Japan invaded China in the 1930s. At present, about 240,000 women serve either on active duty or as civilians in the PLA. They constitute 7.5% of the PLA's 3.2 million personnel (The State Report, 1994).² About 1,500 military women serve in Taiwan, in the Nationalist Revolutionary Army (NRA) under the leadership of the Chinese Nationalist Party (CNP in this document, KMT in Western scholarship). This

¹ The first name is the surname according to the Chinese custom. Her deeds are inscribed on animal bones or tortoise shells which were carved in the middle and late Shang Dynasty (16th century BC to 11th century BC), and were discovered by a famous Chinese epigraphist, Wang Yirong in the year 1899 (The Institute of Archaeology, CASS, 1980; Kwok Kian-Chow, 1984; 1991).

² The State Report was submitted to the United Nations on March 10, 1994 by the People's Republic of China on the Implementation of Nairobi Forward-Looking Strategies for Advancement of Women.

information was obtained through a focus group interview which was conducted by this author in 1992 in Washington, D.C..

Many scholarly works on Chinese women have been published in English since the 1970s (Kristeva, 1974; Curtin, 1975; Broyelle, 1977; Andors, 1983; Croll, 1983; Johnson, 1983; Wolf, 1985). Literature in the Chinese language on women's studies is also rich, although it is difficult to synthesize with the findings of the English scholarship because of different qualities of data and different terminology.

The study of women in the Chinese military is still in the fledging stage. There are some published works in Chinese on the images of ancient Chinese women warriors (Yu, 1978; Liu, 1981; Chen, 1991; Lu, 1991). There exists also an unpublished dissertation, written in English, that offers an historical comparison of the images of French and Chinese women warriors in the 17th and 18th centuries (May, 1985).

With regard to women soldiers in modern China, some oral histories have been collected and compiled from veteran female soldiers since 1980 (Dong, 1990; Zhu et al, 1990; Li & Liu, 1991). An article written by this author with Mady W. Segal and David R. Segal is the first published study in English on modern military women in China (Segal, Li and Segal, 1992), followed by two publications by this author (Li, 1993; 1994). In sharp contrast with the many literary and artistic works that portray modern Chinese military women, no comprehensive scholarly study of Chinese military women's historical functions and recent status has appeared. The analysis of Chinese women's military roles thus remains an uncharted area.

In order to fill the gap and to provide a systematic analysis of Chinese women in the military from a sociological perspective, this research focuses on women's military service during China's different historical periods, as well as in the PLA today. It starts by asking basic questions about the participation of Chinese women in military operations in ancient China, in the period following the Opium War (1840-1949), and in modern times, as well as their recent status and functions within the military.

Questions about the action of women's military participation and the participants themselves are addressed: Who are these Chinese women soldiers? What are their social origins? Where and how did they get involved in military operations and for how long? Why did they want to participate in military operations? What are their major functions within the armed forces? What is their social status? How do they evaluate their military career? By seeking answers to these questions, a portrait of Chinese women in the military is presented and compared with women's experiences in military affairs in other countries. Since the data available to the study varies in quality for different historical periods, the research is descriptive in nature.

Major Sociological Questions

Warfare is prototypically and normatively a male domain. Nevertheless, women have fought alongside men in different types of warfare at different times and in different human societies. Many studies of women and war have been published in the West (Holm, 1982; Davies, 1983; Stiehm, 1983; Elshtain, 1987; Elshtain & Tobias, 1990;

Hunter, 1991; Howes & Stevenson, 1993). Women's participation in warfare and their functions in military formations have varied widely across cultures and over time.

In the Chinese case, history has bequeathed us mainly legends in oral, artistic and literary forms. The scope, frequency, and degree of women's participation in military operations have not been observed and analyzed systematically. The research for this dissertation has aimed at the development of a theoretical model built on existing theories and empirical evidence. This model is used to identify and analyze patterns of Chinese women's participation in military operations under different historical and societal conditions.

Therefore, in addition to seeking answers to basic questions discussed above, three sociological questions have been raised for this research. The first question is: If warfare is also prototypically male in China, under what situational and social conditions have Chinese women taken part in military operations, thereby deviating from the gender typing of the military role? The following question is also relevant to this issue: Does Chinese women's military participation go through cycles of expansion and contraction as has been shown in other nations? (Segal, 1992)

The second question is: Do Chinese women participate in direct combat? Relevant questions are: Do women command battles in China? Are there women combat casualties? Do Chinese military women expect combat participation in their career?

It is universally recognized that the exclusion of women from military roles is one of the main aspects of the gender-based division of labor in most human societies

(Goldman, 1982; Bradley, 1989). Women have been particularly excluded from combat roles in most regular armies (Rustad, 1982). The major reasons for these exclusions seem to be based on cultural values rather than on women's ability to perform combat tasks (Goldman, 1982; Devilbiss, 1990; McCullough, 1990).

Changes in the nature of the military institution, in demographic trends, in the philosophy that governs manpower policy, and in women's roles in the larger society have led to an increased use of women in the armed forces in most developed countries (Stanley and Segal, 1992). Some countries have already opened combat roles to women (Segal & Segal, 1989; Scheuer, 1989). On the other hand, "civilian occupational sex segregation is still strong, and resistance to expanding women's military participation remains" (Segal, 1993). Arguments for and against allowing women in combat include consideration of differences between average men and women in physical and psychological traits, the perceived impact of women on unit cohesion, and cultural values regarding gender roles (Quester, 1982; Segal, 1982). According to Segal and Hansen (1992), the proponents' side stresses citizenship equality and its relationship to military service. The opposing side focuses on negative impacts of women on military effectiveness and possibly on women themselves.

Since the founding of the People's Republic of China (PRC) in 1949, Chinese women have worked in combat zones but have been excluded from combat roles. This issue is addressed by several questions in a questionnaire survey conducted for this dissertation and discussed in Chapter III.

The third sociological question for this research is: Does the military institution serve as one of the channels which facilitates women's social mobility to education, jobs and higher social status in China? A relevant question is what are the PLA women's evaluations of their military lives?

In sum, this dissertation examines the historical context, contemporary situation, social structural and cultural factors, changes in military institutions, and policy factors that relate to patterns of Chinese women's participation in military operations and their functions within the armed forces. Preliminary answers to the research questions posed above are provided in the concrete descriptions of Chinese women's military experiences.

Purpose of the Study

The principal objective of this research is to draw a portrait of Chinese women in the military against an historical backdrop, and to develop a theoretical model to explain women's roles in the Chinese armed forces. The model is based on an integration of historical evidence on women in the military and current theories of women in the armed forces.

This case study researches Chinese women's participation in different types of warfare, and analyzes women's positions in regular and irregular armies. Relevant historical documents dating back to ancient times were partially retrieved and analyzed to provide an historical background and ethnographic description for the research, but the focus is on the period since the 18th century. This study is a sociological analysis, not an historical one.

In sum, this dissertation studies Chinese women in a traditionally masculine role under a variety of historical, social, cultural and situational conditions.

Literature Review

The literature review covers: 1) relations between women and war; 2) the study of military women themselves; 3) case studies of women in wars; and 4) the study of Chinese women's social status in general. The goals are to identify patterns of women's roles in the military, to discuss key issues related to women's military activities, and to list major variables relevant to women's functions and status in the armed forces.

Relationship between Women and War

A group of feminist scholars has been struggling to specify the relationship between women and war. To most of them, historical women warriors are mythological, and fictional women commanders are superficial (Macdonald et al, 1987). Some of them regard women warriors as the "Ferocious Few", who reversed cultural expectations by donning warrior's garb and doing battle (Elshtain, 1987:8). The representation or misrepresentation of women in military history is a central theme of this scholarly concern. Several characteristics can be identified for this category of literature:

1) This scholarship focuses on ways in which images of women in war and their places within the wider social order are constructed. Scholars of this school share a common idea that within modern Western culture, explanations of warfare and gender differences are based upon suppositions of evolutionary and biological drives. A clear theme exists

about the close relationship between eroticism (or militarization of sexuality) and warmaking (Macdonald et al, 1987; Cooper et al, 1989). Anything military is closely associated with the ideas of masculinity, aggression and depersonalization. This kind of association leads some feminists to regard warfare as inextricably bound up with violence against women (Stiehm, 1983).

2) As part of the creation of a well-ordered ideology, dualities have been developed in Western culture: all women are regarded as potential mothers and all men as potential warriors. Man is viewed as the dominant war maker and "just warrior", and woman as the submissive homemaker and "beautiful soul" (Elshtain, 1987). In a society where war is defined as a male activity and highly-valued masculine characteristics are often associated with war, a female warrior must be seen as inherently unsettling to the social order. These dualities have caused many intellectual struggles among feminists, as Elshtain points out:

From its inception, feminism has not quite known whether to fight men or to join them; whether to lament sex differences and deny their importance or to acknowledge and even valorize such differences; whether to condemn all wars outright or to extol women's contributions to war efforts. At times, feminists have done all of these things, with scant regard for consistency. Feminism moves along a number of planes: as the action of women in and on the world; as abstract theories and utopian evocations; and as a story of self-conscious feminists breaking down extant barriers to take their place in previously all-male institutions--for example, the military...At the moment, feminists are not only at war with war but with one another, as well as being locked in combat with women not self-identified as feminist (Elshtain, 1987: 231-233).

3) In order to be consistent with the prevailing ideology of dualities of war and peace, man and woman, public and private, female warriors have to be depicted either as

abnormal, unique, or unusual (Stiehm, 1983; Macdonald et al, 1987; Cooper et al, 1989); or as a normal part of an alien social order that is highlighted with its perceived peculiarity of primitiveness. This phenomenon probably explains why many stories of women freedom-fighters in Third World countries emerged at the same time as recollections of female veterans of the two great wars in developed countries.

This case study of Chinese women does not have to deal with the close association between eroticism and war and the ideological duality of man/war or woman/peace. Thanks to a powerful and influential Chinese cosmology that was developed in the period of the Zhou dynasty (11th century BC- 221 BC), it is possible to regard all of the parts of the entire cosmos as belonging to one organic whole, in which all interact as participants in the spontaneously self-generating life process. Such a cosmology implies a holistic, immanentist view of the world, with Yin and Yang serving as a universal dichotomy that reflects any kind of polarity. Women are symbolized as Yin, men as Yang. The moon is Yin, the sun is Yang. The individual human body is also part of the cosmos, and thus is also dichotomized by Yin and Yang. The state of health represents the balance of Yin and Yang within the body. To an ancient Chinese medical doctor, a person's liver could be Yin, and his stomach could be Yang. Thus the dichotomy is a continuum and the distinction is curvilinear. There are Yin elements in Yang, and Yang elements in Yin. Transposing this idea to the arena concerned in this study, the war-peace duality represents a continuum rather than a Manichean set of extremes. Thus, the Chinese see a peace factor in war and a war factor in peace,

whereas the Western view points posits peace as a total absence of war and war as a total absence of peace.

This kind of world outlook severs the link between war and gender, even though war has been fought by men more than by women. Gender has never been a crucial organizing principle of the war system in China. Some scholarship on images of Chinese women warriors has followed the Western cultural tradition and looked for dual meanings of these images (May, 1985). This author believes, however, that war as a system or concept is gender-free in China. Sun Zi 孙子 (Sun Tzu in Western scholarship) used concubines and palace maids to demonstrate how discipline and military training can turn civilians into soldiers. Mo Zi 墨子, the father of Chinese military engineering, discussed how to use women to build defense fortifications (Yates, 1982). In a recent major discovery at the Yangling 阳陵 cemetery of the Western Han dynasty period (206 BC - 24 AD), more than 50 pieces of multicolored female warrior figures were unearthed (People's Daily Abroad Edition, July 20, 1993). These facts indicate that military thinkers as well as ancient leaders regularly use women in military affairs.

The above observations do not mean that the Chinese culture is not gendered or that Chinese women's roles in the military are not limited by cultural expectations. The point is to emphasize that no culturally endorsed split exists between warlike man and peaceful woman in China's cultural heritage. Being able to avoid the difficult theoretical issue of dualism, this study can focus on patterns of women's military behavior and

address the issue related to the conditions under which women began to experience regular military service.

Another major cultural difference relevant to this issue is that warriors have never been glorified for their own greatness in Chinese history. There are famous patriotic and loyal Chinese generals, such as Yue Fei 岳飞 and Wen Tianxiang 文天祥, who inspire later generations to go to wars when they are needed. There are no figures however, who parallel Alexander the Great or Napoleon in Chinese culture (Kierman & Fairbank, 1974). Patriotism and loyalty are glorified, not war heroes. On the other hand, both men and women have been recorded in Chinese history as glorified defenders and just warriors. The stereotype of Chinese warriors emphasizes mastery of military strategy, tactics, leadership, and martial art rather than masculinity.

Study of Military Women

The study of military women in the West is a recent phenomenon that has emerged only in the past two decades. Nevertheless, it covers women's involvement in military activities during more than 2000 years. The review of this category of literature is organized in four parts: military women in the preindustrial period; case studies; comparative studies; and the policy issue of women soldiers' combat role.

Women's Military Roles In the Pre-industrial Period

Three features are prominent in research on women's military roles in pre-industrial Western societies:

1) Legendary women warriors, who appeared worldwide during the past 2000 years, have been frequently discussed (Duiker, 1982; Boulding, 1988; St. John Williams, 1988; Dugaw, 1989; Salmonson, 1991; Stanley and Segal, 1992; Dever and Dever, 1995).³ Few systematic studies of these warriors as individuals have been conducted, however, let alone any efforts to identify the patterns of their wartime life and behavior. Most of these women warriors were described in artistic and literary works rather than in historical records. Nevertheless, this category of literature provides references to the societal and situational conditions that brought women onto the battlefield. Thus, it can contribute to the theoretical framework for this study.

2). There are studies of camp followers, who were women of lower social status and "followed" the military. They participated in different ways in different periods since the 16th century in most European countries and since the period of the Revolution in America (Turner, 1965; Ploss, 1964; Horward, 1973; Enloe, 1983; Hacker, 1988). They were frequently wives, fiancées, or sisters of soldiers. This literature teaches us that study of women's military involvement should pay specific attention to experiences of women from the range of status positions. While Queens and female commanders have been glorified for inspiring people to mobilize for war, women of lower social status have worked harder and suffered more from their war experiences. Although the scale and degree of their involvement with military operations may have been larger and deeper than that of Queens and female commanders, they are less recorded and studied.

³ Heroines are prominent in legends either because the uniqueness of such events, or due to their heroic deeds which are probably in contrast to prevailing expectations of gender behavior of women.

This situation does not indicate that their experiences are less significant. On the other hand, it enjoins us to pay careful attention to what is regarded as military. Many camp followers performed roles that are now performed by military personnel. For example, they served as cooks, camp guards, nurses, and people in charge of equipment repair.

3) When women fought shoulder to shoulder with men in battles, they tended to disguise themselves as men (Wheelwright, 1989; Salas, 1990). This phenomenon is another general feature of women's participation in military activities in earlier times. The notion that women have played men's roles in the military is probably true across countries and over time. This particular feature of women's military experience shows that role expectations and other cultural factors are closely related to the study of women's military roles.

Case Studies of Women's Roles In the Military

Case studies of military women in developed countries have two major themes: women's experiences in the two world wars; and different patterns of labor-force participation in wartime and peacetime. This literature not only provides recognition of women's contributions and sufferings in great wars but also produces foundations for theory formation and policy making.

Studies of women soldiers in Yugoslavia, in the Russian Revolution, in the Algerian and Vietnamese liberation struggles, and in Nicaragua, Mexico and Mozambique, are prominent among those case studies of women's military roles in less developed countries and mostly in unconventional military operations (Griesse and

Stites, 1982; Alexiyevich, 1985; Helie-Lucas, 1988; Harris, 1988; Cooke, 1989; Salas, 1990; Jancar, 1990; Vlastos, 1991). The literature in this category illustrates a common feature: most women's participation in unconventional operations is irregular and temporary and represents women's responses to urgent need of collective survival in emergency situations. The temporary feature has deprived women of full military status, and the irregularity has kept them at lower operational levels.

This literature demonstrates clearly that when war intrudes into society, as in the case of invasion or colonialism, it is difficult to maintain the traditional social order and boundaries, including those of gender. On the other hand, unconventional warfare in third-world countries is frequently intended to destroy the traditional social order and boundaries. Thus women's military roles are less restricted in these cases by cultural expectations. This literature also shows why the study of women's roles in the military should include women revolutionaries and women defenders, as well as regular soldiers.

Comparative Studies of Women's Role In the Military

Some cross-national comparisons have been conducted to provide a descriptive foundation for further analysis of the patterns of women's roles in the military and for the development of a comprehensive theoretical framework (Berkin and Lovett, 1980; Goldman, 1982; Macdonald et al, 1987; Isaksson, 1988; Cooper et al, 1989; Stanley and Segal, 1988, 1992). Although this dissertation is a case study offering historical comparison of Chinese women's military behavior in different time periods, with less

cross-cultural comparison, reference to patterns of women's behavior in other countries is useful as a base of comparison.

The Policy Issues of Women Soldiers' Combat Roles

This literature reflects the debate in developed countries about military women's combat roles. Sometimes the debate focuses on whether women should be protected or not; sometimes it discusses whether women soldiers should have the same combat liability as men in a standing force during a prolonged time of peace. The study of Chinese military women cannot avoid this issue. As is mentioned above, equal opportunity and combat readiness are the two major lines along which opinions are divided. This research will address the issue within the context of broader patterns of women's military participation.

Study of Chinese Women

Although many publications about Chinese women have appeared since 1970, only the relevant literature on women's social status in general and gender relationship in particular are reviewed in this section.

Chinese Women's Social Status

It is safe to state that for most Chinese women and for most of the time, social status is derived from the men with whom these women associate. In Chinese feudal society, girls had no social recognition before marriage, and only some had maiden names. Upon her marriage, a Chinese woman took her husband's surname, plus her father's surname, plus a universal nee 氏 (shi). Thus a woman's name was used to

connote her as somebody's wife who used to be someone else's daughter. This situation may explain why so few women are recognized and recorded by China's official history.

A major set of historical records on ancient China is entitled The Twenty Four Histories 二十四史 (er shi si shi). This set has been regarded traditionally as the only official records with a biographical style. Modern historians include the History of the Qing Dynasty 清史稿 and the New History of Yuan Dynasty 新元史 into the official set, so that the modern official records of ancient China are called The Twenty Six Histories 二十六史. These official histories are ordered and supported by each court and compiled by contemporaries or historians. Aside from empresses, princesses and imperial concubines, who receive due presence in these official histories because of their "high" social status, only 839 outstanding Chinese women are recorded in China's official history (Lu, 1991).⁴ Most of them are officially recognized as women of chastity who either sacrificed their lives to be loyal wives (in most cases loyal widows) or risked their lives to be dutiful daughters.

In short, a Chinese woman's social status has been determined by her relationship with the male family heads (the husband in the nuclear family, the father in the extended family). If the male family head enjoys high social status, such as occurs in royal families, the female members may also have such status. This phenomenon is called "a noble lady is recognized because of her famous husband" 夫荣妻贵 (fu rong qi gui).

⁴ Another numeration conducted by Dong Jiazun (1979) is based on a Collection of Books and Pictures in All Times 古今图书集成 ordered by the Qing court and compiled by a group of scholars headed by Jiang Tingxi 蒋廷锡 in 1725. According to this source, there are altogether 49,383 women of chastity or virginity in ancient China.

Only a few famous women scholars and poetesses are recognized because of their talents, and most of them are still recorded as famous scholars' wives or daughters.⁵

This phenomenon still persists in contemporary China. Ordinary women receive recognition because of their famous husbands or fathers. There have been some changes, however. First, the Communist Party's indoctrination of the concept of equal status for men and women has led women to retain their names after marriage. Secondly, women are encouraged to develop themselves and to seek equal status with men. Thirdly, monogamy has become the norm and there has been a shift from arranged to free marriage, especially in the cities. Some model women have been recognized because of their outstanding deeds. Women are encouraged to participate not only in economic production, but also in politics. Nevertheless, Chinese women, like their counterparts in most other countries, have not achieved truly equal status. Men as superior to women still lingers in people's minds. Gender discrimination has been recognized as a social problem by both women themselves and by government officials (Wei, 1984).

In sum, women's status in Chinese culture is subordinate and submissive. The magnitude of the inertia, caused by a long history of feudalism, cannot be overcome easily by any single revolution or ideological indoctrination. Most Western scholars who tried to evaluate the social status of women in modern China after almost a century of

⁵ . As is the case in other civilizations, extremely beautiful women have inspired many Chinese literary and artistic works. Some of these women were prostitutes with no social status at all, but these famous prostitutes were recognized because of their special relationship with certain famous male officials and scholars.

revolutions and liberation struggles have found out that the revolution was postponed (Wolf, 1985) and the liberation is unfinished (Andors, 1983).

Gender Relationships in China

Male dominance in Chinese society has been reinforced by a feudal history of more than 2000 years. In the past, the predominant female image in China was that of a woman who was submissive to men at three levels: as daughter obedient to father; as wife obedient to husband; and as mother obedient to grown-up son. As Mao wrote in 1927:

A man in China is usually subjected to the domination of three systems of authority: (1) the system of the state (political authority)...(2) the system of the clan (clan authority)...and (3) the system of gods and spirits (theocratic authority)...As to women, apart from being dominated by the three systems mentioned above, they are further dominated by men (the authority of the husband). These four kinds of authority--political authority, clan authority, theocratic authority, and the authority of the husband--represent the whole ideology and institution of feudalism and patriarchy, and are the four enormous cords that have bound the Chinese people and particularly the peasants (Mao, 1953: 40).

The authority of the male family head can be regarded as a major element in the structure and culture of gender.

After more than 40 years of socialist revolution, according to Judith Stacey's (1983) study, the patriarchal system based on "peasant family economy" has been rather enhanced than reduced, because the land reform policy is actually a "land-to-the-families-of-tillers" policy. It does not affect the internal structure of the Chinese family. Another scholar who has taken three field trips to a village in Guangdong 广东 Province since

1979 for his anthropological study has found that the new household registration system, the patrilineal inheritance system, and the patrilocal residence arrangement are exactly the same as before the revolution. Land has been allocated to each household according to family size. Decisions on how to use the land and how to distribute the income from the land among family members remain in the hand of the male family head (Potter, 1984).

Some studies show that women now have better economic status in families and that some fundamental changes in marital relationships have occurred (Liu, 1991). The major determinant of these changes is that since the beginning of Communist rule in 1949, most Chinese women have participated in productive work and earned independent incomes. More than 90% of Chinese women aged 15 to 54 participate in production (Statistics on Chinese Women, 1991). Such large-scale participation in the labor force has lessened women's economic dependence on men. It has also spawned social changes related to Chinese men's sharing of household work without fear of humiliation from their male friends and the equality of husband and wife in family decision-making (Xia, 1991). The greater equality is also reflected in the fact that more and more Chinese families in urban areas live as nuclear families. Some social scientists assume that such family organization allows more democracy in decision-making than is possible in an extended-family organization, in which the elderly father still decides everything. More and more young Chinese women have selected their marital partners

by themselves, though scholars cannot reach a consensus about the extent of this phenomenon (Xue, 1991; Zhao, 1991).

In sum, although traditional patterns persist, there are promising changes and developments in gender relationships within the Chinese family.

Significance of the Study

The study of women's military roles is closely related to the origins of gender stratification and the evolution of human society. Women's military roles also form part of the existing system of stratification. Given the long history of Chinese women's involvement in the military, the patterns of their military activities over different historical time periods provide glimpse of historical variation and facilitate further cross-cultural comparison.

With regard to current military manpower policies, women's military role is one of the major concerns in most developed nations. With the advance of human society and technology, the military is no longer an exclusively masculine territory. Demographic developments, economic considerations, technical innovation and cultural changes have influenced changes in the philosophy of military-manpower management in many countries. The modernization of weaponry not only has relieved human beings from heavy dependency on physical strength--particularly upper-body strength, for which women generally are weaker than men--but also has blurred the lines between front and rear. Keeping women and children protected in the rear is no longer a feasible priority for group survival. The modernization of warfare has not only necessitated more

manpower, but also has broken through the traditional noble-class privilege to engage in war. The all-volunteer system has opened doors to most people who wish to serve their country by joining the armed forces and can meet the criteria for recruitment. The worldwide citizenship revolution has fostered a widespread belief that no citizen should be deprived of the right to military service simply because of his or her ascriptive characteristics such as gender, race and sexual preference. This move toward gender equality has made the policy issue of military women very "political" in several developed countries. In short, women's military role is no longer an issue of interest only to a few scholars and policy-makers.

In the Chinese case, women have served in the military on a comparatively regular basis since 1949. It is no longer a phenomenon of "phoenix feathers and unicorn horns", in the words of a Chinese proverb. The continuous presence and function of women in the regular armed forces will remain a positive factor in women's struggle to obtain equal status with men.

There are several reasons for choosing China for this research: first, Chinese women have a 3,000 year history of military participation; second, there have been great variations over time in their participation in military operations, including scale of participation, frequency, duration, and degree of involvement; third, Chinese women have participated in various types of military operations, ranging from conventional to unconventional warfare, including peasants' uprisings and guerrilla warfare; fourth, Chinese women have served in both regular and irregular military formations.

The history of women's involvement in military activities in China is probably longer and more continuous than that of any other country in the world. This long history of military involvement, along with its variation over time, provides a basis for cross-national comparison. This case is ideal for testing and modifying historical, macrostructural models such as Mady W. Segal's expansion and contraction theory. Patterns identified by this study will provide a solid basis for comparison and contrast in the future.

In order to collect empirical data for this study, the author traveled back to China from April 17 to May 18, 1992. With permission from the military leadership of the PLA, 500 questionnaires designed for this research were distributed among air force, navy and army units in Beijing; 230 women serving in the PLA have responded. Two of the twelve contemporary women generals were interviewed by this author. More data was collected informally during the visit. Details will be provided in Chapter III. Historically, this study is the first attempt of its kind. Although the data may not meet the quality standards of Western social science research, because of the political situation in China, this pioneering set of empirical data itself increases the significance of the study.

In sum, warfare has historically been a male domain, but exceptions exist. The scale and degree of Chinese women's involvement in warfare and the functions and roles performed by these women in irregular and regular military formations during a period of

spanning more than 3,000 years provide a unique case study, as well as the development of a coherent theoretical framework.

Chapter II Theory

In this chapter, Mady Segal's theoretical model (1992) and Segal & Segal's earlier paper (1983) are discussed as an organizing framework, followed by the author's theoretical model with a schematic diagram to show the theoretical linkages and hypothetical relationships among different variables. A historical, macrostructural model with emphasis on structural, cultural, situational and institutional factors is developed to explain Chinese women's roles in the military.

Segal & Segal's (1983) and Mady Segal's (1992) Models

Segal and Segal's (1983) paper is intended specifically to explain women's roles in the American armed forces. It is an historical and macrostructural model. Using the nation-state and its manpower policy as the major focus of concern, the model examines major factors that affect women's roles in the U.S. armed forces.

This model is further developed in Mady Segal's paper "Toward a Theory of Women in the Armed Forces" (1992), which outlines a theory of the variables that affect the degree and nature of women's participation in the armed forces through history and across nations. The paper also states Mady Segal's thesis that "women's military roles go through cycles of expansion and contraction" (Segal, 1992:1). Such cycles are affected by variables categorized as military, structural and cultural. The relationship between military threat and women's military roles is hypothesized as curvilinear. "At the high

end of threat to the society, women's military roles seem to increase. If the very existence of the society is imminently threatened, many women are involved in military operations including as combatants" (Segal, 1992:6). "In societies with low threats to national security but with cultural values supporting gender equality, women's military participation also increases" (Segal, 1992:6). The extent of women's participation in combat jobs will be minimized when a medium-intensity threat prevails. In this situation, society is not threatened with extinction, but the likelihood of military action on the country's soil is high. Segal observes that "women's lives are risked if the society is threatened. But there seems to be resistance to risking large numbers of women casualties unless there is severe threat" (Segal, 1992:7). More common in history has been a bifurcation between the military's needs for people to soldier in war and cultural values which limit women's roles in the military, which has been defined "traditionally as a masculine institution" (Segal, 1992:1).

By broadly reviewing Chinese women's participation in military operations over a history of 3200 years, this dissertation raises the question of whether Chinese women's military participation goes through cycles of expansion and contraction.

The Segals' model includes three sets of factors that are identified first in Segals' paper of 1983 and further developed in Mady Segal's most recent model. These are military, social structural, and cultural categories (See Figure 1).

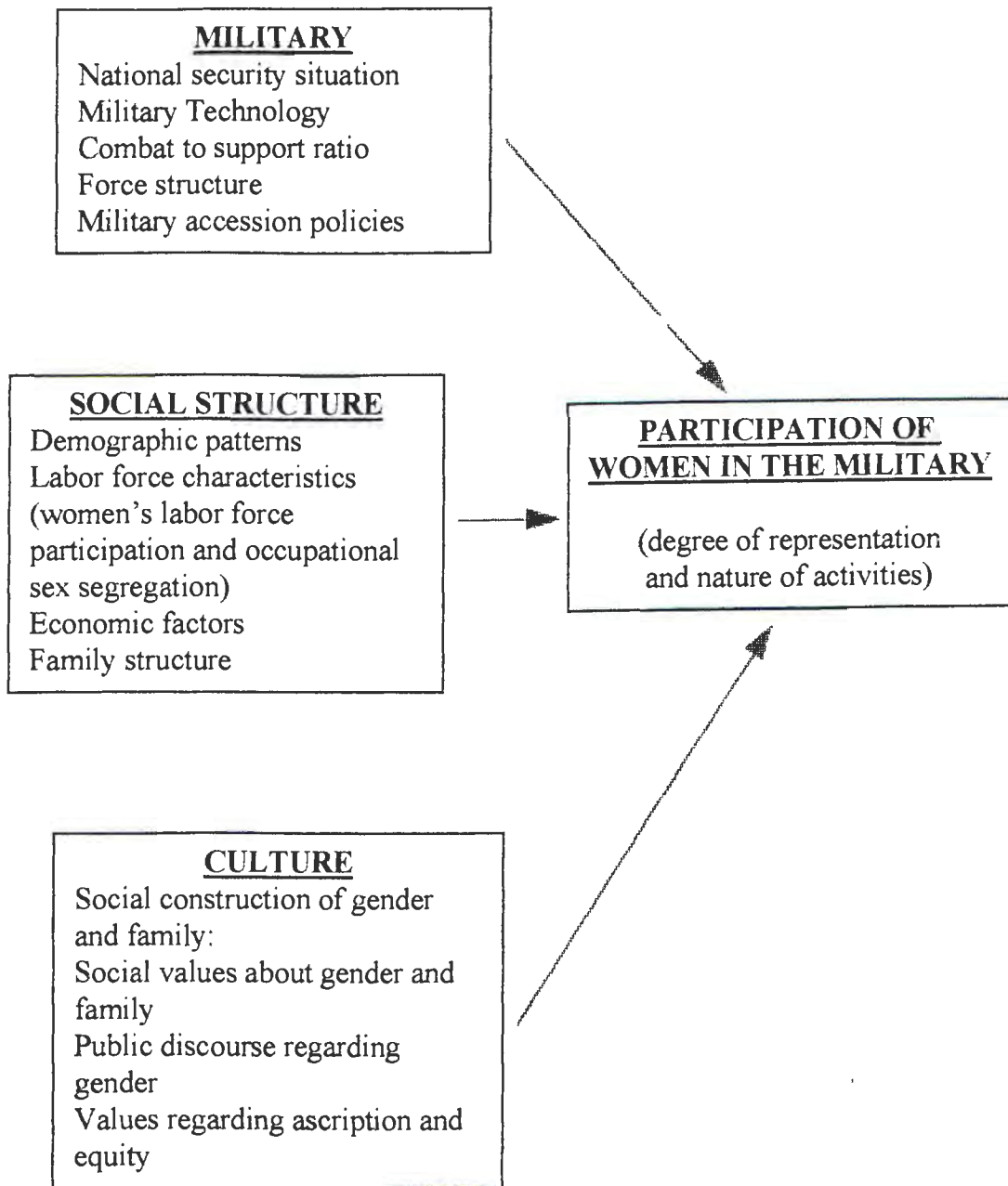


Figure 1. Mady Segal's 1992 Model

The first set of factors reflects changes in the nature of the military institution, such as changes in military technology, combat-to-support ratio, force structure, and military accession policies. It also includes military situational factors such as the national security situation. Technological changes in America over the past century have enabled the greater participation of women in the armed forces. "Women's involvement in military operations is currently negatively affected by the proportion of combat jobs and positively affected by the proportion of support jobs. This is because combat has been viewed as (and has been primarily) a man's activity" (Segal, 1992:10).

The second set of factors is structural, including demographic patterns, labor force characteristics, economic factors, and family structure. It is hypothesized in Mady Segal's model that "in general, the greater the family responsibilities for the average woman, the less women's representation in the armed forces" (Segal, 1992:17).

The third set includes cultural factors such as social values about gender and family, public discourse regarding gender, and values regarding ascription and equity. It is hypothesized in Mady Segal's model that "the more egalitarian the social values about gender, the greater women's representation in the military" (Segal, 1992: 19).

The model emphasizes that technology and economic development play important roles in determining women's military participation. It points out that changes in military technology make warfare more capital-intensive and permit a reduction in the size of the basic weapons systems. The industrial revolution and the progress of technology lead to the occupational specialization of the armed forces, which

increasingly depend upon vehicular transport, electronics, and miniaturized weapon systems. This situation makes the early justification of the exclusion of women from the armed forces less applicable, since more and more military personnel were involved in transportation, communications, electronics, supply, and other specialties that are frequently performed by women even in the civilian labor force. The smaller and lighter infantry weapons can be used more easily by American women, who are generally smaller in stature than the average American male soldier. This fact further explains why the rigor of infantry combat can no longer be invoked as the justification of exclusion of women from military service.

The model also stresses changes within the military system itself, such as the shifts of definition of military mission. The modern military mission is increasingly defined in terms of constabulary or peacekeeping operations. Troops are oriented "not to wage war but to preserve the peace" (Segal and Segal, 1983:239). The peace mission of the armed forces not only changes the old image of warriors, but might also resolve the theoretical concern about the dualism of gender and war, which is briefly discussed in Chapter I. Indeed, some leading military sociologists predict that a post-modern warrior will be a peace-keeper for most of his or her military career.

Another important characteristic of the Segals' model is its link between women's military roles on the one hand and women's increased labor force participation and the citizenship revolution on the other. Since 1920, "it has become increasingly common for American women to work outside the home for all or most of their adult lives" (Segal &

Segal, 1983:245). Along with this social trend, the current phase of the citizenship revolution is marked by the extension of equality to women in both civilian and military institutions. The movement of females into male-dominated areas is a major reflection of these two societal trends.

With regard to cultural factors affecting women's labor force participation and citizenship, cultural acceptance of a division of labor based on gender has been reinforced. The world of work has been viewed as a man's world, while a woman's world has revolved around the family. Derived from this general acceptance is the constellation of cultural values about appropriate roles for women. As is discussed in the Segals' model:

Such values have had two interrelated thrusts. First, women have been seen as psychologically different from men. The stereotypical feminine personality traits include warmth, nurturance, submissiveness, dependency, passivity, and lack of aggressiveness: characteristics that are not highly valued in the military. Second, the belief in psychological differences between males and females has reinforced cultural acceptance of a division of labor based on gender (Segal & Segal, 1983:244)

The Author's Theoretical Approach

The Central Arguments

In early human societies, victory in warfare depended mainly on the military leader's mental capability in strategy and tactics, the army's collective physical strength and martial arts, and the sophistication of weaponry, which, in turn, relied mainly on the user's upper-body strength. The level of development of weapons systems is determined

by the general level of economy and technology of the given society. An individual warrior's mastery of the martial arts derives from lengthy discipline and training.

Given these conditions, war has been primarily a masculine activity worldwide and over time, due to the gendered division of labor; the generally smaller stature of women compared with men; and women's long-term commitment to reproduction and child-rearing.

Whenever there is a threat to collective survival of the human group (family, kinship, and nation), however, or when a shortage of manpower exists, women participate in military activities and hold positions in military formations. They have played men's roles in warfare and have replaced men in their nonmilitary jobs if needed.

As functions of group security and the manpower situation, women's participation in military operations occurs in cycles of expansion and contraction. Such expansion and contraction have left an impression that women's military involvement is less frequent or of smaller scale, or of less duration than that of men. Women's involvement in military activities has been regarded as unusual or irregular because of this cyclical participation. This irregularity of women's presence and function in the military sphere accounts for the fact that their military roles have not affected gender role expectations, have not altered women's social status, and have not changed the division of labor by gender and gender stereotypes that have prevailed worldwide for thousands of years. Indeed, women's participation in military activities has been regarded as unique events in the history of most human societies.

During the process of modernization, with the development of science and technology, weaponry has become increasingly sophisticated. Dependency on hand weapons and on users' physical strength has diminished. With proper training, both men and women can handle most military machines and instruments. At the same time, the delivery systems of weaponry increase the range of the battlefield and the scale of warfare. It is harder to distinguish the front from the rear. Thus, the fundamental consideration of keeping women and children protected in the rear for group survival will no longer be the top priority.

The industrial revolution and technology bring occupational specialization in the armed forces, which are increasingly dependent on vehicular transport, electronics, and miniaturized weapon systems. All these specialties require professionals with relevant expertise and training. In short, military technology developments will increasingly create a need for mental capability rather than physical strength on the part of military personnel.

A perceived shortage of manpower has been a concern for some developed countries, where demographic trends indicate that more people are having fewer children. Manpower shortage has been a constant problem for most unconventional warfare. Women participate in most revolutionary struggles, since insurgent forces always needs considerable manpower.

Women's contributions to revolutionary struggles enforce the ideology of gender equality, which is advocated by some revolutionary parties. Nevertheless, revolution, the

ideology of gender equality, and modernization of weapons systems do not automatically bring about the constant utilization of women in the armed forces. As soon as the revolution or war is over, women's participation in military operations contracts.

The situational factor of utilization of a large standing force in prolonged peacetime must also be taken into account. Men and women join the military service more for jobs and skill training than in response to a calling. Through education and training, increasing numbers of women become qualified to serve regularly in the military, and their presence becomes constant when they become occupational specialists.

In addition to these historical, macrostructural deliberations, one may still ask what factors influence young women to select military service as a career. It is hypothesized that in China, the military institution has served as one of the social mobility channels which makes it possible for women to obtain higher education, stable jobs, and higher social status.

It is also hypothesized that the male head of household's military experience, as a structural factor, affects a woman's decision to participate in military operations or join the military.

Dependent Variables

Women's Participation In Conventional (DV1) and Unconventional Military Operations (DV2)

Defined by the military operation, which is defined as an armed conflict engaged in by groups of people, women's participation in military operations means women's

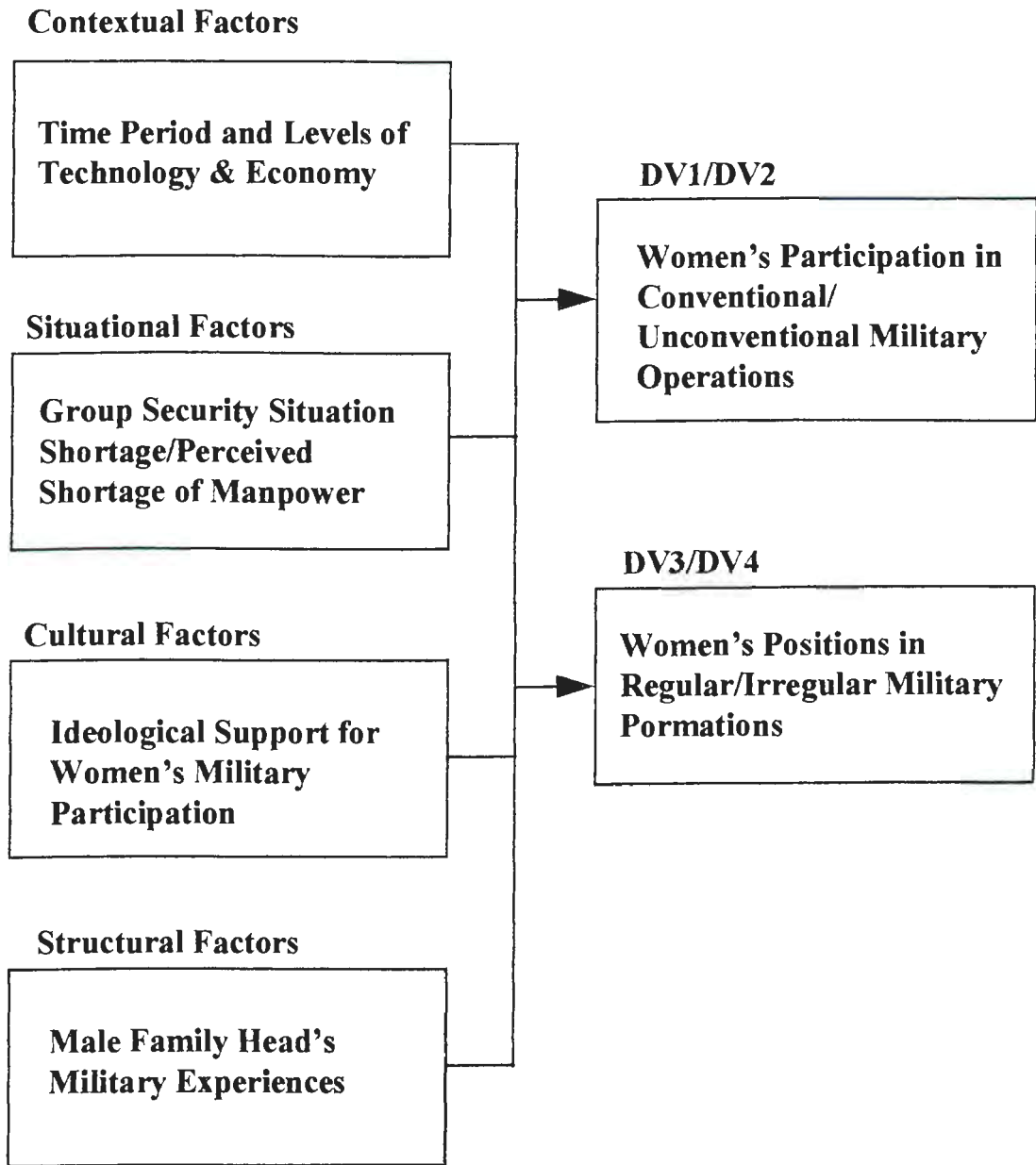


Figure 2: Schematic Diagram of Chinese Women's Roles in the Military

presence and action in military operations, either in or out of uniform and either as conscripts or volunteers (please see Figure 2). This broad definition is designed to include women whose military participation is limited to only one major battle-- a common case for women warriors' military engagement in ancient China. In other words, female participants in military operations, for the purpose of this study, are not limited to those who hold official positions in military formations.

In most studies of Chinese women, the term female warriors refers not only to women combatants, but also to female knights errant in the pre-industrial society of China (Yu, 1978; Jiang, 1986; May, 1985). In this study, Chinese female knights errant are excluded, since most of them were engaged in individual armed actions rather than as participants in collective military operations; the latter is the major focus of this dissertation. The female knights errant were "women social bandits" (May, 198:1985) who tried to single-handedly correct wrongs in the society by violence. Another technical reason for exclusion of these women is that most of them are fictional characters, who are presented in imaginary literature and art, and their identities are difficult to verify.

With regard to different types of military operations, this research focuses on conventional warfare, in which regular armies comprise the conflicting sides, and unconventional warfare, in which at least one of the contending parties to the conflict is composed of revolutionary forces or other irregular armies.

Women's Positions In Regular (DV3) and Irregular Military Formations (DV4)

Women's positions in the military are defined as women's jobs in military formations, with associated job performance and role-relationships with other components of the formation. Regular formations are defined as military formations that have governmental support, while irregular armies are those formations that have chains of command and some kind of military discipline but do not have political authority or legitimacy from the state. For example, a warlord's troops and guerrilla armies are irregular in this sense. However, the Red Army under the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) during the post-Opium war period is regarded as a regular army due to its political authority or legitimacy over certain Chinese territory. The distinction between the two formations corresponds to different types of warfare, which are denoted in the definitions of DV1 and DV2.

Major Independent Variables

This research, drawing upon existing academic studies, considers four categories of major determinants of women's roles in the military. They are: (1) contextual factors; (2) situational factors; (3) cultural factors; and (4) structural factors. In the following section, no attempt has been made to draw an exhaustive list of factors in each category. Only those factors that are being tested by this study are defined and discussed.

Contextual Factors

Derived from the Segals' models on women in the armed forces, this theoretical framework considers time and levels of technology and economic development as contextual factors that have an overarching impact on women's roles in the military. It focuses on the historical time periods that are characterized by technological and economic sophistication. No attempt to evaluate the levels of sophistication of technology and economy in detail has been made in this study, however.

This dissertation defines time as time period instead of time point. At the operational level, time period is mainly defined by sophistication of weaponry, which is defined as the quality of weapons in regard to lethal capability, velocity, range, and degree of dependency on the user's physical strength.

For this case study of Chinese military women, China's history is divided into ancient (4000 years ago to 1840 AD), post-Opium War (1840 -1949), and modern (1949-present) time periods. Ancient time is characterized by low levels of technology and economy. Both the post-Opium War and the modern time periods are generally marked by high technology and a sophisticated economy, though it is obvious that technology and economic levels in China in 1949 were not the same as they are now.

There are two reasons to distinguish further the post-Opium War from the modern time period in this case study. One is that the post-Opium War time period in China can be roughly characterized as the time of early industrialization, while the modern period marks the threshold of the era of high technology. The other reason is

that in the 100 years of the post-Opium War period, China suffered continuous warfare of different scales, whereas in modern times China is generally at peace.

Sophistication of military technology corresponding to each time period is studied and discussed briefly in relevant chapters, but no detailed research on levels of development is conducted for this study.

Situational Factors

The model for this dissertation treats the existence of a manpower shortage, or perceived manpower shortage by the leading elite, as a major situational factor. In this study, situational factors reflect conditions that dramatically change women's roles in the military from time point one to time point two.

Group security situation, defined by the presence of a threat or perceived threat to collective survival of the family, kinship group and nation is considered as another situational factor. The study focuses on how badly women are needed for the emergent military threat, or how this threat is perceived. This factor is identified as a military factor in Mady Segal's theory, which is briefly discussed in the previous section. It is based on the hypothesis that if the very existence of the society is imminently threatened by an enemy, women will be involved in defense, even as combatants. In other words, if the group is threatened with possible extinction, women's military history will be recalled, and women will be encouraged to risk their lives for group survival. The need for survival in the face of an imminent threat will overcome the potential need of the group to survive through protection of its reproducing force.

Cultural Factors

Along the lines of Segals' models, this framework also considers the impact of the degree of ideological support for women's participation in the military, as well as the impact of cultural constructions on women's military participation. Limited by the scope of this dissertation, the study focuses on only one cultural factor--ideological support for women's military participation. Gender ideology is defined as the idea that distinguishes women from men not only in a biological sense but also in terms of political rights and social status. Gender inequality is defined as unequal access to and possession of economic and political resources in general, and unequal job opportunities and ranks for men and women of equal qualifications and skills in particular. Gender stereotypes are defined as gender-specific assumptions about expected and appropriate behavior. They are manifestations of the gender ideology that is prevalent in a certain society and/or advocated by the governing elite.

Considering the limited availability of data, this dissertation uses only official indoctrination of heroines as the indicator of ideological support for women's military participation.

Structural Factors

Derived from Segal's 1992 model on women in the armed forces, family structure is one of the major variables in this category. The male family head's military role and its relationship to the woman's military participation are studied and discussed, particularly for micro-level analysis. The previous chapter discussed the male head of household's

dominance in the Chinese family. Since all the important decisions in a Chinese woman's life are made by the male family head, it is hypothesized that Chinese women's military participation is closely related to their male family heads' military experience. This hypothesis is tested by observing women's behavioral patterns in different historical periods.

In this study, male family head refers to the man who holds decision power at home--in most cases, the father figure of the subject. He can be either the father of an extended family, which is defined as at least two married couples included in a single unit (grandparents and parents, parents with a married son and his wife), or the father in a nuclear family.

Theoretical Linkage

Based on the previous discussion and literature review, patterns of women's roles in the military are defined by the contextual factors of time and the general levels of sophistication of technology and economy. They are functions of the combination of situational factors, such as the group (national) security situation and a shortage of manpower. Cultural factors, such as the ideology of supporting women's military participation, have a direct impact on women's military behavior and role expectations. Structural factors, such as the male family head's military experience or lack thereof, have effects on women's military participation.

The basic assumptions underlying the hypotheses are that universal needs of survival and fundamental considerations of expediency and efficiency exist which affect patterns of the gendered division of labor in most human military activities.

The basic hypothesis is that general patterns of Chinese women's roles in the military over time are affected by a number of variables at the societal, institutional, and individual levels. These variables include contextual, situational, cultural, and structural factors. Various configurations of the contextual factors of general levels of technology and economy in specific time periods, plus the various configurations of the two major situational variables of group security situation and manpower shortage, affect the degree and scale of women's participation in military operations.

When a conventional war ends, most of the women participants will be discharged immediately or gradually from the military formation, since the determining situational factors no longer exist. In unconventional warfare, especially in revolutionary warfare, survival needs and manpower shortages are assumed to exist persistently for the insurgent side; therefore, women's participation in the military operations for this side can be predicted to be high in frequency and scale, both in ancient times and modern times.

In ancient times, when society was characterized by a low level of technology and economic development, women who were skilled in martial arts, and whose male family heads held military positions could hold positions in the regular military formation during both war and peacetime. A few women warriors may have held commanders'

positions. In modern times, characterized by a high level of technology and economic development, women's decisions to join the peacetime regular military formation are affected by their male family head's military experience. Women's current education level can be predicted by her entry education level based on the hypothesis that military institution serves as one of the social mobility channels which makes it possible that women achieve higher education, have stable job or job security, and have higher social status.

In sum, this dissertation focuses on four categories of variables and their effects on Chinese women's military roles, which are studied as dependent variables. Several hypotheses have been discussed in the previous section, although the research is not conducted strictly as a formal test of these hypotheses. The major reason for forgoing a formal approach is the consideration that data collected for this study are variable in quality. Further details about the methodology of this research are provided in Chapter III.

The research model is grounded in existing academic work on women in the armed forces and on gender-based division of labor and gender ideology in the larger society. It is derived mainly from the Segals' theories on women's roles in the military, which focus on historical, comparative characteristics with emphasis on structural, cultural and military factors. The study applies the theoretical model to identify and analyze patterns of Chinese women's participation in military operations under various historical and societal conditions. Specifically, it addresses the questions of under what

conditions have Chinese women taken part in military operations and whether Chinese women's participation in military operations reflects cycles of expansion and contraction; do Chinese women participate in direct combat, command battles in battles and the relevant question on casualty; and does the military institution serve as a channel which facilitates women's social mobility to education, jobs and higher social status.

Four categories of independent variables and four dependent variables are defined and discussed in this chapter, with the purpose of organizing the research in a systematic way and presenting the description in an orderly manner. Since the model is not intended as a formal approach, no detailed definitions of indicators are offered in this chapter.

Chapter III Methodology

This chapter discusses data availability, data quality, methods of data collection and their analysis. It is divided into three parts. Section one deals with methodological issues for the study of Chinese women warriors in ancient time. Section two discusses research methods for the study of women fighters in the Post-Opium War time period. Methods of data collection and analysis for military women on the CNP's side are also included in this section. The third part discusses the methodology of the study of Chinese military women in the modern PLA. Theoretical considerations, together with concept definitions and criteria which guide the selection of methods, were discussed in the previous chapter.

Methodology for the Study of Chinese Women Warriors in Ancient Time

Data Availability and Quality

The study of Chinese women warriors in ancient time covers a time period of over five thousand years (more details in Chapter IV and Chapter V). There exists a huge literature, probably the longest and richest one in the world, which is relevant to the research topics specified for this research. These sources include: Chinese expression in earliest form created in prehistory societies and inscribed on pottery, bones and tortoise shells by priests and priestesses; classic work published on bamboo slips, cloth and ancient paper; official histories in thousands of volumes; and scholarly work produced by Chinese intellectuals over the centuries. In order to limit the universe of existing work

on Chinese women warriors, but at same time avoid the risk of selectivity bias, historical women warriors are identified by criteria based on the theoretical framework discussed in Chapter II—they must be real participants in actual military operations in China's ancient time. Also, they must be recorded as historical figures, not fictional ones. Thirdly, they must be recorded either by designated historiographers or scholars, not tellers of folklore. And fourth, they must be recorded by at least two reliable sources.

The earliest translation of Chinese inscriptions on bones and tortoise shells 甲骨文 (jia gu wen) was accomplished by modern scholars in the 1930s. Due to the interruption of warfare, revolutionary changes, and ruling party's policies, not too many scholars have been trained to understand this language, and the scope of its translation is quite limited. Forty years later, archaeological diggings resumed and reached a significant scale in the 1970s when academic work was encouraged again by the ruling party. This explains why at this moment, very little research can be conducted on the basis of this very limited source.

In the 3000 year history of Chinese patriarchal society after the Zhou Dynasty (11th century- 221 BC), 49,383 women have their names and deeds recorded by written materials. Unfortunately, no figures about men have been recorded in the same source (Jiang, 1725; Dong, 1979). This figure comes from the encyclopedia-type anthology composed by scholars in the midst of Qing, the last feudal dynasty in China. As an integral part of this huge product, the 45th volume to 290th volume are called Song of Elegant Women 闺苑曲 (gui yuan qu). These 245 volumes in several dozens books

have recorded 37,226 "women of chastity" 节妇 (jie fu), and 12,157 "girls of virginity" 烈女 (lie nyu)¹. This data is heavily biased by feudal indoctrination and ideology on chastity and virginity, formulated by scholars in the Tang dynasty, and spread widely in the Song and the Yuan dynasties, when this feudal ideology was fiercely indoctrinated. For example, among 1,016 recorded model women from Song and Yuan, 496 (49%) committed suicide for virginity according to one numeration (Dong, 1979). Many of them disfigured their faces, cut ears, noses or fingers for the purpose of chastity. Technically it is hard for this author to verify women recorded in this collection with another source. So it was decided at an early stage of this research that the dissertation will not use data from this resource.

As discussed briefly in Chapter I, official historical records of ancient China are entitled The Twenty Four Histories. Each represents a dynasty or dynastic period in China's feudal history. From the first Chinese comprehensive history 史记 (shi ji) composed by Si Maqian 司马迁 in the Han dynasty to the book of Ming history 明史 (ming shi), these history books have been regarded as the "right as well as the original history" 正史 (zheng shi) in opposition to "unofficial or uncultivated record" 野史 (ye shi).² These twenty four collections were supplemented in modern time by the History of the Qing Dynasty 清史稿 (qing shi gao) and the New History of Yuan Dynasty 新

¹. In Chinese, 妇 (Fu) means married woman, 女 (nyu) means unmarried girl. As for the two adjectives put in front of these women, jie means sacrifice happiness even physically discomposed one's own body in order to maintain her chastity. Lie means losing one's life for the sake of virginity.

². At the Library of Congress in Washington, D.C., these ancient histories are contained in hundreds of cases. Shi Ji, the first comprehensive history, covers a time period of two thousands years before the Han (206 B.C. - 220 A.D.). Others are single dynastic record with many volumes.

元史 (xin yuan shi). Altogether the 26 official histories cover a 5000 years written history of ancient China³. Since Chinese orthodox scholars believe that women are inferior to men, and they don't think recording women's deeds is an integral part of history, there are only 901 officially recorded outstanding women, in addition to female royal family members, who have their due presence in these official histories (Lu, 1991). Another numeration is 821 (Chen, 1984); the third one is about 600 (Liu, 1978). All numerators agreed that since there are about 60 (62 for Lu, 61 for Chen, 58 for Liu) women being recorded twice in the history, the total should be either 839 (Lu, 1991), or 760 (Chen, 1984), or 600 (Liu, 1978). Since this research is not designed to numerate all recorded historical women in China's official history, 760 is selected arbitrarily by the author as the basic population for this research, simply because Chen Dongyuan's research has a detailed report with a table and descriptions, while Lu Yinquan has only published his research in a newspaper article, and Liu Ziqing has a special purpose of selecting wise and capable women whose deeds have been regarded as positive by him in Chinese history.

These women are recorded in special volume entitled Biography of Women 列女传 (lie nyu zhuan). Only ten of the twenty four histories have women's biographies. The composition of women's biographies was started by a scholar named Liu Xiang 刘湘 in late Western Han dynasty (206 BD-24 AD). He put women of chastity or virginity in seven volumes of record. This effort was complimented with one volume by

³. A New Dictionary of These Twenty Six Histories was published in February 1994 with three volumes on historical figures. This dissertation does not benefit from this new source.

Ban Zhao 班昭, a female advocator of women virginity in the Han dynasty (25-220). Historians agreed that the main purpose of this specific volume of women's biography was setting up role models for Chinese women with special focus on virginity and chastity. That means this data is also ideologically biased by feudal orthodoxy. Some of these biographies are rewritten or interpreted into modern Chinese (Yan, 1939; Liu, 1981; Yu, 1978). This makes cross verification possible by different sources for this author.

Scholarly work which this research is based upon are similarly secondary in nature. For the purpose of cross examination and verification, this author has used data from four scholarly works and two biographical dictionaries devoted to famous Chinese women. Yu Zhenbang (1978), Liu Ziqing (1978) and Wang Fanting (1966) have contributed by translating women's biographies into modern Chinese, which makes it more readable. Yan Jikuan (1939) cites national heroines in ancient China for a clear purpose of mobilizing Chinese women for the cause of national defense against the Japanese invasion in late 1930s. Three biographical dictionaries of famous women have been published recently in mainland China. Who's Who of Chinese Women 中国妇女名人录 edited by a group of scholars headed by Xue Weiwei (1988), is focused on modern time with 1,439 Chinese women's short biographies. This study cannot draw upon it for research on ancient women. Bibliographic Dictionary of Famous Women in Hua Xia 华夏妇女名人词典 (1988, simplified as Hua Xia Dictionary in the text) records 3,300 Chinese women in both ancient and modern times. Biographic Dictionary

of famous women in China and Abroad in All Times 古今中外女名人辞典 (simplified as All Times Dictionary in the text) was compiled by the Administrative Cadre's Institute of Chinese Women and published in 1989. The dissertation is based more upon the last two dictionaries for verification purpose. Other academic works have also been scrutinized for cross verification. This includes a recent comprehensive book on all Chinese empresses (Li, 1990) and a book on Chinese female royal family members (Shang & Yang, etc., 1992).

The third category of literature used in this research is records of peasants' uprisings. Such records are in different forms. Traditionally Chinese historians tend to use materials both from the official records with negative perspectives and from literary works. The quality of these data is hard to control. Due to this quality problem, after three waves of library research, this author decided not to retrieve any data from this category, but mainly to rely on official histories, scholarly works on Chinese ancient women, and women's biographical dictionaries.

At the last stage of library research, a special effort was made to research archaeological publications in order to verify the identity of Fu Hao, the earliest woman general in China (presented in Chapter VI). Three sources on her tomb have been found and used for clarification. One is a huge volume published by the Institute of Archaeology of the Chinese Academy of Social Science in 1980. This book is entitled Tomb of Lady Hao at YinXu in Anyang with several hundred pictures. The other two were done by Kwok Kian-Chow. One is his copy-righted master's thesis entitled The

Tomb of Fu Hao; the other is his article "Quadrilateral Patterning in the Tomb of Fu Hao" published in the Indo-Pacific Prehistory Association's Bulletin in 1991.

In short, the main materials for the study of Chinese women's roles in the military in ancient times are women warriors' biographies and relevant scholarly work based on historical records. By nature the data is all secondary.

Due to the feudal ideology and patriarchal nature of ancient Chinese society, Chinese women as a whole are a quiet group of nameless people who are buried by tons of books and records composed by orthodox male scholars. Most of the women's biographies are very sketchy, partly due to the writing style of ancient scholars, partly due to the fundamental insignificance attached to women's personal lives by Confucian philosophy.

Method and Research Design

Research for this period of study involved several steps: 1) library research through historical documents for the collection of women warriors' records and biographies; 2) special research to distinguish historical from fictional women warriors; 3) verification of individual woman warrior's biographies; 4) library research on contextual and situational factors relevant to each women warrior's participation; 5) analysis of the biographies; 6) analysis of background materials.

After the first wave of library research, 19 historical woman warriors in ancient time were identified with their biographies. A second wave of library research identified

89. The third wave was focused on second sources for verification. In the end, **40** women warriors met the double source criterion and have been selected for this study, while 49 have only one source record. These 40 women are listed in Table 6.1 appended to Chapter VI to facilitate future research.

To audit the quality of the data, the first difficult task is to distinguish historical women warriors from fictional women heroines. Since the materials will be all historical and secondary, the major method will be cross clarification and verification through different sources. The second task is to verify the biographies, especially for those women warriors who have different versions of biographies. If the biographies of one single woman are too diverse and hard to verify, the author will consider whether to use those materials or not. In short, the quality check will focus on the quality of the materials themselves rather than how many women warriors could be identified through this systematic study.

For contextual and situational variables related to women warriors' military participation, the focus was on collecting materials from both the Chinese and English literature on Chinese societal, cultural, structural, and situational conditions in war, revolution, and women's status and roles.

As for data on women warriors themselves, research was conducted to focus on answers to the research questions stated in Chapter II. In short, the goal was to produce a three dimensional portrait of Chinese ancient women warriors with a backdrop which is understandable to modern readers.

Notes on Documenting the Research

The research on women warriors in ancient China is presented in three Chapters: Chapter IV is a description of ancient China, focusing on contextual and situational factors. Chapter V is a description of ancient Chinese military thought and technology. Chapter VI is the discussion of ancient women warriors.

Several notes are offered here to explain why the presentation is organized in this way:

- 1). Thanks to frequent new discoveries in recent years, this author feels that no existing Chinese chronology is satisfactory. A self-composed one is provided in Appendix IV with its sources listed at the bottom of the table.
- 2). Limited by research time and source limits, a simplified table of Chinese population in the past two thousand years is provided in Appendix V.
- 3). China proper is defined as exists today: 20 degrees to 40 degrees north latitude, and 100 degrees to 121 degrees east longitude. About 2600 years ago, the China proper was approximately 33 degrees to 38 degrees north latitude, and 106 degrees to 119 degrees longitude.
- 4) In order to make the presentation as clear as possible, Chinese names of persons and places are presented with both the English and Chinese letters with possible translations of their meanings attached. This is done not only to assist bilingual readers, but also to avoid confusion caused by the similar sound but different words in the Chinese language. For example, li can be the name of two different families 李 and 黎, the name of two

different Chinese ethnic groups 傚 and 黎, the Chinese distance 里, a beautiful horse 骊, and many other words. The Chinese characters will only appear once in the text, except when distinction is absolutely necessary.

Methodology for the Study of Chinese Military Women in the Post-Opium War Time

Data Availability and Quality

The first category of data available for this element of the study is oral history records of veteran women fighters (Preparation Committee for the Fiftieth Anniversary of Yanan Women University, 1989; Feng, 1990; Yie, 1990; Yuan, 1990; Li And Liu, 1991; All-China Women's Federation and Alumni of Huangpu Military Academy, 1991). The second category of data is veteran women fighters' and martyrs' biographies (Xue et al, 1988; Wang, 1988; Hua Xia Dictionary, 1989; All Times Dictionary, 1989). The third category is records of revolutions and warfare (Liu, 1989; Zhu Hong et al, 1991; All-China Women's Federation, 1989;1991). Since the focus of this research is concentrated on the period since the 19th century, records of The Tai Pin Tian Guo peasants' movement are emphasized in the research on historical records of peasants' uprisings.

Method and Research Design

Research for this period of study was also designed as several steps: 1) library research through historical documents for collection of veteran women fighters' and martyrs' records and biographies; 2) research for verification of their biographies; 3)

library research on contextual and situational factors relevant to these women fighters' participation; 4) analysis of the biographies and records of revolution and guerrilla warfare.

Again, after the first wave of library research, some published records of the oral history of the women warriors have been identified, and 213 veteran women fighters and martyrs have been identified with their biographies in contemporary time. In the second wave of library research, the figure was increased to 717. Focus was placed first on identification of more veteran women fighters for the purpose of producing a sample of these women soldiers, though again, the research relied on secondary resources. The second difficult task was verification of these women's biographies. If at least two similar versions of one woman's biography could be located and verified, that woman was selected and put into the sample. If only one biography was located from a reliable resource such as a dictionary of famous Chinese women, that person was selected too. If the person was known to the author personally or through relatives and friends, that woman was selected and information from informal conversations and personal observation were also combined into the verification. Special attention was also paid to individuals' recollections and names mentioned in the records of the oral history.

Library research on contextual and situational factors relevant to these women fighters' participation relied mainly on oral history records and scholarly studies of the same historical period. And the analysis of the biographies and records of uprisings and

guerrilla warfare focused on addressing the first sociological problem of whether women's military participation goes in cycles of expansion and contraction.

Special attention was paid to information about women on the CNP's side during the library research. The same methods were used for data verification and quality control.

Presentation Method

The contextual and situational factors are presented in Chapter VII. Chinese women soldiers in post Opium-War period are presented in Chapter VIII.

In Chapter VIII, the 717 women warriors identified for this period are listed and presented in 7 tables. Table 8.1 listed 14 women combatants who participated in military operations from 1840 to 1911. These are women combatants in anti-imperialist warfare and in the Taiping and other rebellions. Table 8.2 presents 113 women fighters in the 1911 revolution; while Table 8.3 lists 59 women participants in the Northern Expedition war period (1926 and early 1927).

Table 8.4 presents 50 women red army soldiers in guerrilla warfare. Table 8.5 lists 231 women red army soldiers on the Long March. This group of women soldiers is further categorized in four sections: 33 served in the First Front Army; 27 served in the Second Front; 7 nurses served in the 25th Red Army; and the remaining 164 served in the Fourth Front.

Seventeen women had more than one entry in these tables because of their long-term participation. One had three entries. The other 16 had double entries. The cell of

the series number was shaded to indicate that the woman would reappear in the following period. The cell of the name was shaded to indicate the person had a previous entry. The final statistic comparison was conducted on the actual total numbers of women soldiers in this period.

Study of Chinese Military Women In Modern Time

As for the current time, my focus was on those PLA women who currently serve in the armed forces either as active duty military personnel or as "civilians"--officer-turned occupation specialists. A detailed description of the Chinese civil service system within the military is offered in Chapter X.

Data Availability and Quality

Questionnaire Survey

With a long term goal of conducting comparative study in the future, a questionnaire was designed, based upon the 1985 Department of Defense SURVEY OF OFFICERS, 1985 Department of Defense SURVEY OF ENLISTED PERSONNEL, and 1985 Department of Defense SURVEY OF MILITARY SPOUSES of the United States of America. The questionnaire is composed of fifty-four questions in four sets of topics, which are: a set of questions on military information, one on career intent and expectation, one on individual and family characteristics, and a set on evaluation of military life. Appendix I is a list of the topics covered in the questionnaire for the 1992

Survey of Chinese Military Women conducted in Beijing, China from April 17 to May 18, 1992. Appendix II is the English translation of the questionnaire. Administration of the survey is discussed below.

Focus Interviews

In addition to the questionnaire, this author also managed to interview two of the twelve current women generals of the PLA on May 9, 1992 and May 12, 1992. Each interview was a face-to-face, question-and-answer type interview which lasted over two hours. This author also interviewed twice by telephone the Deputy Director of the General Political Department of the PLA (GPD), who is in charge of military personnel, for about half hour each time; and interviewed face-to-face the Minister of the Department of Culture under the GPD for about an hour.

Informal Conversations and Personal Observations

During a one month trip back to Beijing, China, this author also had informal conversations with two three-star generals, twelve Chinese colonels (two women); four captains (one woman); two women civilians whose ranks are equal to that of colonel; and four veteran women soldiers who have already retired from the military. Much information about the recent situation in the PLA has been obtained through this kind of conversation.

I also drew upon my own experience. I served in the PLA for eighteen years, from October 1969 to June 1987. Working as a telephone operator, English typist, cadet, interpreter and translator, and staff officer, I have military experiences in the

Navy, the Air Force and the Army of the PLA, and retired at the rank of battalion commander. Before this lengthy military service, my personal observation of the PLA started from early childhood in a family with a father who was a general and a mother who retired from the army in 1956 at the rank of Lieutenant Colonel. Although this personal experience was obtained before my systematic training in sociology, I found it useful in the sense of understanding the real situation in the PLA, and having unique access and a powerful network to conduct the survey.

Method and Research Design

The survey questionnaire was prepared in English in the United States and was translated into Chinese as soon as I arrived in Beijing. Under the time limit of one month, I realized that the survey had to be restricted to the Beijing area. But without getting permission from the top leadership of the PLA, I could not do anything. So I went to talk directly with the officers in the GPD, and obtained oral permission with the requirement of "doing it quietly".

My interpretation of this instruction is that: 1) there is no regulation about whether a scholar like me can conduct this kind of survey in the PLA. It was the first case of this nature considered by the appropriate authority. Since the officers in charge know me personally, they had no or few doubts about the purely academic purpose of this study. These were basic reasons that I obtained the permission. 2) Politically, the timing of the survey was good. Mr. Deng Xiaoping gave an important speech while he was touring the open zone near Hong Kong in February 1992. More economic reform

and open-minded policies have been encouraged since then. The failure of the Soviet coup had a deep effect on many top Chinese leaders. More openness to the West was favored rather than showing loyalty to Communism. 3) At the same time, the PLA was holding a major conference on enhancing secrecy and fighting against leakage of state secrets within the military. Military personnel are forbidden to take part in civilian activities without permission. Those officers who used to have memberships in civilian academic associations have to be re-registered through the GPD and the Ministry of Internal Affairs. In such a situation, I was advised not to openly conduct the survey, not to use the public postal service, and not to go through the formal chain of command. I was encouraged to use my personal channels through old friends, colleagues and acquaintance. 4) Since no formal paperwork has been done to verify this permission, I was totally responsible for the process and results of the survey. If in the process, anything went wrong, no one would come to my rescue, since I have no official affiliation with any Chinese organization.

Under such conditions, the only way I could conduct the survey was through snowball sampling methods, relying on my old friends, colleagues and acquaintances to help me. Fortunately, Chinese military women are fairly concentrated in six major categories of work: medical workers, administrative personnel, communications specialists, logistic support staff, political and propaganda workers, scientific researchers and technicians. The Navy, the Air Force and the Army all belong to the PLA, so the situation and arrangement are the same for these different services.

Five hundred questionnaires were distributed to 12 units stationed in Beijing and suburban areas: 3 units in the Air Force, 1 in the Navy, and 8 in the Army. Among these units, one was a telecommunication regiment, one was a technical intelligence brigade; two were research institutes, one was a brigade of interpreters and translators; one was a political and propaganda workers' unit, two units were cultural troops (one singing troop, one art college); two were logistical support units, and the remaining units were medical units (two military hospitals). Two hundred and thirty women military personnel aged from 12 to 65 years old completed the questionnaire voluntarily without personal identity. The questionnaire survey was self-administered.

Toward the end of the survey, new regulations against leakage of state secrets were adopted by the PLA conference. People involved in the project started to become nervous. Under such circumstances, trying to postpone my departure time to collect more data would have been irrational. I had to carry these collected data out of China as early as possible before the new regulation was implemented throughout the military.

Both qualitative and quantitative analyses were conducted to draw a portrait of Chinese military women. In addition to analysis of historical materials and individual biographies, the questionnaire survey and focus interviews, information has been gathered also from informal conversations and personal observations.

Statistical Analysis

The third step was statistical analysis of the quantitative data collected through the questionnaire survey. Mainly simple descriptive statistics such as percentages and rates were obtained.

For the purpose of internal comparison, cross tabulations and bivariate analysis were conducted. Subjects were mainly grouped by age and rank. The findings of these statistical analyses are provided in Chapter X. As discussed in the previous chapters, the sample was not randomly selected due to political and technical reasons. The quantitative analysis serves mainly illustrative purposes.

Chapter IV Ancient China

To facilitate the discussion of Chinese women warriors in ancient times, this chapter will provide as background a description of ancient China. Guided by the theoretical framework outlined in Chapter II, this chapter focuses on the contextual, situational and structural factors relevant to women's military activities and behavioral patterns. Two themes run through the whole text: the types of societies where these women lived and the wars and revolutions in which they participated. The chapter starts by describing the development of Chinese civilization, the patriarchal system, bureaucratic feudalism, and the evolution of ethnic groups and nationalities. Then, ancient military thought and technology, patterns of peasants' revolutions, and military institutions are discussed in the following chapter. Within this context, Chapter VI will analyze women warriors' military activities.

Chinese Forerunners and Pre-historic Societies

Archeological discoveries have verified that archaic forms of Homo Sapiens existed in the area of China proper as early as 600,000 to 800,000 years ago.¹ The existence of primitive human societies in China in the Paleolithic Period is proved by the most famous discoveries, such as the Lantian ape-man 藍田猿人 (lan tian yuan ren), Peking man (sinanthropus pekinensis) 北京猿人 (bei jing yuan ren), and Shandingdong

¹ For articles on the most recent discoveries, see, e.g., "Chinese human forms date back 200,000 years" (*China Daily*, 3/10/94) and "Xuanzhou Ruins" in Anhui Province, dated 700,000 to 800,000 years ago and unearthed in December 1992 (*People's Daily*, 12/16/92).

ape-man 山顶洞人 (shan ding dong ren).² At least 13 sites and cultures have been discovered for Chinese forerunners in the Old Stone Age, according to a preliminary count by this author. In terms of their physiological characteristics, most of these early Sinitic peoples belonged to the Mongoloid racial group. Some belonged to the Caucasoid group (Ma et al, eds., 1984; Moser, 1985). Some scholars suggest that the presence of Negritos in the South, including the Pygmy of the Indo-China peninsula, was also supported by records from the Three Kingdoms period (220-280) (Lin, 1984).

These clan societies spread and developed along the Yellow River 黄河 (huang he) and the Chang Jiang river (also called Yangtzi) 长江 and, in the Neolithic Age, all over China.³ The most important discoveries from the New Stone Age are the Yangshao culture 仰韶文化, which existed about 6,000 years ago; the Dawenkou culture 大汶口文化, which existed about 4,500 to 4,000 years ago; and thirdly, the Longshan culture 龙山文化, which existed 4,300 years ago. Studies of Yangshao culture, which was unearthed in Henan Province in 1921, reveal human lives in Chinese matriarchal societies (Chen, 1930; Ren, 1935).

It is believed that the Chinese language system was formed during the period of Dawenkou culture (Xu, 1988). The subsequent Bronze Age Longshan culture marked the change from matriarchal to patriarchal societies, and the development of villages into states (Du, 1992).

Accounts of human activities of this era were memorized and passed down orally. This is the so-called "legend era" 传说时代 (chuan shuo shi dai) in ancient Chinese history. Many popular legends of the time of the Xia dynasty (21th century B.C. - 16th

² Major current discoveries of primitive societies in Old-Stone-Age in China include: "Stone Age Relics Found at Dam Site" (China Daily, 2/16/94); "Yabulai Cave Hand Paintings on Rocks", dated 30,000 years ago and discovered in January, 1993 (People's Daily, 1/7/93); and the "Jigongshan Relics" in Hubei Province unearthed in October 1992 (People's Daily, 7/22/93).

³ One of the most recent discoveries for this period is the "Xinglongwa Ruins", located in Inner-Mongolia and dug out from July to October 1992 (People's Daily, 7/22/93).

century B.C.) or earlier were recorded in written form during the Shang dynasty (16th century B.C.- 11th century B.C.), when Chinese started to have a comprehensive language system. Heroic figures in this legendary era are creators of tools and technology. They are also major characters of Chinese mythology.

The oral traditions and the earliest written records in the Shang dynasty suggest that tribes called "Pan Gu Shi" 盘古氏 (people at the beginning of time), "You Chao Shi" 有巢氏 (people in nests on trees), and "Sui Ren Shi" 燧人氏 (people who know how to drill wood to make fire) were pre-historic Chinese societies. Based on similar ancient written sources and systematic investigations, modern Chinese ethnologists classify people of various tribes in the central plain as Yi 夷 and Qiang 羌 (this character means people with sheep), and tribes in the South Man 蛮 and Yue 越. In order to distinguish the pre-historical Man people from the modern Man 满 (also called Manchu) nationality that originated in the northeastern China, these people will be referred to in this dissertation as the Southern Man 南蛮 people. There were also Rong 戎 and Di 狄 peoples in the West and North; and Su Shen 肃慎 people in the Northeast (Ma et al, eds., 1984). Further discussion of Chinese ethnology will be offered in the following section for ancient ethnic groups.

At least nine clans of Yi people lived along the lower courses of the Yellow River, Chang Jiang and Huai River. The most famous chieftain of these clans was called Tai Hao 太皞, or Fu Xi Shi 伏羲氏. His sister was called Nyu Wa Shi 女娲氏. Fu Xi Shi is one of the earliest legendary kings, and Nyu Wa is the Goddess in Chinese mythology who creates human beings out of clay. Those who came out of the kiln first were white people, while those came out last were black people. Those in between were yellow people. This legend teaches that there were different racial groups in prehistoric times.

The Yi people have four major branches. The descendant of one of these branches, called Qi 契, became the first leader of the Shang dynasty, which was the second earliest one in ancient Chinese history.

In the central area of China, in what is now Shaanxi 陕西 province, there lived a clan that was headed by "Emperor Yan" 炎帝 (Yan Di), whose mother was An Deng 安登, also called "magic farmer" 神农氏 (shen nong shi). People of this clan were the descendants of the ancient Qiang people.⁴ Another major clan in the area was headed by "Yellow Emperor" 黄帝 (Huang Di), whose mother was Hua Xu 华胥; some sources say it was Fu Bao 苻葆 or 有熊氏 (you xiong shi, someone who has bears).⁵ The two clans were the cores of the Hua Xia 华夏 tribe, one of the fusions of Yi, Qiang and other peoples (Lin, 1984; Ma et al, eds., 1984).⁶ The three most influential chieftains of the Hua Xia tribe were Yao 尧, Shun 舜, and Yu 禹; all three were believed to be descendants of Huang Di. Shun passed his position as chief of the federation of tribes to Yu, after the latter won a 13 year struggle against the flood. Yu became the first king of the Xia dynasty and started the hereditary system in China by passing the throne to his son Qi 启.

In Huang Di's same legendary era, Chi You 蚩尤 was the chieftain of "Jiu Li" 九黎, a branch of the Southern Man people. He won fame for his war against Huang Di, which is discussed later in this section. With regard to the Di people in the West and

⁴ A family of this tribe with the surname Li has a 100 million descendants all over the world today.

⁵ Chinese people tend to regard themselves as the "descendants of Yan and Huang" 炎黄子孙 (yan huang zi sun). The two symbolic figures have been used to express the obsession of some Chinese their ancestors, the national pride in the oldest continuous culture in the world, and, sometimes, "Grand Han" Chauvinism.

⁶ Hua, meaning flowery in Chinese, might be the totem of those ancient clans who worshipped plants. As a modern term, it appears both in the official names of the Republic of China in Taiwan and the People's Republic of China. Overseas Chinese have regarded themselves as "expatriate Hua" 华侨 (hua qiao). Vietnam's Sinitic minority is called the Hoa, the Vietnamese version of the word Hua (Moser, 1985). Xia, followed by Qin and Han, is the name of the first dynasty and has been used to name majority Chinese, who are officially labeled as the Han nationality. More literally, the two words of Hua Xia are put together and used as a synonym for Han in describing the Sinitic people.

the North, it is known that one branch became "Xong Nu" 匈奴, the major raiding nomad cavalry that emerged around 220 B.C. Later, the Northern Xong Nu clan became the forerunner of modern Hungarians (Ma et al, eds., 1984).

All the legendary ancestors during the Xia dynasty are creators of tools and technology. Fu Xi Shi created a net for fishing; Yan Di developed the bow and arrow for hunting; and Huang Di's wife, Lei Zu 嫫祖, created the ways to raise silk-worms. Some recent discoveries and new interpretations also reveal ancient worship of human reproduction, animals and plants. A recent discovery of seven carved stones portrayed pregnant women giving birth in a squat position.⁷

Some scholars argue that legend and the earliest written record do not reveal with certainty the real gender of these pre-historic chieftains. The ancient character for "emperor" was a symbol of a female genital part placed above a fire 皇 (huang). Thus huang was used for female chieftains, while 帝 (di) was used for male ones (Chen, 1930). Other scholars believed that di was also a symbol of a female genital part placed above the wooden shelf, or it was the form of a flower with a big ovary (Xu, 1988). In either case, the Chinese character for chieftain is related to human worship of female reproduction. Qin Shihuang, the first male emperor, who unified China in 221 B.C., decided that huang and di should be put together for the word emperor 皇帝 (huang di). It must be noted, however, that names of mothers of most of these ancient leaders have been passed down to later generations; names of the fathers are not identified.

Wars between or among these pre-historic clans occurred frequently and on a significant scale. At least three major ones are worth noting. The first was the war between Gong Gong 共工 of Yan Di's tribe and Chi You of the Southern Man people.

⁷ These so-called Chinese Venuses were carved 6,000 to 7,000 years ago and were unearthed in Hebei province ("An Important New Stone Age Discovery: the First Discovery of Prehistory Stone Goddess at Leaning County of Hebei Province," People's Daily Abroad, June 24, 1994).

In the beginning, Chi You's Southern Man people occupied all the territory of the nine clans of Yan Di. The angry Gong Gong fought back so fiercely that the mountain called Bu Zhou Shan 不周山 was broken, the sky tilted in a northwest direction, and the earth was ruptured in the southeastern direction! In reality, an earthquake might have caused these phenomena. Later, in alliance with Huang Di, Gong Gong defeated Chi You.

The second major war in this legendary era was between Huang Di and Chi You. Relying on the assistance of the Goddess in charge of drought, Chi You was killed by Huang Di in this war. It is likely that rice, the major grain in the South, was domesticated in South and Southeast Asia earlier than in the North (Moser, 1985); thus, the Southern Man people under Chi You depended upon this grain for their logistic supply, which required more rain than did the millet and wheat grown in the north. The legend about these two wars fought between northern and southern tribes in pre-historic time teaches that logistic supply is vital to victory.

The third war was between Huang Di and Yan Di, who vied for the position of chief of the federation of tribes. With support from other clan chieftains and after a fierce battle in the area of modern Hebei 河北 province, Yan Di was defeated, and Huang Di became the most powerful leader of his era. Some scholars believe that the above-mentioned archeological discovery of Yangshao culture was the culture of Huang Di's tribe (Ma et al, eds., 1984).

In sum, discoveries and studies of archeologists, anthropologists, ethnologists, etymologists and others, have all provided some descriptions of Chinese forerunners and their cultures. These findings indicate that there were autochthonal Homo Sapiens in China proper in the Old Stone Age, as well as a diversified Neolithic cultures. New discoveries have emerged more frequently in the past two decades. Chinese and foreign

scholars have been more active and open in their publications and debates. Chinese legend and mythology also provide valuable information on primitive societies in pre-historic China. More archeological discoveries and systematic studies must be undertaken to produce a better picture of Chinese ancestors' lives. It is certain that the continuity of Chinese culture from matriarchal to patriarchal societies has influenced the Chinese language and ways of thinking. On the other hand, some scholars believe that Chinese culture is the only continuous human culture thanks to the unique nature of the Chinese language (Xu, 1988). At any rate, the existing relics and findings affirm that China's culture has explicit geographic origins and unique habits of mind, which affect its conception of the world, its ideology, its religion and the laws and codes that determine the rights and obligations of the Chinese people.

Five Thousands Years of Written History

As the world knows, the written language of Chinese is hieroglyphic. Symbols dated 6,000 years ago and found in identical positions outside the earthen bowls at many sites of Yangshao culture have been regarded as the earliest form of Chinese language (Guo, 1977). These symbols could not yet have been regarded as a comprehensive language system, however (Xu, 1988). The "inscriptions on bones or tortoise shells of the Shang Dynasty" 甲骨文 (jia gu wen), dated 3,500 years ago, have been used as the signs of the beginning of the Chinese written history. Out of 100,000 pieces of such inscriptions, 4,500 Chinese ancient characters have been identified that compose a whole language system.

An important recent archeological discovery of the "Longshan Inscription on Pottery" 龙山刻字陶片 (long shan ke zi tao pian), dated 4,300 years ago (People's Daily, 12/30/92; People's Daily, 7/21/93), adds 800 years before the time of Jiaguwen,

the period illustrated by inscriptions on bones and tortoise shells. This fact is relevant to the inscriptions on pottery of the Dawenkou culture, dated 4,500 to 4,000 years ago, which experts regard as a systematic language (Xu, 1988). Both discoveries suggest that China has a written history dating back 5,000 years and starting in the New Stone Age. Jiaguwen no longer can be used to mark the beginning of Chinese civilization.

Epigraphs cast on bronze ware 金文 (jin wen) in the period of 3,100 to 2,300 years ago mark another stage of development of the Chinese written language. Later, through the emergence of language forms called "seal character" 小篆 (xiao zhuan) and "slave character" 隶书 (li shu), a simplified form to record thousands of slaves quickly, which were developed before and during the first unification of China in 221 B.C., the Chinese language gradually obtained its modern form. This form is called Kai Shu 楷书. Some scholars believe that these ancient forms of Chinese were classic language-- as distinguished from Chinese dialects-- which has never been spoken (Moser, 1985).

Rulers of China from the first emperor in the Qin dynasty to the Communist leaders of the PRC have exercised, in Michael Foucault's words, "the hegemonic power over language" by unification of languages. The development of the "common language" 普通话 (pu tong hua), based on Beijing Mandarin and implemented since the early 1950s, has been regarded by some modern linguists as indispensable to the development of China as a unified nation (Gladney, 1991). Other scholars tend to focus on the continuity and uniqueness of the Chinese language. Today, not only calligraphers in China, Japan and Korea know how to write xiao zhuan and li shu, the old forms of Chinese; it is believed that ordinary Chinese could read and understand Jiaguwen and the inscriptions on ancient pottery after simple training (Xu, 1988).

The language was first carved on pottery, animal bones and tortoise shells, and subsequently was cast on bronzeware and written on cloths and bamboo slips 竹简 (zhu

jian) by brush in the Shang dynasty. Primitive paper made of gunny cloth was found for the period of the Western Han (206 B.C.-24). Finally in 105, Cai Lun 蔡伦 invented paper.

In short, Chinese civilization has a written history dating back 5,000 years. The continuity and the pictographic characteristics of the language facilitate the study of ancient China. Studies of inscriptions on pottery of the Yangshao and Dawenkou cultures, as well as the Jiaguwen in the Shang dynasty, can reveal Chinese forerunners' lives in the legendary and mythology era. The pictographic characters cast on bronze ware, as well as those written on bamboo slips and cloth, also make the written record of China a huge treasure house--so huge that it intimidates modern scholars.

The Chinese Patriarchal System

As the previous section observes, the Xia dynasty began by Yu started the hereditary system of the throne. This dynasty continued its war against the Southern Man and enslaved the prisoners of war. It started the transition from primitive society toward a society based on slavery. It also marked the transition from the Stone Age to the Bronze Age. The Xia dynasty lasted for 17 generations spanning 471 years. It was defeated by the Qi Kingdom 齐国, whose people were descendants of the Yi people in the low course area of the Chang Jiang.

Qi started the Shang dynasty (16th century B.C. - 11th century B.C.) and established China's first capital at the place now called Anyang 安阳, in Henan 河南 province. Many tribal states surrounded this central kingdom, which were called "square kingdom" 方国 (fang guo). The Shang dynasty, which waged many expeditionary wars against these tribal states, lasted 17 generations spanning 700 years.

Shang was defeated by a tribal state called Zhou 周, which originated in Shaanxi province, the homeland of the ancient Qiang people. In 1,027 B.C., in alliance with southern and western tribal states, the King of Zhou called "Zhou Wu Wang" 周武王 defeated Shang at Muyie 牧野.

Zhou continued the expeditionary wars against other tribal states, plundered their resources, and forced them to pay tribute on a regular base. Records show that at that time the tribal state called "Su Shen" 肃慎 at the border area between China and Korea, started to pay tribute to Zhou. In 770 B.C., the Zhou king called "You Wang" 幽王 was killed at the bottom of Li Mountain 骊山 after an attack by an ally of the western and northern tribal states. This period of the Western Zhou dynasty was followed by the Eastern Zhou dynasty, which lasted another 500 years. The Zhou dynasty lasted about 1,000 years altogether, the longest of all in ancient history.

The patriarchal system was formerly established in the Western Zhou Dynasty. It emphasized women's subordination, obedience and dependence on men, as well as hierarchical orders by status for the whole society. The codes for ideal human behavior were called "rituals", or "etiquette" 礼 (li), which is referred to in Chinese history as the Zhou etiquette 周礼 (zhou li). This code has been regarded as the most influential cultural heritage of Chinese written history (Li, 1988). The ideal Chinese society, as thus formulated in normative terms, was hierarchic within both the family and the state. Order rested essentially on the belief that certain persons were of superior status and certain others were by the nature of things inferior. The female gender is regarded as inferior to the male in this patriarchal system, in accordance with the situation in almost all feudal societies.

The culture of Western Zhou was enriched by developments in the Eastern Zhou dynasty, which is divided into two parts: the "Spring and Autumn" 春秋 (chun qiu) (770

B.C. -464 B.C.) and the "Warring States" 战国 (zhan guo) (463 B.C.-221 B.C.). During this period, a new market economy, based largely on metal coinage, replaced the barter-exchange or gift-giving economy of the past, agricultural production was increased by the technique of casting iron, and social differentiation and stratification were further elaborated and enforced (Yates, 1982). Moreover, from the ancient forms of free marriage, bridal capture, purchase and arranged marriage in primitive societies, a system of formal monogamy for women and informal polygamy for aristocratic men was established (Mo, 1955; Xu, 1955).

Social control methods were sophisticated. The foundations of the major Chinese philosophies were laid with the establishment of Confucianism, Legalism, Mohism, and Daoism (Taoism); and bureaucratic administration was developed. The patriarchal systems were thus established and lasted for more than 2,000 years ever since then.

Among the philosophical traditions developed in this period, Confucianism and Daoism have the strongest influence on Chinese culture. Together with Buddhism, which was imported from India in the 1st century A.D., these belief systems have been regarded as the three main religions of China. Confucius, who was parroted by many feudal scholars in the following years, spent his whole life (551 B.C. - 479 B.C.) preaching for a full recovery of "Zhou etiquette."

Complementing Confucianism was Legalism, a school of thought that flourished in the same era and developed the ethics of the "three cardinal guides" 三纲 (san gang) and the "five constant virtues" 五常 (wu chang). The "three cardinal guides" teach that ruler guides subject, father guides son, and husband guides wife. The "five constant virtues" are benevolence, righteousness, propriety, wisdom and fidelity. These moral principles form the core of Chinese feudal ideology. With major ideological

enforcement from the Han dynasty (206 B.C - 220 A.D.) and the Song dynasty (960-1279), the Chinese feudal system, strengthened by the cultural heritage of the Hua Xia tribe, endured for 2,000 years.

In Confucian teaching, the "superior man" 君子 (jun zi), extolled in the classics as the highest product of self-cultivation, should be able to attain his ends without violence. In addition to self-cultivation, the first and preferred means of social control is education-- indoctrination in the classical teachings--to enable each individual to understand thoroughly the etiquette and know how to behave. When this process fails, the second level of social discipline, especially for the inferior person without adequate education, is the system of rewards and punishments. Filial obedience to parental authority is the foundation of the system (Bodde, 1991). Military force functions on a third level in this normative structure, as a last resort when disorder has reached such proportions that neither indoctrination nor persuasion is effective.

Following this emphasis on self-cultivation and classic indoctrination, a whole system of indoctrination of so-called "Women's Virtue" 妇德 (fu de) was developed in the latter part of the Western Han dynasty (206 B.C. - 24 A.D.). This period witnessed the publication of the first volume of Biography of Women 列女传 (lie nu zhuan) composed by Liu Xiang 刘湘 (see Chapter III for more details). Women of chastity and virginity who received recognition either from the court or the populace were selected by scholars like Liu Xiang and recorded in this type of book, which serves as an attachment to official history books in succeeding centuries. Chinese women were encouraged to follow the role model prescribed by these books, even though education was never encouraged for women in Chinese feudal society.

Indoctrination of women in the ideals of virtue was reinforced strictly in the Song dynasty, which was the second pinnacle of Chinese feudal ideology. During this period,

women's suicide rates reached a record high because of the indoctrination of chastity and virginity. Female infanticide and footbinding began to prevail as social trends.

In sum, the Chinese patriarchal system made women inferior to men and emphasized women's subordination to and dependence on men, in a manner similar to that of other patriarchal societies. The Chinese feudal system that developed subsequently was characterized by a Confucian emphasis on self-cultivation, indoctrination and hierarchic orders. These concepts are rooted in normative codes established in the Western Zhou dynasty. This feudal heritage has unique Chinese characteristics that are discussed further in the following section of the dissertation.

Unique Characteristics of the Chinese Bureaucratic Feudalism

The continuity of Chinese culture developed from primitive societies bestowed on ancient agrarian society in China a different complexion from that of other states. The Chinese peasant community has a long standing identification with the national totem--the "Dragon"-- which is the incarnation of the emperors. A Chinese emperor is regarded as the "Genuine Dragon and Heaven's Son" 真龙天子 (zhen long tian zi). This nomenclature may represent a continuation of the prolonged worship of a certain animal as the symbol of a major clan in the Neolithic period and Bronze Age.

Chinese agrarian society also has a deep-rooted peasant egalitarian mentality, however. If the ruler is widely acknowledged to be fatuous and bad, Chinese peasants felt no guilt about ousting him as a "stupid emperor" 昏君 (hun jun). Several hundred peasants' uprisings took place during the 2,000-year feudal period; a discussion of the patterns of peasants' revolutions is provided in Chapter V. Nearly every dynasty ended with a peasants' uprising. The Chinese "right of rebellion" could not be asserted simply

in the name of individual or of corporate freedom against the ruling class, however. It had to be declared in the name of the system, with an allegation that the ruler had forfeited Heaven's mandate by failing to maintain the social order adequately. Rebels usually arose in the name of the social order, which is the legitimizing myth of the state and the underlying moral sanction for all who resort to warfare (Fairbank, 1974).

Another feature of Chinese agrarian society was the absence of a system of primogeniture--a system that is prevalent in European history. Family property was traditionally shared among the sons. This inheritance system made it difficult for wealthy Chinese to accumulate huge amounts of capital or to keep their property over the course of several generations. Few Chinese families can track their family roots for more than five generations; famous families, such as that of Confucius, are an exception. This situation is the result of such factors as the inheritance system, migration and death caused by wars and natural disasters, and the general illiterate conditions of the populace.

In the modern revolutionary period, Chinese people do not bother to track individual family roots. For example, this author does not even know her maternal and paternal grand-parents' names. Chinese tradition emphasizes a universal symbolic identification with common Chinese ancestors, the land, and Chinese norms and culture as compared with the emphasis on individual family lineage that was prevalent among aristocratic families with military privileges in ancient European societies. The Chinese pattern increases the importance that is placed on each generation's producing at least one male descendant bearing the family name. Without a male heir, there is no guarantee that the family lineage will be retained. In China, this vital idea is expressed as "keeping the joss sticks and candles burned in front of the ancestors".

It also explains why patrilineal and patrilocal systems have been enforced so strongly in China.

The third feature of the Chinese feudal system was its administrative bureaucracy. The country was ruled by only one feudal lord-- namely the emperor himself-- with the assistance of the non-hereditary civil service, which was recruited from the scholar-gentry class (Creel, 1970). This concept of the scholar-gentry has had a great deal of fluidity according to time and place and was especially important during periods when imperial examinations played a large role in civil service recruitment. Families that could not produce the appropriate talents for success in the examinations and, later, in the bureaucratic service, were unlikely to retain a high social level for more than a generation or two. Thus, the "scholar-bureaucrat" 士 (shi), served as the literary and managerial elite of the nation for 2,000 years.

The concept of "career open to talent," which many people date from the French Revolution, is neither French nor even European (Needham, 1981). It has been a Chinese concept since the Han dynasty (206 B.C-220 A.D.). On the other hand, a literary tendency, feudal ideology, and bureaucratic constraints severely limited the development of talent in ancient Chinese society, in which people were encouraged to focus only on literary sophistication.

In sum, the ancient Chinese are known as inventors of the crossbow, cast iron, and gunpowder, as well as paper, printing, civil service examinations, and bureaucracy. The Chinese system of government, with its Confucian-based civil service, compared very favorably with system in pre-modern Europe. The emphasis on the literary rather than the scientific abilities of the civil service system presented quite an unfavorable contrast, however.

Development of Ethnic Groups and Nationalities

As the previous section of this study notes, forerunners of various Chinese ethnic groups co-existed in China proper as early as in the Old Stone Age.

The Hua Xia tribe, the ethnic group of the ancestors of the modern majority Chinese nationality, was formed from a blending of the clans of Yan Di and Huang Di, other tribes of Yi, Qiang, Miao 苗, Southern Man, Rong, and Di peoples in the Xia dynasty. The succeeding dynasties witnessed ethnic fusion, symbiosis, genesis, and subjugation on a larger scale. All these processes occurred through aggressive wars, military colonization, voluntary and forced migrations, dynastic changes, formation and disintegration of various tribal kingdoms, inter-marriage, and natural disasters.

Different levels of civilization have existed among different ethnic groups since prehistoric time. Animal breeders and nomads in the North and hunters as well as people engaged in swidden agriculture (slash-and-burn) in the southern mountainous areas have all engaged in the same simple production activities over the centuries. Horticultural societies of matriliney still exist in modern Yunnan 云南 province. Foraging societies are also common among other ethnic groups who live in remote areas.⁸

These dynamic ethnic changes were also affected by policies of exclusion, insulation, and enlistment adopted by various rulers. Western scholars of Chinese ethnic groups have cited the phenomenon called the "Central Kingdom" mentality of the majority Chinese, as well as the process of so-called Sinicization, in which people of other cultural and ethnic groups fell before the Han juggernaut (Moser, 1985; Gladney, 1991). Most Chinese ethnologists believe, however, that the assimilation has been

⁸ Western scholars tend to apply modern democratic value systems to ancient China, and become very critical of Chinese intellectuals' attitude toward other ethnic groups. For example, the fact that ethnic groups were called "barbarians" by Chinese rulers and scholars has generated considerable criticism.

mutual. They also hasten to point out that there were five major historical periods in ancient Chinese history when China was ruled by non-Han ethnic elite. These included the Tu Jue 突厥 elite, which ruled China from the Later Tang era (923-936) to the Later Han period (947-950), as well as four out of the five dynasties after the Song: namely, the Qi Dan 契丹 people in the Liao dynasty, the Nyu Zhen 女真 people in the Jin dynasty, the Mongolians in the Yuan dynasty, and the Man 滿 people in the last Qing dynasty. Although all these non-Han people came from the northeast, with its strong tradition of cavalry, all the non-Han dynasties adopted the Han-style patriarchal system and bureaucratic feudalism. The so-called Sinicization was a political as well as cultural phenomenon.

The study of ethnicity has posed difficulties for Chinese and Western ethnologists. Officially, 56 ethnic groups exist in modern China; but this division grew out of an administrative decision made hastily in the early 1950s. Among these ethnic groups, 15 have a total population of more than a million; 15 have more than 100,000 but below a million; 19 have between 10,000 and 100,000; and 6 have less than 10,000 (1982 Census). These figures are inaccurate, however. For example, the 1982 census counted only 19 Tu Jia 土家 people, a minority group in a county of southwestern Sichuan 四川 province. In 1984, when the county applied to be an autonomous Tujia county with special privileges, including an exception from the one-child policy applied to the majority Han people, 218,000 individuals claimed to be members of the Tujia!

As another example, China's Muslim population numbered 2.4 million in 1953 and 2.6 million in 1978. This figure doubled in 1982 to 4.3 million, however, and reached 9.8 million in 1988 (Gladney, 1991).⁹

⁹ It is reported that in the past five years, more Chinese people claimed to be descendants of Israeli people who came to China in the eighth century. To be connected with foreign people was regarded reactionary in the Cultural Revolution period (1966-1976), but has since been regarded positively.

A major reason for this difficulty in ethnic identification lies in the fact that it is based mainly on self determination. Other criteria, such as common language, common territory, common economic life and common culture cannot be applied in some cases. For example, the Chinese Muslims are scattered among 60% of China's counties and cities. The 7,000 Wuzibek 乌孜别克 people are represented in all 60 counties and cities in Xinjiang 新疆 province. These ethnic groups thus lack a common territory.

The language situation is much more complicated. All Chinese Muslim, Man and She 畲 peoples speak the Han dialect. Nevertheless, sub-ethnic groups of Han such as Ke Jia 客家 (Hakka in the West) and Min Nan 闽南 (people living in the southern Fujian 福建 province) speak their own dialects. Sometimes a single family of Jing Bo 景颇 (Kachin in the West) in Yunnan uses two to three languages, depending upon the generations present (Gladney, 1991). There are eight kinds of spoken Han languages and five major types of Mandarin, the main dialect of Han (Moser, 1985)¹⁰. In short, there is much scholarly work to do before the ethnic identity problem for China's people can be solved scientifically. It is necessary to analyze a period of several thousand years and a huge diversity.

At the beginning of the Spring and Autumn period, there were more than 140 tribal kingdoms in China. In the east were various kingdoms of Yi people. By that time, hundreds of tribes of Di and Qiang people in the west had formed a strong kingdom called "Qin" 秦 built through centuries of wars and annexations. The various tribes of the Southern Man people formed a kingdom called "Chu" 楚.

In the southwest were "Ba" 巴 and "Shu" 蜀 kingdoms, as well as various tribes. In the southeast, there were hundreds of tribes of Yue 越 (Viet in the Western

¹⁰ It is officially believed that more than 60 languages used are by Chinese people. These belong to five language families, ten language branches, and sixteen language sub-branches. The most popular one is the Sino-Tibet language family, which include Han 汉, Zhuang Tong 壮侗, Zang Mian 藏缅 and Miao Yao 苗瑶 four language branches (Ma et al, eds., 1984).

parlance), who had an uneven development of civilization among themselves. For example, the Southern Yue 南越 and Luo Yue 骆越 people in Guangdong, Guangxi and southern Yunnan had entered the Bronze Age by that time, while other Yue people were still in the Stone Age.

Together with local Southern Man people, one branch of the Zhou tribe formed a kingdom called "Wu" 吴 along the lower course of Chang Jiang river.

During the same time, there existed various strong tribes of Qiang people in Tibet, Qinghai and Gansu. All these Rong, Di, Man and Yi people tried to expand into the central plain area. Led by a major Hua Xia kingdom called "Qi", mentioned briefly in the previous text, the Hua Xia kingdoms launched many wars against the Rong, Di, Man and Yi people; there were also wars among the Hua Xia kingdoms. By the year 476 B.C., when the Warring States period began, there were seven major kingdoms and several minor ones remaining in the arena.

All these annexations and unification efforts centered around the major Hua Xia kingdoms and were accompanied by inter-marriage and mixed living among various ethnic groups. More frequent exchanges among various ethnic groups facilitated the development of their economy, political and cultural systems, and levels of civilization.

By the time the first emperor of Qin unified China in 221 B.C., the Hua Xia people prevailed and were called "Qin people" after the name of the first feudal dynasty. This dynasty lasted only 15 years, however, and was replaced by the Han dynasty (206 B.C.-220). The Hua Xia people have been called "Han people" since then.¹¹ At present, 95% of the total population of China belong to the Han nationality.

¹¹ Chinese who went abroad in significant quantity during the Tang dynasty. These people were called by the name of their dynasty too. That is why Chinatowns all over the world are translated into "Tang People's Street" in Chinese 唐人街.

Qin Shihuang 秦始皇, the first emperor of China, unified the language and currency and linked the existing walls of several kingdoms of the Warring States period into the Great Wall. He also established prefectures and counties within China's territory, as well as the areas where various ethnic groups lived together. He sent 300,000 troops to defeat the Xong Nu tribe which was composed of the descendants of the Di people in the north, and established 34 counties in the territory of the Xong Nu.

The following Han dynasty annexed and united more areas from other ethnic groups, and its territory expanded to a much greater extent than that of the Qin. At the beginning of the Han dynasty, Xong Nu also was developed into a bigger kingdom. Headed by its king called "Mo Du Chan Yu" 冒顿单于, who had a cavalry of 300,000 soldiers, Xong Nu conquered the Dong Hu 东胡 tribe in the east and the Ding Ling 丁零 tribe in the north, and expelled the Da Yue Shi 大月氏 tribe away in the west, whose members became the majority people of Central Asia.

This slave kingdom held a huge territory across Mongolia: its eastern border reached Korea, and its southern territory extended to northern Shanxi and Shaanxi.

Facing this strong enemy state in the north, Liu Bang 刘邦, the first emperor of the Han dynasty decided to try a new stratagem. He asked a beautiful ordinary woman to pretend to be the princess, and he married her to the Xong Nu King. This policy of political marriage, called "He Qin" 和亲, is designed to cement relations with rulers of tribal states in the border areas by marrying princesses to them. This creative policy was followed successfully by many rulers in the subsequent dynasties. The most famous examples are Wang Zhaojun 王昭君, the most beautiful imperial concubine, who herself asked to marry Xong Nu King in 33 BC. (her deeds have been used for indoctrination of patriotism for many generations),¹² and the real Princess Wen Cheng 文

¹² There were thousands of imperial concubines in the Han emperor's palace. They had to bribe the painter for a better portrait in order to sleep with the Emperor. Wang Zhaojun knew she was the

成公主 of the Tang dynasty, who married the Tibetan King named Song Zan Gan Bu 松赞干布 in 641 A.D. Princess Wen Cheng introduced much advanced technology to Tibet, and her contribution was cherished by both the Han and the Tibetan people.

Emperors of the Han dynasties also married princesses to kings of tribal states in the west. Sometimes these efforts were aimed at forming alliances with those kingdoms to deal with the main threat from Xong Nu, and sometimes the policy was adopted for the purpose of peaceful coexistence. Many famous diplomats emerged during this period, including a woman named Feng Liao 冯嫫. A well educated maid to Princess Jie You 解忧公主 who was married to King Wu Sun 乌孙王, Feng Liao made many constructive contributions to the friendly exchanges among various ethnic groups in Xinjiang, and she enjoyed the respectful title of Madame Feng among them.

Despite the efforts of He Qin, ethnic wars persisted. The Han dynasty defeated the Kingdom of Nan Yue in the period of 140 B.C. to 87 B.C. and established prefectures and counties in the Guangdong and Guangxi areas. There were several dozen uprisings of Qiang people during the Eastern Han period (25-220). The longest uprising lasted more than 11 years. Similar rebellions occurred in southwestern China, where many tribes of Yi people lived.

In the northeast, more efforts were made to encourage nomadic tribes to settle in the central plains area. In the year 207 alone, Emperor Cao Cao 曹操 moved more than 10,000 households of Wu Huan 乌桓 people into the central plains.

All these people subsequently were assimilated into the Han. Emperor Cao Cao also moved thousands of households of Xong Nu to Shanxi, where Xong Nu nobles

prettiest concubine and thus refused to offer a bribe. With a plain portrait presented to the Emperor, she had no chance to see him. To avoid a lonely and empty life within the palace, she offered herself when Xong Nu King asked to marry a princess of the Han. When Han Yuan Di 汉元帝 met her before the departure, he was stunned by her beauty and killed the painter. Wang's marriage to the Xong Nu king kept the border at peace for a longer time. This famous "Zhaojun He Qin" story has been used to instill patriotism in women.

became the chiefs, and Han officials were assigned as the "Si Ma" 司马 to supervise them. A similar policy was applied to tribal states in the southwest .

The Han people also were forced to migrate. At the beginning of the Qin dynasty, 500,000 criminals were sent to live in the south with the Yue people. After many years of blending, some Han people became Yue, and some Yue became Han.

Contacts with people in Taiwan started in the Three Kingdoms period (220-280), when the Shan Yi tribe 山夷族 (mountain Yi people; also called Dao Yi tribe 島夷族, island Yi people) lived on the island of Yi Zhou 夷洲 (Yi's island), now called Taiwan. These Shan Yi people were a branch of the forerunners of the present-day Gao Shan 高山 ethnic group, the majority Taiwanese people. Other forerunners of the Gao Shan included the Yue people from Fujian, Guangdong and Zhejiang provinces, who moved to the island during the Spring and Autumn period.

The Three Kingdoms period was followed by the two Jin dynasties (265-420). From 304 to 439, there were 23 kingdoms of seven ethnic groups in China. After 135 years of warfare, the Northern Wei (386-594) of Xian Bei 鲜卑 people unified the northern part of China and confronted the Song of Southern dynasties (420-479) in the south. In 581, all these areas were unified by the Sui dynasty (581-618).

It was not until the establishment of the Tang dynasty (618-907) that the Chinese could enjoy several hundred years of unification and stability without major ethnic wars or peasants' uprisings. The chaotic situation since the end of the Eastern Han (220) was marked by large-scale ethnic migrations and by natural or forcible national assimilation. The migrations were characterized by thousands of minor ethnic groups moving into the central areas and settling in the main cities. They were also marked by the movement of many Han people to the peripheral areas in order to escape

from wars. Southern people moved to the north, and northern people moved to the south. All these migrations led to natural assimilation among ethnic groups.

Another characteristic of the ethnic relationships in this period was that people of various ethnic groups participated in the same uprisings, such as those against the Western Jin and against the Northern Wei. Advanced Han culture influenced many of the elite of the kingdoms of minor ethnic groups. Han people also learned from other ethnic groups, for example, they learned how to grow watermelons 西瓜 (xi gua, melon from the West) and tomatoes 西红柿 (xi hong shi, red persimmon from the West).

Rulers of the Tang dynasty adopted the same policy of the He Qin for dealing with the ethnic kingdoms in the border areas. At that time, the strongest ethnic kingdom in the north was that of Tu Jue people. There were many wars between the Tu Jue and whatever kingdom occupied the central area. By the time of the Tang dynasty, the Tu Jue people were split into western and eastern branches. After defeating the Eastern Tu Jue, the Tang rulers allowed them to settle in Inner Mongolia and northern Hebei. Many Tu Jue military officers served in the court of Tang.

After the extinction of the Tu Jue, the Hui He 回纥 tribe became strong. Tang rulers married their daughters to the kings of the Hui He. In 788, the tribe's name was changed by its ruler into Hui Hu 回鹘. The Hui Hu was destroyed by the Xia Jia Si 黠戛斯 tribe in 840, and its remaining people migrated westward. Some of the Hui Hu people became the Uygur 维吾尔 (wei wu er) nationality, which now lives in Xinjiang between the border of the former Soviet Union and China.

Tang rulers also helped the Chief of the Wu Man 乌蛮 tribe, who unified the six tribal states in Yunnan province. In northeastern China during the Tang period were Shi Wei 室韦, Xi Mai 奚, Qi Dan, and other tribal states. In 901, the king of Qi Dan called Ye

Lu A Bao Ji 耶律阿保机 annexed Xi and Shi Wei and established the Qi Dan kingdom.

As mentioned above, four out of the five latest Chinese dynasties were northeastern non-Han kingdoms whose peoples originated along the Songhua Jiang 松花江, Mudan Jiang 牡丹江 and Heilong Jiang 黑龙江 rivers in the northeastern China (Ma et al, eds., 1984).

In addition to all these autochthonal ethnic groups, there existed other ethnic groups of faraway origins. The first group consisted of Arabian and Persian merchants, who came to settle in China's coastal cities during the middle of the 7th century. At the beginning of the 13th century, more Arabians and Persians, as well as central Asian tribes, moved to China while the Mongolians were engaged in expeditionary wars to the east. Since most of these people adhered to Islam, they were labeled "Hui Hui" 回回 in the Yuan dynasty. The Hui people have spread all over China since that time. For the Hui people who lived in China, genealogical descent was the most important aspect of identity. For urban Hui communities, an expression of identity through a Hui lifestyle, such as the pork taboo, entrepreneurship and craft specialization was more important. For northern rural Hui people, ethnic identity was often expressed and perpetuated through strategies of community maintenance (Gladney, 1991).

A Muslim imperial eunuch named Zheng He 郑和 commanded six of the seven expeditions to the Indian Ocean between 1405 and 1433. His fleet included 100 junks, some of which displaced 2,500 tons and carried up to 25,000 men. "These forays stand in stark contrast to the seaborne expeditions to Asia commanded by Vasco da Gama and his immediate successors after 1498, which rarely exceeded 10 vessels, most of them

under 200 tons." (Levathes, 1994)¹³ In modern China, the Hui population is the second largest, after the Mongolians, among the minority nationalities. The study of this foreign ethnic group has recently attained a significant scale.

Other foreign ethnic groups include the Korean Chinese, who moved to China from Korea in the 19th century, and several thousand Jewish people who moved to China and settled in the central plains during the same period as that of the Arabian immigration.

In sum, ancient people of various tribes lived in China proper from the time of the Old Stone Age. People of Hua Xia reached an advanced level of civilization earlier than did other tribes, and they became the forerunners of the majority Chinese who are now called Han. Various tribal states coexisted for many years. Warfare and conflict among them sometimes lasted for many years, however. Unification through annexation has been a frequent phenomenon in China's history. Cooperation through friendly exchanges and inter-marriage has also taken place over a long time span.

During most of history, there was a central kingdom of Han people surrounded by many tribal kingdoms in the peripheral areas. There were also important dynasties of minor ethnic groups that ruled China. Irrespective of who ruled China's central kingdom, however, the ruler always followed the rules and codes of Confucian feudalism. This powerful cultural heritage has overshadowed the cultural heritage of other ethnic groups. The natural and forced assimilation process among various ethnic groups has never ceased. In addition to more than 60 modern spoken languages, about 16 to 20 written languages were developed in ancient China, some of which were

¹³ As a Muslim boy from a family named Ma Zheng was captured by the Ming army in Yunnan and was castrated three years later in 1385. He was placed in the serve of the Prince of Yan for 20 years both at the court and on expeditions.

discovered recently by archeologists. More digging and systematic analysis will be required to gain better insight into this subject.

Chapter V Ancient Chinese Military Thought and Technology

Ancient Military Thought

Inscriptions on bones or tortoise shells of the Shang Dynasty record endless warfare among Chinese clan societies. An extensive record of military institutions and exploits has been kept throughout written history. In the Spring and Autumn period alone, about 150 clan states were extinguished and annexed in a period of 300 years, leaving 22 that were gradually consolidated into a dozen big states during the appropriately titled Warring States period. These, in turn, were reduced to half a dozen in a grinding free-for-all until the final unification of China in 221 B.C..

Unification and social order have become the major concerns of all Chinese leaders since that time. There was no end of war, however. The Qin dynasty, which was the first unified kingdom, lasted only 14 years. Each of the dozen major dynasties and an equal number of smaller ones were founded by military means. Thus, the Chinese case has proved through at least 5,000 years of history that central power grows out of the sword. As Mao Ze Dong said, "state power grows out of the barrel of a gun" (Mao, 1954).

Along with the development of bureaucratic feudalism and Confucianism came ancient Chinese military thought. The "arts of war" were described in 3,380 books, of which 2,308 remain in existence (People's Daily, 3/13/1989). Some scholars believe that the so-called "soldiering culture" 兵文化 (bin wen hua) exemplified by Sun Zi, has the

same qualities of mind in Zhou etiquette as does Confucianism; but it evolved with an emphasis more on utilitarianism than on paternalism (Zhang, 1992). Both rulers and rebels must study the arts of war to win battles militarily and politically. Thus, the intellectual development of military strategy and tactics in China never ceased, despite persistent efforts by orthodox Confucian scholars to discredit and reduce the influence of military issues. Nevertheless, the soldiering culture has never prevailed in China, even during prolonged turbulent times of wars or peasants' uprisings. The reasons for this phenomenon are discussed below.

Civilian Supremacy over the Military

As another achievement in the ordering of society, the Chinese during the Western Zhou dynasty established the idea of civilian supremacy over the military. Some scholars believe that this early triumph of "civil over military", 文 (wen) over 武 (wu) in Chinese (literate culture over brute force), is a major reason why China acquired a reputation for pacifism in Western folklore (Kierman & Fairbank, 1974).

In order to enhance the idea of civilian supremacy, warfare was deprived of esteem in the imperial orthodoxy of the Han bureaucrats (206 B.C. - 220 A.D.); deprivation of esteem acquired an ethical basis that has colored Chinese thinking ever since that time. War is difficult to glorify because ideally it should never occur. The moral absolute is on the side of peace. No economic interest suffices to glorify warfare; no wealthy neighbors entice Chinese freebooters across the border or over the sea

(Fairbank, 1974). As Creel observes, while foreign conquest and warfare became a major industry in Rome, China consistently put less stress on the glory of combat (Creel, 1970):

Generals had few triumphs and they lost their heads at least as often as anyone else. Chinese youth were given no equivalents of Alexander, Caesar, or Napoleon to admire or emulate... Likewise, holy wars are not easy to find in the Chinese imperial record, just as an avenging God and the wrath of Jehovah are far to seek. The whole view of the world is less anthropomorphic and less bellicose than that of the Old Testament, or of Islam (Fairbank, 1974:7).

The efforts of scholar-moralists to tame men of violence were reinforced by the early establishment in China of bureaucratic government with a structure of territorial administration through prefectures 郡 (jun) and/or counties 县 (xian). The effect of this arrangement was to bring the military more easily under central control, partly because the collection of taxes enabled the civil bureaucracy to maintain its independence from the military; and partly because the military itself became bureaucratized, subject to the same kinds of control over personnel and resources through orders from the center:

Soldiers found that civilians assigned them to duty, wrote their fitness reports, provided their supplies, directed their strategy, and evaluated them in the historical record. The opportunity for the energetic commoner to rise in the world as a soldier was thus circumscribed except in times of breakdown (Fairbank, 1974:9).

In short, no one has systematically analyzed the phenomenon, evident throughout Chinese military history, of how the military failed to develop into a separate profession and reach the top level of power. The military high command was regularly in the hands of civilian officials. Law is subordinate to and inseparable from morality. The rule is

based on the Confucian teachings of social order. The military is only a subordinate echelon within the imperial bureaucracy. Warfare, as a form of managed violence, is regarded as the last resort if other methods of social control fail. As Sun Zi makes plain, violence is only one part of warfare and not even the preferred part.

"Great Wall Mentality"

Another major characteristic of Chinese military thought is a focus on inland defense, including high walls and other defensive structures. Scholars of Chinese military traditions believe that the germ of China's defensiveness, along with her primary concern for social order at home instead of expansion abroad, arises from the landlocked position of North China, remote from other centers of civilization and from sea routes (Kierman & Fairbank, 1974). Geographically speaking, the germ of Western expansiveness arises from Greco-Roman use of the sea, which fostered maritime trade, colonies, and empires in the Mediterranean. This expansiveness developed into 19th century European imperialism, which briefly took over the world. This Western tendency may be described as a "blue sea" military tradition. In contrast, Chinese military thinking may be labeled as the "yellow earth" tradition. So far, this geopolitical explanation of the major difference between Western and Chinese military experiences remains the most influential one.

The rough equivalent of the Mediterranean Sea in ancient China's military experience was the vast grassland and desert area of Inner Asia, where China's intensive agriculture could never be established and the raids of nomadic cavalry could never be

entirely eliminated. The nomadic threat has persisted for more than 2,000 years, at least since the 4th century B.C., when the Xong Nu tribes on the border of North China first began to raid the settled farmlands to the south. The threat was one of raiding and plundering rather than actual conquest. The defenders' aim was to capture Xong Nu leaders, blunt their striking power, deter their attacks and, if possible, subdue them. The most that could be achieved would be freedom from raids for a decade or two (Loewe, 1974).

After the nomad cavalry acquired true stirrups about the beginning of the Christian era, their striving power naturally increased. The period from about the 4th to the 14th centuries, the millennium of the mounted archer, came to a climax in the Mongol conquests of Persia, South Russia, and China. By 1279 the Song empire fell completely under the domination of Mongol tribesmen whose predecessors had intermittently but increasingly been invading North China during the previous 1500 years (Loewe, 1974:12).

This long trial has left upon Chinese military thinking an indelible mark: defensive-mindedness, or what we may call a "Great Wall mentality." The continuous menace from nomadic raiders has been fact of life through Chinese history.

Military Institutions

As the previous section briefly notes, control of the defense lines in ancient China was part of the task of provincial administrations. From the Qin laws, the "Grand Defender" 太守 (tai shou) or "Defender" 守 (shou) served in the late Warring States and at least in the Qin periods to administrate the territory of a prefecture 郡 (jun). This personage ranked higher than the county chief in the hierarchy. He was in charge of all

matters relating to the defense of the city. Thus, the bureaucratic title of Tai Shou or Shou combined both military and civil functions. No standing army was created, but the defense of the city required full support from all men and women in the territory. The Defender also gathered all the peasants from the surrounding countryside into the town and placed both the urban and the rural population under military law when the city was under attack (Yates, 1982).

This meant organizing them, men, women and children, into 5-person squads for those actually fighting, and 5-family units. These units and squads were made legally responsible for each other's conduct under the "mutual responsibility 相坐 (xiang zuo) system. By segmenting and regulating the population in this way, the central authorities extended their ability to demand taxes and labor services from a larger and larger proportion of the people living within their borders, thus expanding their economic, social, and military base (Yates, 1982:451).

This system of mutual responsibility was further developed and incorporated into the early Tang dynasty's militia system 幕府 (mu fu): 600 regional military headquarters 府 (fu) kept their registered complements of self-supporting farmer-soldiers under territorial administrative control, while military personnel were drawn from this pool in tactical units under central military command (Kuhn, 1974).

Another institution with a similarly long history is the "military colony" 屯田 (tun tian), a self-supporting military community that was often composed of criminals and was positioned to defend the frontiers against barbarians. The traditional arrangement of this Tun Tian system is still evident in China in such institutions as Military Zones, and Military Districts. How to achieve civilian control in the virtually self-supporting military

community is beyond the scope of this document; but this short discussion alone already indicates that the ancient Chinese developed a unique territorial defense system that emphasized centralized control, civilian supremacy, and self-reliance.

Military officers enjoyed certain autonomy within their own camps. For example, marshals and generals normally were empowered to refuse entry to all except those who bore special imperial authority to enter their camp. Under unusual circumstances, even an order from the Emperor himself could be denied by the Commander in Chief, if he could cite military secrecy or emergency as a rationale. This situation was epitomized in the popular saying that "when the general is out in mission, even the emperor's order can be ignored" 将在外，君命有所不受 (jiang zai wai, jun ming you suo bu shou).

There were also privileged military units. Admission to these units was a reward for previous service, for social origin, or for distinction irrespective of personal merit. The duties of these units were less onerous than those of others. The Tang and Qing dynasties offer examples. Such units may have been designed to give an emperor a last line of defense in case of life-threatening emergencies. Perhaps the basic idea was discernible in the recruitment on a voluntary basis of "sons of the superior houses" 良家子 (liang jia zi) under the Han dynasty (Loewe, 1974). Later, under the Liao, Jin, and Yuan dynasties of conquest, military colonies of the invading forces were established at strategic points within China to defend the dynasty against the populace. The principle Ming military institution was the "guard unit" 卫 (wei) of registered hereditary professional soldiers, which was independent of the local civil administration. Five

hundred Guard units were created, some on their own lands as garrisons within the wall and others as commanderies among tribal units on the frontiers. Under the Qing "banner" 旗 (qi) system, another privileged military unit arrangement, the original eight "Man" 滿 nationality banners were supplemented by eight Mongol and eight Chinese banners. In sum, the Chinese military institution has a tradition of territorial defense, self-reliance, and farmer-soldier militia system with occasional elite units.

Ancient Military Technology

Before the Spring and Autumn and Warring States periods, the expensive war chariot was developed as an aristocrat carrier and archery platform (Kierman, 1974). During the Warring States period, wars become more intensive, organized, and severe, fought by bigger states with more sophisticated techniques and larger forces. The introduction of the crossbow around the middle of the Warring States period and the use of iron for weapons coincided with the development of bigger and more disciplined armies of conscripts, which were coordinated in action by signals and were commanded by comparatively more professional military men. The aristocratic war chariot by then had largely given way to infantry. Soon afterward, cavalry was introduced from the northern "barbarians", as were trousers for riding astride-- though as yet without the iron stirrup. By the time of the Tang Dynasty (618-907 A.D.), most battles were wars of position, which were fought with adversaries operating from relatively secure and supplied bases (Peterson, 1974).

Chinese military engineering is exemplified by Mo Zi, the greatest military innovator as well as a famous philosopher in the Warring States period,

(who) harnessed all the latest technological innovations and recently discovered mechanical principles, such as the lever and the pulley, to the defense and attack of towns and cities in the late Eastern Zhou" (Yates, 1982:449).

Trebuchet, the most important siege engines, were introduced in Mo Zi's time; they included the "throwing machine" 投机 (tou ji) or "trampling cart" 藉车 (ji che). Ordinary well-sweeps were used for four other purposes by the defenders of a city under siege in the Warring States period. These purposes were to draw water from wells that were dug every 600 feet inside the city walls; to suspend screens that shielded the walls from enemy missiles; to drive bellows that blew choking smoke into enemy lines; and to raise signals on top of the walls. One of the methods for forcing the enemy off the face of the city walls during a mass infantry assault was to suspend flaming screens 答 (da) either horizontally or vertically. Other contraptions included the "suspended spleen" 悬脾 (xuan pi), the "fire-thrower" 火掷 (huo zhi), and the "heat-transferor" 传烫 (chuan tang). Planting sharp iron stakes 锐铁桩 (rui tie zhuang) at the base of the city walls was very popular in those periods for defending the cities (Yates, 1982).

The first heavy artillery crossbow was called the "revolving shooting machine" 转射机 (zhuan she ji) which also received mention in Mo Zi's book (468-346 B.C.) (Yates, 1982). Crossbows and catapults, the most important heavy weapons prior to the invention of firearms, were the best weapons against towns. Most combat in the Song and Yuan dynasties stressed the use of fire projected by big catapults, the siege artillery

operated by as many as 40 or even 100 men to pull the lever ropes. These "cannon" 火炮 (huo pao) were not real firearms although they threw grenades and bombs made of gunpowder for their incendiary effect in burning gates and wall structures as well as wooden houses. Other projectile weapons included Zhen Tian Lei 震天雷, Hui Hui Pao 回回炮, created by Chinese Muslim called Hui Hui people), and Fei Huo Chiang 飞火枪 etc. (Dreyer, 1974).

With regard to logistic arrangements and support, Chinese military writers assumed that an army with foot-soldiers and baggage wagons could march over land at a rate of 30 li per day (about 10 miles). A campaign force of 10,000 cavalry required about 1,320 wagons to carry a month's supply of grain and another 360 wagons for salt. Grain for 10,000 horses required 1,440 wagons. For logistic reasons alone, it is believed that campaigns in ancient China seldom lasted beyond two months (Dreyer, 1974).

Starting with the Han dynasty, cities were not only the centers of administration, but also the residence of the wealthy. The walled town, in contrast with the European style castle, was designed for both the safety of people and the storage of accumulated property. The functions of the troops who guarded the walls were to check both ingress and egress (Loewe, 1974). An elaborate system of beacons and signals also existed since Han: a brass-wind instrument La Ba 喇叭 and small cymbals were for retreat and drums for advance; the colors of flags and lanterns corresponded to the four directions. Communication was exemplified by ready-made paper slips that were one inch long and were stored and passed in "wax balls" 蜡丸 (la wan), etc..

The basic structure of China fortified locations included an outer wall, shoulder-high and normally an earthwork which stood some distance from the main walls; the main walls 城 (cheng); about 50 feet in height; and an inner fortress 主城 (zhu cheng). Some provincial capitals and perhaps other towns had an even smaller enclosure Ya Cheng 丫城, which held the residence and administrative premises of the governor or other senior official. There were also "jar-like walls" 瓮城 (weng cheng), or "crescent-shaped walls" 月城 (yue cheng) too (Franke, 1974).

Discussion of various hand weapons and other offensive machinery is either beyond of the scope of this study, or lacks convincing scholarship. It also worth noting that although most existing studies of ancient military technology have focused on the defense of walled cities, the use of early Chinese arcuballista "was not confined to siege warfare" (Yates, 1982:441). The deployment of powerful trebuchets and arcuballistae for use in sieges had numerous effects on architectural, social, political and economic development in ancient China.

In sum, the history of Chinese military thought and technology is characterized by the following features:

- 1) a tendency to de-emphasize heroism and violence rather than glorify them;
- 2) a tradition of land warfare that prefers defense to offense;
- 3) a link between militarism and bureaucracy, rather than between militarism and commercial expansion-- least of all overseas;
- 4) a strong traditionalism--continuity of military strategy and technology;

and

5) a gradual improvement of Chinese military technology.

City defense depended upon civilian auxiliaries and militiamen. The Chinese military institution was characterized by territorial administration through prefectures and counties, as well as military colonies and autonomous military camps. It was rare for a military subculture to develop either in elite units or in the rank and file. Chinese generals were praised for their loyalties to the court, not for their victories on the battlefield. Soldiering was not a glorified career in ancient China.

Patterns of Peasants' War in Ancient China

As the previous sections mention briefly, there were hundreds of peasant rebellions occurred in ancient China. Some of these revolutions contributed directly to dynastic transition. Most of them failed in the end. Some of them involved ethnic conflict, which was another constant phenomenon in China's history. The following section will describe the most famous peasants' rebellions in China's ancient history and offer some analysis about the patterns of these revolutions.

The first large-scale peasants' war was launched by Chen Sheng 陈胜 and Wu Guang 吴广 in 209 B.C., twelve years after the first emperor Qin Shihuang unified China. About 900 defense militiamen 戍卒 revolted under these two leaders in the southeastern part of Su county 宿县 in Anhui province. Several thousand peasants joined the insurgent army and established a political power called Zhang Chu 张楚 in

Henan province. There ensued many uprisings against the Qin dynasty that were led by officials, scholars, and noble family members of annexed kingdoms. Before long, the armed forces against the Qin were arrayed all over eastern China. Chen was murdered by a traitor, and his successor was killed in another battle. After these episodes, two other insurgent armies under Xiang Yu 项羽 and Liu Bang 刘邦 became the main forces.¹ In 207 B.C, Xiang Yu won a vital battle at Ju Lu 巨鹿 and defeated Qin's main troops, but Liu Bang attacked and occupied Xian Yang 咸阳, the capital of the Qin dynasty, and overthrew the dynasty. Xiang committed suicide during a final defeat after many battles against Liu. Liu became the first emperor of the Han dynasty in 206 B.C.

At the end of this dynasty around 17 A.D., three major peasants' revolutions erupted. One was known as the "Green Woods Army" 绿林军 (lu lin jun, the name of the mountain that was used as the base); the other was called "Bronze Horse Army" 铜马军 (tong ma jun: the name of the place where the uprising broke out); and the third was called the "Red Eyebrow Army" 赤眉军 (chi mei jun: participants painted their eyebrow in red). The first uprising erupted in Hubei province in the year 17, the second was the main force among the 15 insurgent armies in Hebei province, and the third arose

¹ Liu Bang was a junior official in charge of recruiting laborers for the construction of the Great Wall. When he dismissed several dozen forced laborers against the court's order, he became a fugitive himself. The only way out was to lead an uprising. His wife and father were held hostage by his enemies on several occasions. Liu made himself the first emperor of the powerful Han dynasty. His wife was one of the few able empresses in ancient history, as well as the cruelest empress dowager. She tortured one of her husband's favorite imperial concubines to death in such an inhumane way that her own son, the emperor, was irrevocably shocked by the scene and never recovered. He died soon afterward.

in Shandong and Jiangsu provinces in the year 18. Total participants in these revolutionary armies reached more than several million people.

A common trigger for all these rebellions was large-scale starvation and natural disasters. The major political factor was that Wang Mang 王莽 had controlled the court and tried to turn a Liu family's dynasty into a Wang one. In the second year of the Green Woods uprising, rebels supported Liu Xuan 刘玄, a remote royal relative of the former emperor, to be the new emperor. Wang Mang sent 420,000 fighters in combat against the Green Woods Army, but his forces were defeated and the main force was totally wiped out by the rebels. Wang Mang was killed when the insurgent army attacked and occupied the capital. As soon as Liu Xuan, the emperor who was supported by the peasant rebels, moved into the capital, he betrayed the revolution and killed the rebel leaders. He was forced to surrender when the Red Eyebrow Army attacked and occupied Changan in 25. At this time, landlords of the central plain stored up and hid grain and organized their own armed forces. In the year 26, the lack of grain supplies forced the rebel army to withdraw from the capital. In the following year, Liu Xiu became the first emperor of the Eastern Han dynasty (25-220), which ruled China for 32 years. All three of the rebellions ultimately failed, with a result of changing the head of the Han dynasty.

At the end of the Eastern Han dynasty, in the year 184, the "Yellow Scarf Uprising" 黄巾起义 (huang jin qi yi: participants wrapped their heads in yellow scarves) erupted. At that time, the court was controlled by eunuchs, peasants were

heavily burdened by taxation and labor rent. Land was concentrated in the hands of powerful and wealthy despots, and many peasants were forced off their lands and became a large wandering population.

Under these circumstances there emerged Zhang Jiao 张角, a leader of a religious group called "Heavenly Peace Way" 太平道 (tai ping dao), who had preached and gathered several hundred thousands followers in a decade. Believing that the time for rebellion was at hand, he created a slogan saying that: "the blue sky {meaning the royal court} is dead, the yellow sky {meaning the political power of the peasants} should be established, the right time is 184, for an ever lasting happiness" 苍天已死，黄天当立，岁在甲子，天下大吉 (cang tian yi si, huang tian dang li, sui zai jia zi, tian xia da ji). All his followers in eight provinces revolted simultaneously. Officials' mansions were burnt, tyrannical local officials were killed, and rich landlords' stockade villages were attacked by his Yellow Scarf Army. This rebel army won several battles against the imperial army in Hebei and Henan provinces but suffered major defeats when the imperial army allied itself with local despots. Zhang Jiao died of a sudden illness, and his two brothers were killed in battles. The main force of the Yellow Scarf Army lasted about nine months, and its remaining troops engaged in guerrilla warfare for more than 20 years. This revolution ended in failure, but it contributed to ending the Eastern Han dynasty in 220 and initiated a 60-year period during which three kingdoms existed in China and fought against each other.

At the end of the Sui dynasty (581-618), there was another period of large-scale peasants' revolution. In 611, peasants' uprisings broke out in Shandong, Hebei, Shaanxi, Gansu, Guangdong, and the lower course of the Chang Jiang and Hui rivers. Five years later, these rebels formed three main armies: Wa Gang Jun 瓦冈军 in Henan province, a rebel army in Hebei that was headed by Dou Jiande 窦建德, and an army in the lower course of Chang Jiang and Hui rivers which was headed by Du Fuwei 杜伏威. Sui's main forces were wiped out by these peasants' armies. During the same time, landed gentry such as Li Yuan 李渊, Liu Wuzhou 刘武周 and Wang Shichong 王世充 arose to form their own armies and fought against Sui. With strong support from military officers and officials, Li Yuan's army marched into the capital of Changan (modern Xian in Shaanxi province) and established the Tan dynasty in 618 (Li's daughter Princess Ping Yang will be discussed in Chapter VI).

Li's Tang dynasty was ended by a major peasants' revolution in the middle of the 9th century. It was started in 874 by Wang Xianzhi 王仙芝 with several thousand rebels in Henan. In the following year, this army grew to a force of less than a half million and merged with an insurgent army headed by Huang Chao 黄巢. After a major victory three years later, the two leaders separated and their armies fought continuous battles against the imperial army in several provinces. Wang tried to surrender on several occasions but was eventually killed by the imperial army in 878. His lieutenant who designated himself as the "Towering General" 冲天大将军 (chong tian da jiang jun) brought the army back to Huang Chao, and established his own court. He decided

to move eastward. After a forced crossing of the Chang Jiang and Hui rivers and a passage through Jiangxi and Zhejiang provinces, the rebel army opened a 300-mile road across the mountain range and entered Fujian province. In 879, this army attacked and occupied Guangzhou (known as Canton in the West), which had a population of one million. Huang decided to launch a northward expedition and fought all the way north to Changan. In 881, his army entered the capital, and he changed the name of the new dynasty to Da Qi 大齐.

Lacking a solid revolutionary base, his capital was surrounded by Tang's imperial army, and Huang Chao was soon forced to withdraw. After a 300-day-long attack against Huaiyang in Henan province, his troops were defeated. In 884, Huang Chao committed suicide after suffering defeat in a battle at the bottom of Tai Mountain in Shandong province.

This revolution lasted ten years and spread to twelve provinces. The Tang dynasty never recovered fully from this rebellion. It ushered in an era when several ethnic groups from northeastern China established various kingdoms starting in the year 907 (please see the section on the development of ethnic groups in the previous chapter).

The Song dynasty was divided into two: the Northern Song (960-1127), co-existing with the Liao dynasty of the Qi Dan ethnic group; and the Southern Song (1127-1279), co-existing with the Jin dynasty of the Nu Zhen ethnic group. Each witnessed some peasants' rebellions, which for the first time in China's history explicitly expressed the peasant's egalitarianism of "equalizing the nobles with the low, and averaging the rich

with the poor" 等贵贱，均贫富。 One uprising of tenant peasants and tea farmers broke out in 993 in Sichuan province and lasted about two years. Two others erupted at the end of the Northern Song, one in 1119 in Hebei and Shandong provinces and the other in 1120 in Zhejiang province. Both were headed by famous leaders: Song Jiang 宋江² and Fang La 方腊. Song Jiang and his 36 comrades established a revolutionary base in Shandong province but were defeated by the Song dynasty's army in 1121. One of his subordinate designated himself as the emperor in Shaanxi in 1127 but later also suffered a defeat by the imperial army.

Today, scholars still debate whether Song Jiang surrendered to the court, and whether he rebelled again after the surrender. One of the most popular novels in China's history is based on Song Jiang and his base.

Fang La was a hired laborer who had strong support from peasants through a local religion called "Ming Jiao" 明教. When he rose to rebel in 1120, other religious groups responded quickly. Before long the rebellion spread to all 52 counties in the East. The Song dynasty's army sent by the emperor to suppress this revolution was led by General Tong Guan 童贯 in command of 150,000 soldiers. Fang's rebel army was defeated, and he was captured and executed the following summer.

In the beginning of the Southern Song, there was a peasant uprising in Hunan province that was headed by Zhong Xiang 钟相. He spent twenty years and relied upon

² Song Jiang was a junior official who spent his spare time seeking the acquaintance of chivalrous delinquent knights. His activities had been watched by his disloyal wife, who wanted not only to divorce him, but also to put him in jail. Song Jiang killed his wife and became a fugitive. He had no other choice but to participate in the local rebel army which had wanted his talent for a long time.

a local religion called "Wu Jiao" 巫教 to mobilize people and established a base near the Dongting Lake. In 1127, he sent 300 militiamen to the court to battle against the invading Jin kingdom of the Nyu Zhen ethnic group. This effort was rejected by the court, and the troops were sent back. The militia troops became the core of the rebel army.

In 1130, the belongings of people around the lake were constantly looted by Song's imperial soldiers, bandits, and the Jin's army. Zhong launched an uprising in self-defense and was supported by peasants in the entire area. Before long the rebels occupied 19 counties, and the army grew to a force of several hundred thousand. Zhong was designated as the "Chu King" 楚王. He was captured and executed in the summer. The youngest leader, Yang Mo 杨么, became the new chief. In 1133, he designated himself as "the Grand Saint Heavenly King" 大圣天王 and named Zhong's son as the crown prince. He commanded a militia force of 200,000 people, who farmed as well as fought. They won many battles against the Song. In 1135, he was betrayed by traitors and executed by Yue Fei, the famous anti-Jin general of the Song dynasty.

At the end of the Yuan dynasty, there was another spurt of various peasants' uprisings. They assisted Zhu Yuanzhang 朱元璋, a rebel leader, in starting his new dynasty called "Ming" 明. As the previous section on ethnic groups notes, the Yuan dynasty was a Mongolian state power. In the middle of the 14th century, China was beset by natural disasters and by the corruption of its feudal system. The Yellow river overflowed three times in a single year. Many starving peasants had to eat tree bark and

roots of grass. In 1351, Han Shantong 韩山童 relied on a Buddhist religion called "White Lotus" 白莲教 and mobilized laborers along the Yellow river to rebel. This force was marked by the wearing of red scarves. Han was killed in the early stage of the revolution, and the red scarf army was led by one of his disciples named Liu Futong 刘福通, whose main activities were in Anhui province.

Many groups responded to this rebellion, including one led by Zhu Yuanzhang. The rebels attacked cities, killed landlords, and established various short-lived political powers. The revolution spread all over the country. The Mongolian power was fatally destroyed by this over ten-year rebellion. On the other hand, the rebelling troops never formed alliances and were defeated separately by the imperial army. Zhu Yuanzhang's force managed ultimately to overthrow the Yuan and establish his Ming dynasty. His wife Empress Ma will be discussed in the next chapter.

The Ming dynasty lasted about 300 years and was overthrown by another peasants' revolution. In the middle of the 17th century, land was heavily concentrated in the hands of officials, despots and big landlords. Thousands of peasants were forced away off their land when large-scale drought hit the country. Militiamen stationed at the border areas as well as unemployed staff participated in various uprisings of starving peasants. In the period from 1627 to 1633, about 36 units of the peasants' armies fought against the Ming imperial army in Shanxi and Shaanxi provinces. This wave of rebellion started to cross the Yellow river and entered the central plain in 1633. In 1635, 13 leaders representing 72 rebel units met and discussed strategies together. Gradually the

revolutionaries concentrated themselves into two camps, one headed by Li Zicheng 李自成 and the other by Zhang Xianzhong 张献忠 .

After several major defeats, Zhang surrendered and Li escaped to the high mountains in 1638. In the following year, the rebellion experienced a resurgence, and Zhang's troops entered Sichuan province. Li's revolution also endured ups and downs. In 1640, with only 40 cavalymen, Li entered Henan holding a slogan calling for "averaging land, and exempting tax" 均田免賦 (jun tian mian fu). Within two years, his troop strength increased to one million people. In 1643, Li designated himself as the "New Lucky King" 新順王 (xin shun wang) in Xiang Yang 襄陽 . Zhang designated himself as the "Grand Western King" 大西王 (da xi wang) in Wu Chang 武昌 . The following year, Li's army attacked and occupied Beijing, the capital, and overthrew the Ming dynasty. Ming's Emperor Chong Zhen 崇禎皇帝 hanged himself at the Coal Hill behind his Forbidden City.

The victorious peasants' army was corrupted quickly, however, and Li was killed in a battle in 1645. In the following year, Zhang was also killed in combat. This failed revolution facilitated the enforcement of the political power of the Nyu Zhen ethnic group in the northeast, which marched in and established the last Qing dynasty. Thus, once again, a new dynasty was ushered in by a peasants' revolution. The Qing dynasty itself was fatally attacked by peasants' revolutions called the Tai Ping Tian Guo Movement and the Boxer Movement, which will be discussed in the chapter on China in the Post-Opium War Period, 1840-1949.

From the short description in this section, it is clear that most of the major dynastic transitions in ancient China were generated by peasants' revolutions. These peasant rebellions were joined by various ethnic groups, officials, militiamen, delinquent knights, craftsmen, small and medium landlords, workshop owners, staffs, and scholars. The Chinese peasantry itself consisted of hired hands in the fields, tenant farmers, serfs, and free farmers. These people were labeled as individual laborers or small private owners by Marxist scholars (Zhao & Gao, 1955). They were the major producers of ancient China. One half and sometimes two thirds of their income had to be handed over to support rich landlords and officials, as well as all the national expenses, including the support of the royal family and court and the imperial military forces. Moreover, the peasants were called upon whenever there was a manpower demand for soldiers or laborers.

This large mass of peasants was ruled by a tribal elite of landed gentry and scholar-gentry. There existed a very sophisticated feudal hierarchical system with territorial prefectures and counties. The feudal bureaucracy not only controlled the construction and maintenance of all the infrastructures, such as hydraulic projects and transportation network, but also was exclusively in charge of substantial necessities such as salt. Systems of sale of land, usurers' capital and commercial capital were established much earlier in China than in other countries. The concentration of land ownership versus the dispersion of its usage has been regarded as the constant contradiction in ancient China's agrarian society. In short, no matter how deeply the identification of the

Chinese peasantry with the head of the royal power was culturally enforced by continuous tradition, the peasants were exploited and ruled by a much smaller group of people composed of officials, tribal elite, despots, landed gentry, and eunuchs. A common saying in China explains a lot: "officials are forcing ordinary people to rebel" 官逼民反 (guan bi min fan). In this case, the officials represent all the beneficiaries of the Chinese feudal system. That is why all modern scholars agree that Chinese peasants are egalitarians, though they debate whether the peasantry was against the imperial power because the rebellions were rarely aimed at the royal head himself (Xie & Jian, 1981).

Within this broad context, it was the combination of corrupted court and natural disaster that usually triggered rebellion. Concentration of land, extra burdens of taxation, factional struggles within the ruling elite, and foreign invasion or border conflict, coupled with a natural disaster caused violent revolt. Revolts led to dynastic transitions or political reforms, as well as to changes within the feudal system with less taxation and sometimes land re-distribution. There ensued a certain period of peace, which, in turn, brought another round of corruption and concentration of land. This cycle repeated itself, accompanied by various uprisings, peasant revolutions, and ethnic conflicts.

With regard to the results of these revolutions, they might not be universally regarded as positive to China's social-economic development, even by pro-revolutionary scholars (Xie & Jian, 1981). All the winners of these peasant revolts adopted the imperial power system and became emperors themselves. Most of the attempts at rebellion ended in bloody failure. A common mobilization slogan of the Chinese peasant

revolution was "equalizing nobles with the low class people and averaging rich with poor". Land and taxation have always been the focus of revolt. Religious activities and indoctrination have been repeatedly used by revolutionary leaders to organize peasants into rebellion. China's peasant revolutions have also been intertwined with ethnic conflicts and wars. In the 2,000 years of China's feudal history, no dynasty lasted 300 years, and a few lasted more than 200 years.

In sum, background materials provided in this chapter elucidate the societal, cultural, situational, and military environment in which the behavioral patterns of Chinese female soldiers in ancient times will be presented and scrutinized in the following chapter.

Chapter VI Women Warriors in Ancient Time

This chapter focuses on Chinese women's actual participation in military operations in ancient times. The research is based on secondary sources of historical data. Chapter III provides a discussion on the quality, availability and selection criteria for these data.

Forty women warriors in ancient China have been identified by this author for the time period before the year 1840 (see Table 6.1 Women Warriors in Ancient China on the following pages). These women warriors represent a small minority (5.3%) of the 760 historical women from whom they are selected (see Chapter III). They emerged during more than 3,000 years before 1840.

Most of the 40 Chinese women warriors commanded armed forces, including those engaged in rebellions and urban defense. Some were just ordinary citizens who participated in the defense of their home or city. Some had an official designation, some did not. Some were high commanders with long-time military careers and political skills, while others lacked military training or experience prior to their participation in the military operations described here. Some were well educated, with literary talent, while other had limited or no education. Only one woman started her military career as a sergeant (see Hua Mulan in the following text). Otherwise, no data exist about women in the rank and file, though we know that many of them served under the command of women generals.

Table 6.1 Women Warriors in Ancient China

(16th Century B.C. - 1840 A.D.)

#.	Name	Dynasty	Dates	Origin	Ethnic	SES (Father)	Marital (Husband)	Mil. Skills	Combat Time	Title
Commanders of Official Armed Forces										
1	Fu Hao 妇好	Shang 商	16th c - 11th c B.C.	Henan	Han 汉	Tribe Chief	King Wu Ding	yes	many years	
2	Wei Huahu (Hua Mulan) 魏花弧 (花木兰)	Han 汉	206 B.C. - 220 A.D.	Shan- Dong	Han 汉	Sergeant	not married	yes	12 years	
3	Li Xiu 李秀	Jin 晋	265-420 AD.	Si- Chuan	Han 汉	Governor General	Governor General	yes	years or 1 year	Madame Town Pacifica- tion
4	Madame Xi 洗夫人	Sui 隋	502-557 A.D.	Guang- Dong	Li 俚	Tribe King	Grand Defender	yes	many years	Madame National Watcher
5	Princess Ping Yang 平阳公主	Tang 唐	588-623A.D. (601) (624)	Shanxi	Han 汉	Emperor	General	yes	many battles	Princess
6	Xiao Chuo (Empress Dowager Xiao) 萧绰 (萧太后)	Liao 辽	953- 1009 A.D.	Inner Mongolia	Qi Dan 契丹	Premier	Emperor	yes	at least two battles	Empress Dowager
7	Liang Hongyu 梁红玉	Southern Song 南宋	1127-1279	Jiang- Su	Han 汉	Military Officer	General	yes	many years	Madame National Defender

#.	Name	Dynasty	Dates	Origin	Ethnic	SES (Father)	Marital (Husband)	Mil. Skills	Combat Time	Title
8	Cen Hua (Madame Wa Shi) 岑花 瓦氏夫人)	Ming 明	1498-1557	Guang-Xi	Zhuang 壮	Tribe King	County Official	yes	many years	Designated Female Commander in Chief
9	Qin Liangyu 秦良玉	Ming 明	1574-1629 (1584)(1648)	Si-Chuan	Han 汉	Official	Grand Defender	yes	many years	Commander in Chief

Leaders of Uprisings (peasant & nationality)

10	Lu Mu 吕母	Western Han 西汉	206B.C. - 18 A.D.	Shan-Dong	Han 汉	Rich Farmer	widow	no	one battle	
11	Chen Shuozhen 陈硕真	Tang 唐	? - 653 A.D.	Zhe-Jiang	Han 汉	Farmer	married	no	many battles	Self Designation
12	Yang Miaozen (Si Niang Zi) 杨妙真 (四娘子)	Southern Song 南宋	1127-1279	Shan-Dong	Han 汉	Farmer	Uprising Leader	yes	many battles	
13	Madame Xu 许夫人	Yuan 元	1271-1368	Fu-Jian	She 畬	Tribe Chief	County official	yes	many battles	
14	Empress Ma 马皇后	Ming 明	1333-1382	Anhui	Han 汉	Uprising Leader	Emperor	no	many battles	Empress
15	Tang Saier 唐赛儿	Ming 明	1403-1424	Shan-Dong	Han 汉	Farmer	married	yes	many battles	
16	Wang Conger 王聪儿	Qing 清	1777-1798	Hubei	Han 汉	Itinerant entertainer	Uprising Leader	yes	many battles	Self named Buddhist Mother

Defenders

17	Xun Guan 荀灌	Jin 晋	265-420	Henan	Han 汉	General	not married	yes	one battle	
18	Han Shi (Zhu Xu's Mother) 韩氏 (朱序母)	Jin 晋	265-420		Han 汉	no inf.	married	no	one battle	

#.	Name	Dynasty	Dates	Origin	Ethnic	SES (Father)	Marital (Husband)	Mil. Skills	Combat Time	Title
19	Shao Shi (Liu Xia's Wife) 劭氏 (刘遐妻)	Jin 晋	265-420	Hebei	Han 汉	Grand Defender	General	yes	many battles	
20	Lu Shi (Zhang Mao's Wife) 陆氏 (张茂妻)	Jin 晋	265-420		Han 汉	no inf.	Military Officer	yes	one battle	
21	Mao Shi (Fu Deng's Wife) 毛氏 (符登妻)	Jin 晋	265-420		Han 汉	no inf.	Military Officer	yes	many battles	
22	Liu Shi (Gou Jinlong's Wife) 刘氏 苟金龙妻	Northern 北朝	386-581	Hebei	Han 汉	no inf.	Grand Defender	no	one hundred days	son titled county chief
23	Zhao Shi (Sun Daowen's Wife) 赵氏 孙道温妻	Northern 北朝	386-581	Hebei	Han 汉	ordinary citizen	ordinary citizen	no	one battle	An Ping County Superior Man
24	Meng Shi Ren Cheng's Mother 孟氏 任城母	Northern 北朝	386-581	Hebei	Han 汉	no inf.	high rank official	no	one battle	Dowager Concubine
25	Ren Shi (Madame Huan Hua) 任氏 浣花夫人	Tang 唐	618-907	Si-Chuan	Han 汉	ordinary citizen	Grand Defender	no	one battle	Madame Huan Hua

#.	Name	Dynasty	Dates	Origin	Ethnic	SES (Father)	Marital (Husband)	Mil. Skills	Combat Time	Title
26	Yang Shi (Li Kan's Wife) 杨氏 (李侃妻)	Tang 唐	618-907		Han 汉	no inf.	County Chief	no	one battle	
27	Xi Shi (Zou Baoying's Wife) 奚氏 邹保英妻	Tang 唐	618-907		Han 汉	no inf.	Grand Defender	yes	one battle	Madame Honesty Chastity
28	Gao Shi (Gu Yuanying's Wife) 高氏 古元应妻	Tang 唐	618-907		Han 汉	no inf.	County Chief	no	one battle	Loyal County Superior Man
29	Hou Si Niang 侯四娘	Tang 唐	618-907		Han 汉	no inf.	not married	yes	many battles	Courageous General
30	Tang Si Gu 唐四姑	Tang 唐	618-907		Han 汉	no inf.	not married	yes	many battles	Courageous General
31	Wang Er Niang 王二娘	Tang 唐	618-907		Han 汉	no inf.	not married	yes	many battles	Courageous General
32	Yan Gong Ren 晏恭人	Song 宋	960-1279		Han 汉	Rich Farmer	Widow	no	many battles	Gong Ren
33	Shu Lyuping (Empress Dowager Shu Lu) 述律平 述律太后	Liao 辽	879-953	Inner Mongolia	Hui Gu 回鹘	Tribe Chief	Emperor	yes	one battle	Empress Dowager
34	Sha Lizhi (A Lin's Wife) 沙里质 (阿邻妻)	Jin 金	1115-1234	Hei- Long- Jiang	Nyu Zhen 女真	Tribe King	ordinary citizen	yes	one battle	Madame Jin Yuan
35	A Luzhen 阿鲁真	Jin 金	1115-1234	Hei- Long- Jiang	Nyu Zhen 女真	Tribe Royal Family	widow	yes	one battle	Madame Prefecture Duke

#.	Name	Dynasty	Dates	Origin	Ethnic	SES (Father)	Marital (Husband)	Mil. Skills	Combat Time	Title
36	Shen Yunying 沈云英	Ming 明	1368-1644	Zhe- Jiang	Han 汉	Grand Defender	Grand Defender	yes	one battle	Guerrilla General
37	Zhong Jin (San Niang Zi) 钟金 (三娘子)	Ming 明	1550-1612	Inner Mongolia	Mongol 蒙古	Tribe King	King	no	many battles	Madame Loyalty Obedience
38	Yang Shi (Zhang Guohong's Wife) 杨氏张国宏妻	Ming 明	1368-1644	Hebei	Han 汉	ordinary citizen	ordinary citizen	no	one battle	
39	Bi Zhu 毕著	Qing 清	1644-1840	Anhui	Han 汉	Military Officer	ordinary citizen	yes	one battle	
40	Madame Xu 许夫人	Qing	1674	Hubei	Han	Official	Governor 徐襄毅	Yes	one battle	

Key:

1. Bolded numbers are dates of birth and death, others are beginning and ending years of the dynasty.
2. Numbers in brackets are from a second source.
3. Name is arranged according to the Chinese custom, that the first name is the family name (surname).
4. Mil.: military.
5. no inf.: no information.

Notes:

1. Bolded numbers are dates of birth and death, others are beginning and ending years of the dynasty.
2. Numbers in brackets are from a second source.
3. Name is arranged according to the Chinese custom, that the first name is the family name (surname).

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These women are divided into three groups, according to the positions they occupied in the armed forces, the nature of the military operations in which they participated, and the length or frequency of their military activities. These groups are labeled as women commanders, female rebel leaders, and women defenders.

Nine Chinese women (22.5% of the sample) were commanders of official armed forces—in most cases, imperial armies. Most of them served in the armed forces for years, and participated in military operation more frequently. They are categorized into the first group of women commanders. **Seven** (17.5%) were leaders of peasant or ethnic uprisings. They belong to the group labeled rebel leaders. These women were involved in military activities for shorter or less frequent occasions compared with women commanders, but they participated in more than one battle. **Twenty four** (60%) were women warriors who engaged either in urban defense or in warfare against rebel assault. Most of them participated in a single battle related to urban defense—a battle that lasted days or years. They are put in the group labeled defenders.

Readers might notice at this point that this study identifies fewer women aggressors than women defenders. Most orthodox Chinese historians tend not to record rebels in history books, as Chapter III notes. More academic work is needed to overcome this ideological bias inherent in the historical data. Time constraints obliged this author to identify the seven rebel leaders as the only women aggressors, other than women commanders, for this study. More sources, such as annals of prefectures and

counties, must be scrutinized in order to expand the research—a time-consuming process that lies beyond the scope of this study.

Figure 3 on the following page illustrates the geographic distribution of the women warriors selected for this research. Numbers in the map correspond the series numbers in Table 6.1. Most (75%) of the female soldiers have their origins recorded; thus, the map is illustrative. Chinese territory in ancient times included mostly the areas in eastern China; while most of the western areas had few permanent inhabitants. The southern part of China was unstable because of various tribal states of minor nationalities. Moreover, China's territorial boundaries changed frequently during the time span of 3,000 years. That is why a modern map of China is used instead of the map of any feudal dynasty. The relevant discussion of the geographic distribution of the female warriors is provided in the section on pattern analysis.

Women Warriors as Commanders

The first Chinese woman general, Fu Hao 妇好 (#1 in Table 6.1) lived about 3,200 years ago. As the previous Chapter noted, she lived in the era of transition from matriarchal to patriarchal societies and prior to the formal establishment of the Chinese patriarchal system. Fu Hao lived at least 1,000 years earlier than Sun Zi, who is the author of the earliest military book in human history. Her weaponry included bronze components. The inscriptions on bones and tortoise shells dug out of her tomb record the earliest human military activities, as well as the military strategy and tactics that this ancient general adopted.

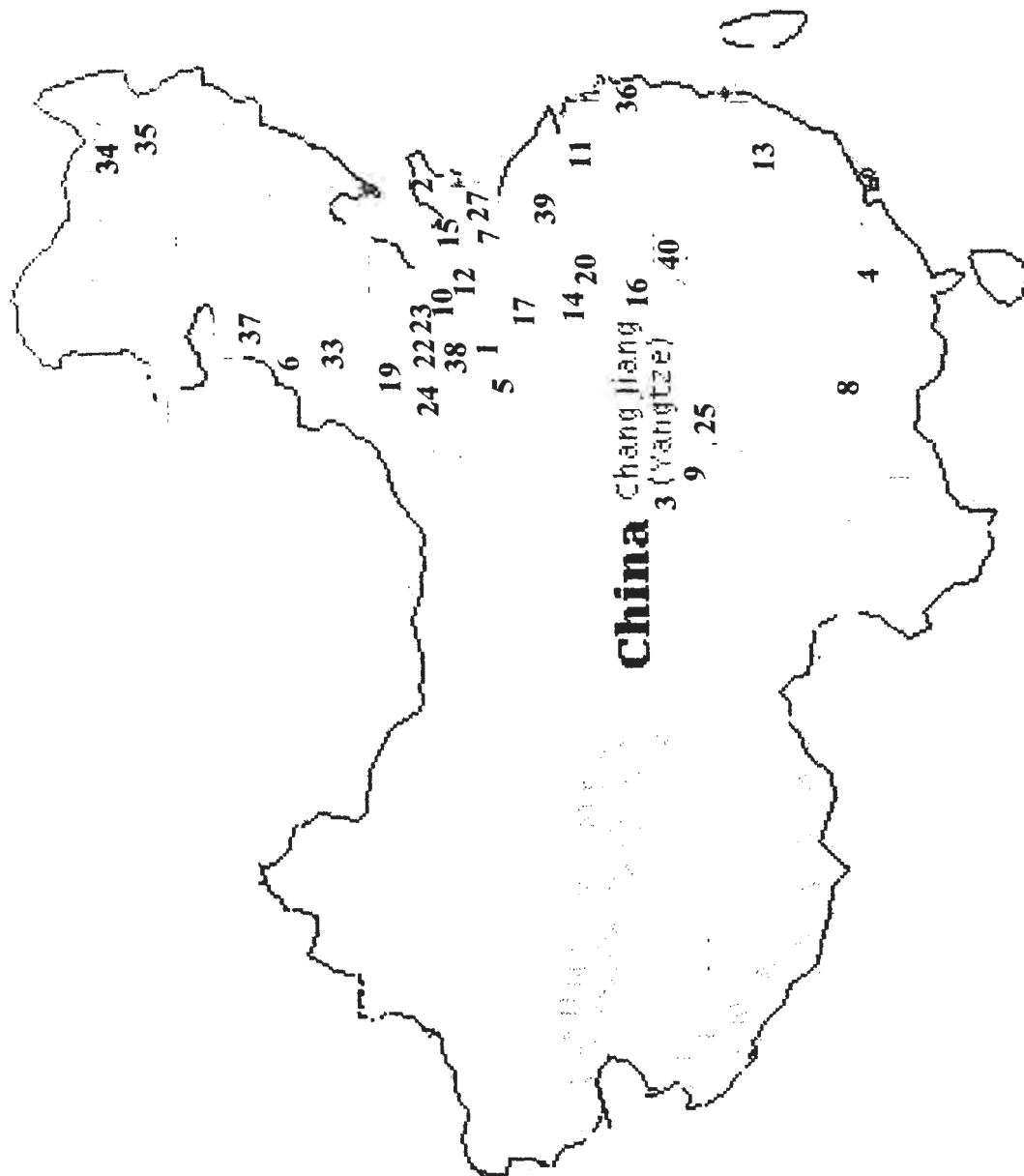


Figure 3. Geographic Distribution of Women Warriors in Ancient China (see Table 6.1)

In addition to more than 600 pieces of jade ware, 7,000 pieces of sea shell currency, and 440 pieces of bronze ware with her name carved inside, all of which were discovered in her tomb in 1976, there were two bronze hatchets that symbolized her status as a military commander in ancient time. Unfortunately, her legend did not enter the Chinese cultural heritage at an earlier stage. The existence of Fu Hao has only been discovered and proven by modern archeological studies. More scholarly work should be done to draw a detailed portrait of this first Chinese woman general.

In sharp contrast to Fu Hao, all other Chinese female commanders described in this study not only have been recorded in official history, but also have inspired many literary and artistic works. The most famous one is Wei Hua Hu 魏花弧, known as Hua Mulan 花木兰 (#2 in Table 6.1). This study will continue to use Hua Mulan, the legendary instead of the real name, to avoid further confusion.

Hua Mulan was the earliest and most influential legendary woman warrior in Chinese culture, since Fu Hao's legacy is lost in the long river of history. Until recently, however, the existence of Hua Mulan was disputed among serious scholars (Liu, 1978). It was recently verified that this heroine of the Han Dynasty (206 BC-220 AD) was recorded in a name book compiled at the end of the Jin Dynasty (around the year 419 AD) (Huang, 1991). Her tomb was identified behind the Wei Village in Bozhou 亳州.

Hua lived in an era when Confucian philosophy was taught by orthodox Han scholars as the foundation of Chinese feudalism, with its emphasis on loyalty and filial piety, and when the bureaucratic system was further enhanced and structured. Civilian

supremacy over the military was also established during this time period. Some scholars of Chinese culture have divided it into three subcultures: Han culture, Song culture, and contemporary culture (Li, 1988). Some scholars believe that most Chinese started to call themselves Han people from the time of Han dynasty (Gladney, 1991). In short, Hua lived in the starting period of orthodox Confucian feudalism.

Hua was born into a sergeant's 百夫长 (bai fu zhang) family in Shandong Province. She acquired military training from her father, who had retired after life-long military service. When the court called for her father's service again, he was too old to go and her brother was too young. Hua disguised as a man, purchased her own horse and saddle and met the calling for her father. She was stationed in Wan county 完县 in Hebei Province, where local annals have recorded her deeds and scholars have written many articles to commemorate her.

Hua served in the imperial army for about 12 years. She was promoted and rewarded several times after many victories and demonstrations of her military skills. Nobody discovered her real gender during those military years. In the end, the court wanted to reward her by designating her as a "general" 郎将 (lang jiang), but she refused and asked for a camel to go home. The emperor sent a team of guards to escort her back home, only to find out that she was a woman.

There are at least two versions for the end of Hua's story. One says that the emperor ordered her back to serve in the court as an imperial concubine after learning that she was a woman. She could only refuse this humiliating order by committing

suicide. Her countrymen built a temple in the village, and every year on her birthday, there is a ceremony to memorialize her. This author believes that such a tragic end may be closer to historical reality than the other version, which recounts that Hua married a general after her real gender was revealed and led a typical woman's life. This happy end naturally fits the function of any kind of legend: setting up a role model for future generations. Hua's case serves this purpose very well. It says that a Chinese woman should be both loyal to the emperor and filial to her father. She is expected to play a man's role to defend the motherland if she is needed. When her military service ends, she is expected to return to her typical woman's role and to be a devoted wife and home maker.

Most artistic work is based on this version with a happy end. Hua's period of disguise as a man is dramatized by literary and artistic works, which have inspired many imitations among Chinese women. The Chinese even like to name their daughters Mulan. Furthermore, it is worth noting that many literal works try to explain why Hua's real gender was not discovered when she was in the military. The most popular explanation is that when rabbits are observed in peace, one can tell that male and female behave differently; but if both male and female rabbits are running, nobody can differentiate them.

Second only to Hua Mulan, the other two most famous women generals in Chinese history are Liang Hongyu 梁红玉 (#7 in Table 6.1), and Qin Liangyu 秦良玉 (#9). Numerous literary and artistic works have been produced in both ancient and

modern times to honor these two women. Similar to Hua Mulan, these two served in the imperial armies for many years. What is different is that both Liang and Qin have been designated officially as generals. This official designation makes them distinguished from other women warriors.

Two of the women commanders in ancient China were female members of the royal family. One is Princess Ping Yang 平阳公主 (#5 in Table 6.1), who participated in the military operations that eventually led to the establishment of the Tang Dynasty (618-907 A.D.), one of the most prosperous in Chinese history. The other is Xiao Chuo 萧绰, known as the "Empress Dowager Xiao" 萧太后 (xiao tai hou), (#6) of the Liao Dynasty (916 - 1125). Xiao is also one of the three women commanders who are from minor nationalities. Only a few female royal family members have made their mark in China's long history for their own sake. Some left positive impressions, some negative. Princess Ping Yang and Empress Dowager Xiao, were outstanding for their martial glamour, military leadership, and political vision. They are surely equal to other reigning Queens in history (Newark, 1989; Salmonson, 1991).

The other two women generals from minor nationalities were Madame Xi 洗夫人 (#4 in Table 6.1) from the Li 俚 nationality; and Cen Hua 岑花, also called Madame Wa Shi 瓦氏夫人 (#8 in Table 6.1), from the Zhuang nationality. Thus, 33% of the women commanders in Chinese history were from minor nationalities. This situation is probably due to the fact that those minor nationalities had loose patriarchal

systems and were subject to less Confucian influence in ancient times. It may be also due to the fact that some of those nationalities had stronger martial arts traditions.

The last woman commander presented in this category is Li Xiu 李秀 (#3 in Table 6.1) of the Jin 晋 Dynasty (265 - 420 A.D.). She is not recorded in the Women Biography in History of Jin, but is mentioned in another similarly important historical series, Ji Zhi Tong Jian 资治通鉴, (p 12 in Volume 86), in the annals of Sichuan Province, and in several scholarly works.

Almost all of these women commanders were closely related to high-ranking male officials, including men with the highest status, such as emperors. A notable exception was Hua Mulan, the most popular figure, whose father was only a sergeant. Three of the female commanders were royal family members, two--Fu and Xiao-- were married to kings or emperors; seven were from official families, three--Hua, Li and Liang--from military families; and three--Xi, Xiao and Cen-- from ruling families of minor nationalities. Most of them had military training. All were famous for their military leadership in addition to their loyalty and filial piety.

These women are so outstanding that no one can deny their legacy. On the other hand, it seems that no lower-class women in ancient China could achieve the positions of official commander in the military, when patriarchal, patrilineal and patrilocal systems were strictly observed.

With the exception of the first woman general, Fu Hao, all women commanders have legendary influence in Chinese history. Though an exhaustive list of ancient

Chinese women warriors may never be produced because of China's long history, the ideological obstacles caused by Chinese historians' bias, and relevant data-quality problems, this author has more confidence in the coverage of this sub-group-- if only because the task of searching and identifying legendary role models for the indoctrination of women's virtue for future generations has been tried by many Chinese scholars over the centuries. Few influential women could be left without scholarly scrutiny and coverage. These are the most outstanding women warriors, representing thousands of nameless Chinese women soldiers who fought in battles and were silenced by historical dust forever afterward.

Women Leaders of Peasants' Uprisings

As the first woman leader of peasants' uprising, Lyu Mu 吕母, which means Lyu's Mother (#10), took part in military operations for a personal reason: to seek revenge from the county governor who had wrongly executed her son. Lyu lived in the late period of Western Han (206 B.C. - 24 A.D.) in Rizhao 日照, Shandong Province. Her family was very rich, and her son Yu 育 had been an official in charge of local public security. He was executed by the county governor for a minor crime. Lyu had no military training but was determined to avenge his death. She spent four years selling all her family's property and raising a force of several hundred capable young people. She designated herself as the general.

In the year 17 A.D., Lyu Mu launched an attack on the county and captured the governor. She killed the governor by herself and held a divination to her son with the

governor's head. She treated other officials well and her army did not loot. More peasants joined and the army's size increased to 10,000. A year later, a larger peasants' uprising called "red eyebrow" 赤眉 (chi mei) took place in the area (see Chapter V), and her army played an active role. Lyu died of illness soon afterward. Historians regard her uprising as the prelude to the major peasants' uprising at the end of the Western Han Dynasty, an uprising that destroyed that empire in the year 24.

Chen Shuozen 陈硕贞 (#11) was the first and only Chinese woman who designated herself as Emperor not Empress after launching a peasants' uprising. Chen Shuozen (? - 653) lived during the early Tang Dynasty in Jiande 建德 of Zhejiang Province. As an ordinary farmer, she lacked military training. She and her brother-in-law, Zhang Shuyin 章叔胤 mobilized a peasants' uprising army by declaring that she had ascended to heaven and had become immortal, with a mission of correcting wrongs in the secular society. She designated herself as the "Wen Jia Emperor" 文佳皇帝 and organized her own court. Her army developed into a force with 40,000 to 50,000 people and occupied many counties in western Zhejiang and southern Anhui provinces. Eventually, she and her brother-in-law were captured and executed after a defeat by Tang's official army.

Yang Miaozen 杨妙贞 (#12) lived during the Southern Song period (1127 - 1279) in Yidu county 益都 of Shandong Province. Her elder brother Yang Aner 杨安儿, was the leader of a famous peasants' rebel force called the "Red Padded Jacket Army" 红袄军 (hong ao jun). Her skill in riding and using a spear won admiration

among the insurgent peasants. In 1214, her brother was killed in battle, and Yang became the leader of the remaining several hundred fighters. Later, she married another rebel peasant leader, Li Quan 李全, and their two armies merged. In 1218, they surrendered to the Song Dynasty.

In 1226, after a major defeat while fighting on the side of Song's imperial troops, Li surrendered to the Mongolian army. In 1230, this army launched an attack on Song's official army and was defeated. Li was killed, and Yang returned to Shandong. Several years later, she died of illness. In another scholarly work, Yang was described as someone who behaved very much like the ancient Egyptian Queen who married the chief of her foes in order to increase her own political and military power (Liu, 1978).

The only ethnic woman rebel leader was Madame Xu 许夫人 (#13 in Table 6.1) of the She 畚 nationality. Xu lived during the early Yuan Dynasty (1271 - 1368) in Fujian Province. Seven years after the Mongolians conquered China and established the Yuan Dynasty, in 1278, Madame Xu, together with Huang Hua 黄华 of Jianning 建宁, launched an uprising against a plan to surrender to Mongolians who had already entered Fujian after Pu Shougeng 蒲寿庚, the governor's surrender. Madame Xu's army of the She nationality fought together with Han people who continued the anti-Mongolian struggle under the leadership of a Song general named Zhang Shijie 张世杰.

Empress Ma 马皇后 (1333 - 1382) (#13) was the only female rebel leader who later became an empress when the rebels won national power. She was from Suzhou 宿州 of Anhui Province. Her foster father, Guo Zixing 郭子兴, was the leader of a

rebel army that operated at the end of the Yuan Dynasty. In 1352, Ma married Zhu Yuanzhang 朱元璋, a subordinate of her foster father. Zhu later became the first emperor of the Ming Dynasty. He is also regarded as one of the few self-made outstanding emperors in China's history.

Ma had won her husband's as well as others' respect not only by being a personal assistant in Zhu's daily administrative work within the rebel army, but also by providing leadership in logistics such as organizing women to make uniforms, shoes and other military supplies. The official record does not give a full account of Ma's military activities in the rebel army but emphasizes her contribution, as one of the few female politicians in royal families, in dynasty-building. Literary work has given more detail about her experiences as a rebel leader, a subject for which more systematic study needs to be done in the future.

Two of the seven female rebel leaders, Tang Saier 唐赛儿 (#15) and Wang Conger 王聪儿 (#16), used religious activities and symbols to mobilize people. Both Tang and Wang relied on a Buddhist religion called "White Lotus" 白莲教 (bai lian jiao), which was developed in the Ming and Qing, the last two feudal dynasties. This pattern was followed by women warriors in the Boxer 义和团 (yi he tuan) Movement and the Tai Ping Tian Guo 太平天国 Movement, which will be discussed in Chapter VIII.

Tang Saier lived in the period of the Ming Dynasty (1403 - 1424) in Pu Tai 蒲台 county of Shandong Province. Influenced by people living around her, she learned and

mastered martial arts from a young age. Her husband died in an armed struggle with local officials over grain, and her father soon died from sadness. As a Buddhist, Tang Saier decided to use the White Lotus religion to mobilize people. She designated herself as a "Buddhist Mother" 佛母 (fo mu). In 1420, there was a flood in Shandong. On March 24, Tang launched the uprising, and her rebel army of several hundred quickly grew to 20,000. Her rebel troops won several battles but were defeated by Ming's troops within two months. Many of the rebel leaders died, but she managed to escape with the help of peasants.

Wang Conger (1777 - 1798) lived during the middle of the Qing Dynasty in Xiangfan 襄樊, Hubei Province. She was an itinerant entertainer, and her husband, Qi Lin 齐林, was a master in the White Lotus religion. In 1794, the couple launched an uprising together with several personal disciples and followers of White Lotus. Within days the rebel army had 40,000 to 50,000 people. In 1797, this army entered Sichuan and merged with peasants' insurgent troops there. The new force had three branches labeled as Black, Yellow and White. Wang was selected to be the Commander in Chief for all three branches. In 1798, the army entered Shaanxi Province but was defeated. The retreating troops were trapped in the Sanchahe 三叉河 area of Hubei Province. Wang fought to the end and committed suicide by jumping over a cliff with other leaders.

In sum, like the women commanders, all these female rebel leaders showed strong leadership in organizing and commanding armed forces. Most of them were

leaders of peasants rebellions. Some of them relied on religion to mobilize their followers. Two rebels fought to build their own or their husbands' empires, one fought out of loyalty to the previous dynasty. Most of them had military training and knowledge but engaged in military operations only for short time periods. Whereas only Hua Mulan among the women commanders was from a lower-class family, most of these rebel leaders came from poor peasants' families. Men close to these women were not of high social status during the time when they engaged in military activities.

In contrast with her view of coverage of the group of female commanders, this author is not satisfied with the coverage of the group of women rebel leaders. Not only are biased Chinese historians reluctant to record "wild women" or bandits, but also the quality of available data is affected by the way in which these data have been kept and passed down. Another problem lies in the Communist bias of composers of biographic dictionaries in modern China, who tend in their research and presentation to glorify revolutionary heroines. In short, this group of people demands the highest attention from future students.

Women Warriors as Defenders

As defenders of their homeland or home city, more ordinary women have been considered as heroines in history books, individual scholarly work, and literature, though women close to men of status and power have more ready access to the record. The most famous of these women defenders was Xun Guan 荀灌 (#17), who lived in the Jin

Dynasty (265 - 420) in Linying 临颖 of Henan Province. She was a descendant of a famous general in Wei of the Three Kingdoms period; her father was also a general. Thus, we may say that she came from a military family with at least three generations in the armed forces. From a very young age, she went through military training.

As the Grand Defender of Wan Cheng 宛城, Xun's father had to allow her a military mission, since his city was surrounded by a rebellious subordinate's troops, and all his sons were scholars without any military skills. Thus, at the age of 13, Xun broke out of the encirclement around midnight, commanding several dozen warriors. When a relief troop of several thousand soldiers, headed by a friend's son, rushed in to assist the city's defense, the rebel troops escaped. As the youngest role model of female defenders, Xun's heroic deed has special legendary power compared with those of other less famous women.

Another individual heroine whose deed is unique was Yan Gong Ren 晏恭人 (#32).¹ A widow of a rich landlord, she had an estate near a mountain called Yellow Ox 黄牛山 (huang niu shan). When bandits attacked the county, the governor, Huang Lie 黄埒, asked local landlords for allied self-defense. Most defense efforts were overpowered by the attacking enemy, except Yan's. She spent money in building abatises (the enforced fences with trunks and thorns) and in organizing her farm laborers. Even her maids were asked to participate. Yan herself led the defense by beating a drum. The enemy was defeated by her determined defense. More neighboring farmers

¹ Gong Ren was one of the official title for ladies in the Song dynasty.

came to Yellow Ox mountain and asked for protection. Before long, her force was developed into five centers with abatises, and all her militia went through military training. She also shared all official supplies and rewards with her militia allies. When the enemy attacked again, these militia supported each other in collective defense. In this way, tens of thousands of people obtained protection. Yan's abatis was called Wan An, which meant ever-lasting peace, and she was designated as Gong Ren 恭人. Her son was designated an official title because of her deeds.

This is the only case so far identified by this author in which an ordinary Chinese woman organized a victorious militia institution for self-defense. Given the frequency of warfare and banditry harassment in ancient China, there should have been more. This author does not know whether the commonness or the uniqueness of this type of self-defense accounts for the fact that only one case has been found.

More commonly recorded are female defenders of cities. This study has identified nine: 6 women who got involved because their husbands were either in charge of the defense or absent from duty; two because of their sons; and two who were ordinary citizens.

The 6 wives were: Liu Shi-- Gou Jinlong's wife 刘氏，苟金龙妻 (#22); Ren Shi, also known as Madame Huan Hua 任氏，又名浣花夫人，(#25); Yang Shi-- Li Kan's wife 杨氏，李侃妻 (#26); and Xi Shi-- Zou Baoying's wife 奚氏，邹保英妻 (#27); Gao Shi--Gu Yuanying's Wife 高氏，古元应妻 (#28); and Madame

Xu--Xu Xiangyi's wife 徐襄毅妻 (#40). All six heroic wives helped their husbands win battles of city defense. Three won honorable titles for their heroic deeds.

The two mother defenders were Han Shi--Zhu Xu's mother 韩氏，朱序母 (#18), and Meng Shi--Ren Cheng's mother 孟氏，任城母 (#24). Han lived during the Jin Dynasty (265 - 420). She personally investigated her son's city and found that the northwestern corner needed reinforcement, so she commanded several hundred maids and many women within the city to build an oblique wall within the main wall (see the discussion on walls in Chapter V). The result was the so-called "Madame's City" 夫人城 in Chinese legend that was referred to by Qin Liangyu together with Princess Ping Yang's Women's Pass in the previous section.

The two ordinary women city defenders were Zhao Shi--Sun Daowen's wife 赵氏，孙道温妻 (#23), and Yang Shi--Zhang Guohong's wife 杨氏，张国宏妻 (#38).

Zhao lived during the Bei Wei Dynasty (386 - 534). In the year 528, her city, An Ping 安平, was attacked by nomadic cavalymen. She rallied women in the city and said to them: "Sooner or later we would die when the city was conquered by the enemy. Let's try to save ourselves, we might not be dying". They built the city day and night and guarded it together with the men. After many days' encirclement, the enemy retreated. Zhao was designated as "Anping County Superior Man" 安平县君 (an ping xian jun).

Yang was also from An Ping, but she lived during the last period of the Ming Dynasty (1611 - 1628), 1,100 years after Zhao. In 1627, her city was attacked by

bandits. All the citizens of the city were mobilized for its defense. Yang participated with her husband and led in moving stones for the construction of the city walls. After many days of defense, the city ran out of food and relief troops. When the city was eventually captured by the enemy, Yang was found dead by the side of the city wall, with stones still in her hands. Although she died in defense of the city, no honorable title was assigned to her.

Four female defenders came from minor nationalities: Shu Lyuping, also known as Empress Dowager Shulyu 迷律平，即迷律太后 (#33) was from the "Hui Gu" 回鹘 nationality, later assimilated into Mongolia nationality; Sha Lizhi--A Lin's wife 沙里质，阿琳妻 (#34) and A Luzhen 阿鲁真, (#35) were from the "Nu Zhen" 女真 nationality, later assimilated into the Man nationality; and Zhong Jin, better known as San Niang Zi, 钟金，又名三娘子 (#37) came from the Mongolian nationality.

Six female defenders fought against rebels. Three were married, three were not. The three wives were Shao Shi--Liu Xia's wife 劭氏，刘遐妻 (#19); Lu Shi--Zhang Mao's wife 陆氏，张茂妻 (#20); and Mao Shi--Fu Deng's wife 毛氏，符登妻 (#21). The three girls are: Hou Siniang 侯四娘 (#29); Tang Sigu 唐四姑 (#30); and Wang Erniang 王二娘 (#31).

The three unmarried women lived during the Tang Dynasty (618-907). They volunteered to join the official army when An Lushan 安禄山 rebelled around the year 742. The imperial army lacked adequate manpower at that time because of long-term peace enjoyed by the dynasty to date. After defeating the rebellion, all three women

were designated as "Courageous Generals" 果毅将军 (guo yi jiang jun). Two other unmarried women took part in one battle not only to fight against the rebel enemy, but also to obtain the dead bodies of their fathers. These women were Shen Yun Ying 沈云英 (#36) and Bi Zhu 毕著 (#39).

In contrast to the three girls of the Tang Dynasty who fought several battles in the campaign against rebel leader, An Lushan, Shen and Bi each took part in only one battle. Nevertheless, these two women are cited by more scholars-- probably because of their higher social and economic status and their filial deed in retrieving their fathers' dead bodies. Future students should be aware of such class and ideological bias when handling secondary data.

In sum, all 24 women defenders presented here have engaged in military operations for a short period. Most of them participated in only one battle. Some mastered the martial arts, while others did not. Four came from minor nationalities. Some were ordinary citizens who rose in self-defense when group survival was at stake. Their deeds have been recalled repeatedly by scholars whenever the country was in crisis. This group of women represented greater diversity in their social origins, length and frequency of military service, and reasons for participation. More analysis is provided in the following section.

Patterns of Women Warriors' Participation in Ancient Military Operations

As Table 6.1 indicates, these women fighters emerged during a time span of more than 3,000 years. Three of them (Fu, Hua and Lyu) emerged before the Christian Era, 21 before the year 1000, and 16 during the period between 1000 and 1840. They lived during almost all the major dynasties of China. It may be generally stated that these figures were spread quite evenly over the time continuum.

Geographic distribution of these female combatants is shown in Figure 3. All coastal areas had their representatives. Hebei and Shandong had the highest concentration, followed by Anhui, Jiangsu, Henan, Zhe Jiang, and Sichuan. These places are known for their early development of civilization and relatively high levels of agricultural production. Sichuan, Inner Mongolia and Heilongjiang are also known for the military tradition of their populace. This fact probably explains why some areas had several women warrior representatives and some had none. Modern provinces, such as Hunan, Jiangxi, Guizhou and Yunnan, used to be parts of the adjacent provinces. Generally speaking, it may be concluded that most of the Chinese areas have had their representative women warriors.

Most of these women (80%) were from the Han nationality, eight women came from minor nationalities. Many ethnic groups did not have their representatives among the female warriors. This lack may be due to reasons of different languages and different ways of recording history. More research should be done to overcome this problem.

The social origins of 12 of the women were not recorded. Among the 28 women who had their fathers' name and/or title recorded, nine (32%) were from lower-class families, including farmers, sergeants and ordinary citizens; and 19 (68%) came from upper-and-middle class families. This last group included 8 from tribal chief or king's families. One woman's father was an emperor, one woman was a premier's daughter, and four women were daughters of governors, generals, or Grand Defenders. Among the five middle-class women, two were from military officers' families, one from the family of a civilian official, and two from the families of rich farmers. As a previous section noted, eight out of nine women commanders (89%) came from upper-and-middle class families, while five out of seven rebel leaders (71%) were from lower-class families. This sharp contrast between the two groups of female military leaders clearly illustrates the difference between the social classes. Given how history was recorded in ancient China, it is very likely that the 11 women whose social origin were not identified came from the lower-class too. Based on this assumption, it may be temporarily concluded that half of these women combatants came from the upper and middle classes, while half came from the lower class.

As for marital status, five women warriors were unmarried--or at least unmarried when they engaged in military activities. The remaining 35 were married. Two of them were widows. Since a husband's status was also a very influential factor in Chinese patriarchal society, we need to examine this aspect too. No information exists about the husbands of the four married women. Among the 29 known cases, five women were

married to emperors or kings, eleven were married to Grand Defenders or Defenders, and four were married to county chiefs. In ancient China, these 20 women would have enjoyed high social status simply by virtue of their marriage. As for the ten more lowly married women, two were rich widows, two were married to military officers, two were married to rebel leaders, and four were married to ordinary citizens. In short, only four of these women warriors married ordinary people. Most of these renowned female fighters were wives of distinguished men, of whom 23 were officials or officers, including five emperors and kings.

Most of these female soldiers (68%) underwent military training and mastered the martial arts. Thirteen of the women had no formal military training, but some of them demonstrated a degree of knowledge about military strategy--or at least urban defense. For these women, the shortest duration of military participation was about three days, while the longest one was a lifetime of experience over several decades. As for their positions in military operations, there were designated Commander in Chiefs, who won many military victories, as well as female laborer/defenders, who participated in one battle of hometown defense. Chinese women fought in segregated units, in militia organizations, in large scale campaigns, and in defense of a single farming estate or village.

It is worth noting that 18 women (45%) were designated generals, ladies, or even superior men's title for their remarkable deeds in military operations. In addition, two were made royal family members. The social status of almost half of these women

warriors was positively affected by their military involvement. Given the generally low social status of Chinese women and the general tendency in orthodox Confucianism not to glorify military heroes, these women stood out not only by having their deeds recorded in historical books, but also by winning their unusual entitlement through military action.

All the ancient women warriors identified by this study have been regarded as heroic combatants. Bravery and loyalty were common characteristics of these outstanding women, and all the women commanders demonstrated high levels of leadership and political skills. The leadership skills of these women commonly involved imposing strict discipline, sharing hardships with the soldiers, and using clever tactics.

In addition, several factors characterized the patterns of these ancient heroines' participation in military operations:

- 1) There was always a crisis of group survival: either the country or city was under attack from invaders or the rebel side needed to overpower its enemy. Related to this situational factor was an underlying justification of the warfare in which these women were involved. In most of the cases, it was the overarching need to defend the homeland, home city, and people. Sometimes it was the need to suppress rebellion and maintain social stability. In the cases of peasants' uprisings, the justification might be better social order, loyalty to the former dynasty, or correcting human injustice; in addition, the situation was life-threatening.

2) There was most likely a key male family member who had military responsibility for group survival but was either absent, dead, or disabled, or in some cases, a male relative who had been involved in the same uprising in which the woman warrior was involved. Hua Mulan disguised herself as a man and joined the army because her father was sick and could not go to war. At the age of 13, Xun Guan broke out of an enemy encirclement to get relief troops, because her father had to remain in command of the defense and her brothers were scholars who lacked martial skills. Princess Ping Yang had to raise an army and join her father's uprising so that she and her family would not be executed by the emperor in power. Shen Yunying and Bi Zhu had to launch counterattacks against enemies, not only for the defense of the city and its citizens, but also to retrieve their fathers' dead bodies. As a governor's concubine, Madame Huan Hua had to lead the defense of her city because her husband was away--a situation that was similar to that of other wives or mothers of Defenders or county chiefs. Almost all the female leaders of peasants' uprisings fought shoulder to shoulder with their male family members. Given the general patriarchal structure and feudal culture of ancient Chinese society, it is understandable that strong family ties to male relatives are so prominent in this pattern. The only exception is the case of the two widows of rich farmers' families. One (Lyu's Mother) rebelled to seek vengeance, and the other rose to defend her home estate. For these two women, there is no information on any male family members. However, it is clear that they had independent economic and political power that enabled them to organize and lead their own troops.

3) The loyalty and piety of these women soldiers have been emphasized by both history books and literary works. The women showed strong loyalty to their families, to the emperors of their dynasties, and to the causes of insurgent peasants. Such loyalty drew some women to participate in military operations to suppress an uprising, while others took part in rebellions. The particular situation depended upon group identification and loyalty. The nobility of the women went along with their loyalty to the group. Such behavior patterns at least indicate some Chinese expectations of women in critical situations.

Summary

Based on the above analyses, the following points may be summarized:

- 1) In ancient China, when there arose a threat to group survival at the national, clan, or family levels, women warriors participated in military operations, either to defend their homeland, to protect their families or clans, or to seek justice and a better social order and life.
- 2) The participation was basically in response to a calling of a higher order. In many cases, the motivation for participating was clearly related to patriotism and/or nationalism. It was also closely related to the fundamental need of self defense. War in ancient China meant death, rape, destruction of whole families and/or clans, and the loss of everything. Warfare could approach the door of any individual's home. It is not a case of whether the "nurturer" should be sent away for killing or being killed. It might

happen to anybody. When war came to a peaceful homeland, all peace-lovers become fighters. Warriors have been the best peace-keepers in Chinese history.

3) Chinese women warriors' military service was also closely related to their male family relatives. Most of the women warriors fought together with their families and were recognized as family members.

4) Women's involvement in military operations in ancient times could either be a lifelong activity, or could be limited to only one battle of several days duration. These cases have involved militia soldiers fighting together with citizens, troops stationed in military colonies along a border for many years, and service in the regular imperial army. All these military institutions had female participants. Their participation occurred in cycles, according to the circumstances of the wartime crisis. It expanded to the extreme when everybody became a soldier in defensive warfare and contracted to the opposite extreme when victorious warriors refused promotion and asked to go home during a comparatively prolonged period of peace.

5) At least two gender-segregated armies headed by women (the women's army of Princess Ping Yang and Qin Liangyu's 1,000-person women's guard unit) have been presented in this study. It was also common for a woman general's guard units to be composed of women soldiers. Occasionally, women were disguised or dressed as men.

6) Individual woman's social status was raised by designation with the wide social approval and respect that recognition of military achievements bestowed. Women have also been inspired by female warriors before their time to participate in military

operations. Today, all Chinese women know the names of Hua Mulan or Liang Hongyu. The legend of these women warriors has become part of the China's cultural heritage.

The presence of women warriors is frequent in the historical picture scroll of China. Given the frequency of warfare and uprisings during China's 5,000- year written history, the issue of whether the 40 women fighters identified in this study could properly represent ancient Chinese women's military involvement remains unresolved.

Chinese women not only participated in military operations in various critical situations, but also emerged as outstanding warriors compared both to their contemporaries and to modern men. They have commanded men in battles, fought alongside male family members, and shown enormous bravery and loyalty. Recognized as family members, their institutional roles have overshadowed their personal uniqueness. The existence of such legendary figures in Chinese history is a major factor in determining that participation in military operations during crises of group survival has been part of the behavioral norm of Chinese women.

Chapter VII Post Opium War China, 1840-1949

The time between the Opium War of 1840 and the establishment of the People's Republic of China in 1949 was the most turbulent and critical period in China's history, which was filled with warfare and revolution. This period witnessed five imperialist invasions, after which China was turned into a semi-colonial and semi-feudal society, as well as three major revolutions, by which the last dynasty was overthrown and the first provisional government headed by Dr. Sun Zhongshan (called Sun Yah-sen in the West), a western trained medical doctor, was established. The period was also marked by several nationwide civil wars between revolutionaries and feudalistic warlords and between the armed forces of the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) and the Chinese Nationalist Party (CNP, called KMT or the Nationalist Party in the West). One of these civil wars lasted more than ten years.

In addition, China was one of the major battlefields in Asia during World War II and experienced the eight-year Anti-Japanese Invasion War in the same era. No statistics are available about how many people died in war during this period. According to the Simplified Table of Chinese Population in the Past Two Thousand Years (See Appendix V), this period was one of three in China's history when population growth was not only negative but also declined by at least ten million people.

This period also witnessed the first surge of the women's movement in China's history. That movement campaigned against footbinding and in favor of women's equal

education and suffrage. In the second half of this 100 year period, the women's movement, guided by the CCP, was integrated with the labor movement, which emphasized women's organization, political and military participation, equal share of property in land reform, and the implementation of the Marriage Law in the liberated areas ruled by the Communists. Women guided by the CNP focused more on education, vocational training, and legislation for women's suffrage and reserved seats in Parliament, as well as for better conditions for wives and mothers. A clear class line was visible between the two tracks of women's movement, which was guided by the two antagonistic parties. The CCP focused its work on women in the labor force, first in urban and later in rural areas. On the CNP side, the women's movement was led by wealthy and educated women who focused on urban women's general welfare and political participation (Yao, 1983).

The description of China in the Post-Opium War period is guided by these three themes: warfare, revolution, and the women's movement.

Imperialist Invasions

At the vanguard of the imperialist invasion were the Christian missionaries, who spread the gospel and penetrated the interior of China where few white person had ever ventured (Kazuko, 1989). Following the missionaries came the gunboats and the foreign suppression and exploitation by imperialists who sought to penetrate China for resource control, territorial acquisition and business profits. There were five imperialist invasion wars: the Opium War between Britain and China from 1840 to 1842; the second Opium

War between China on the one hand and Britain, America, Russia and France on the other from 1856 to 1860; the Sino-French War from 1884 to 1885; the 1894 Sino-Japanese War; and the Eight-Nation International Expedition War in 1900-1901. Although on rare occasions the Chinese military won victories on the battlefield (the Chinese victory in the Sino-French War almost forced the dismissal of the French cabinet headed by Premier Jules Francois Camille Ferry), all the invasion wars in this period ended with humiliating treaties signed by the government of the Qing Dynasty with foreign invaders. These treaties resulted in extensive territorial dismemberment; loss of China's sovereignty to foreign concessions in major coastal cities and ports; and huge indemnities to the imperialist powers.

The economic loss caused by these wars and the unequal treaties contributed to China's long-term poverty and backwardness--an historical burden carried through to recent times. From the early gestation stage of national capitalism, Chinese capitalists had to struggle against heavy pressure from foreign industrial powers in a semi-colonial and semi-feudal society.

Politically, a very corrupt Qing Dynasty was further weakened by bungled diplomatic dealings and military contests against the imperialist powers--a situation that led to a half-century of internal turmoil and armed conflicts. After the first Opium War, a Westernization movement 洋务运动 (yang wu yun dong) was launched by the elite of the Qing Dynasty, which sought to obtain new weaponry and technology from the West. One positive outgrowth of this reform was the emergence of a group of Chinese

intellectuals who obtained education in the West and Japan. Leaders of future reform and revolutionary movements arose from this foreign-educated group.

After the Sino-French War, there occurred the Hundred-Day Reform in 1898, which lasted for 103 days, and collapsed as the result of a coup d'etat. The reformers in this case were following the models of the Meiji Restoration in Japan and Peter the Great's reform in Russia. Their slogan was "enriching the nation and strengthening the military" 富国强兵 (fu guo qiang bing). Modern theories and ideas were advocated in this movement, including the theory of evolution and ideas about women's education. Although the young Emperor personally supported this reform, it was eventually crushed by conservatives within the court headed by the Empress Dowager Ci Xi 慈禧太后 (ci xi tai hou).

The Empress Dowager's own reform was launched after the failure of the Boxer Movement. This last effort of political reform came too late to rescue the collapsing dynasty. The downfall of the Qing Dynasty inaugurated a half century of armed conflict among political powers that continued until the founding of the People's Republic of China (PRC) in 1949.

Psychologically, imperialist gunboats destroyed the self-proclaimed superiority of the Chinese elite. For the first time in China's history, both the leadership and the intellectuals collectively lost their self confidence, comparing Chinese physical and mental strength with "barbarian" foreigners. For the first time also, Chinese intellectuals as a group were willing to learn from other civilizations about how to rebuild and

strengthen China. China's vulnerability to imperialist penetration was first viewed principally in terms of the technological proficiency and organizational readiness of Western armed forces (Marwah & Pollack, 1980) and later explained by backward features of Confucianism, and the lack of science, democracy and individualism. These sentiments were reflected in the New Culture Movement 新文化运动 in 1915 and the May Fourth Movement 五四运动 (wu si yun dong) in 1919. Anti-Confucianism, democracy and science were the key words of these most important political and cultural movements of the time. In short, imperialist invasions spearheaded by Christian missionaries and commercial enterprises and escorted by gunboats forced China to jettison its old traditions and value system, and to enter the long-term struggle to catch up with the modern countries.

The eight-year Anti-Japanese War from 1937 to 1945 postponed the final contest between the CCP and the CNP, and was regarded as part of the continued struggle against foreign imperialist invasions. On September 18, 1931, the Japanese imperialists occupied the vast land of northeastern China and forced the dethroned emperor of the Qing Dynasty to head a puppet government. The Chinese Nationalist government headed by Jiang Jieshi 蒋介石 (known as Chiang Kai-Shek in the West) declined to fight against the Japanese invaders and instead continued its efforts to eliminate the Communists, who established their own bases and government in Jiangxi and Fujian Provinces. Only on December 12, 1936, when Jiang was kidnapped by two of his own generals, Zhang Xueliang 张学良 and Yang Hucheng 杨虎城, did he agree to put

more effort into the Anti-Japanese War and form a national united front against Japan among all Chinese political parties, including the CCP.

The preparation for war against the Japanese invaders proceeded slowly. On July 7, 1937, convinced that the Chinese Nationalist government had no capacity to resist, the Japanese imperialists launched an invasion of the whole country at the place called Lugou Bridge 芦沟桥 in the southwestern suburb of Beijing. By August 1938, they occupied many major Chinese cities, including Beijing, Shanghai, Wuhan and Guangzhou (Canton). Jiang's government moved to Chongqing in Sichuan province, and his troops fought conventional battles against the Japanese. The Communists engaged mainly in guerrilla warfare against the Japanese in the rear areas. They were supported by twelve major anti-Japanese bases organized by the CCP.

The Soviet Union declared war against Japan on August 8, 1945, and its Red Army entered China's northeastern territory, while America dropped atom bombs in Nagasaki and Hiroshima. These events precipitated the end of the protracted Anti-Japanese war. On August 15, 1945, Japan surrendered unconditionally. More than 100 years of imperialist invasions of China from 1840 to 1945 thus finally ended. This prelude to China's modernity was extraordinarily long and bloody.

Revolutions and Civil Wars

Peaks of Revolutions

The three revolutionary peaks in China were the Heavenly Kingdom of Great Peace Movement 太平天国 (tai ping tian guo, called Taiping Rebellion in the West)

from 1843 to 1864; the United Righteousness Association movement 义和团 (yi he tuan, called the Boxer Movement in the West) in 1899-1900; and the Xin Hai Revolution 辛亥革命 (xin hai ge ming) from 1894 to 1911. Smaller-scale rebellions occurred during the same period, such as the Nian Jun Peasants' Uprising 捻军 in the north, and the Small Sword Society 小刀会 (xiao dao hui) in Shanghai. A military force of women called "Red Lanterns Shining" 红灯照 (hong deng zhao, known as Red Lanterns in the West) was also very active; it engaged in military operation as a part of the Boxer Movement in Tianjin.

The Taiping Rebellion was started by the Ke Jia 客家 people (known as Hakka in the West), a subgroup of the Han nationality (see the section of Chinese ethnic groups in Chapter IV). Hong Xiuquan 洪秀全, the supreme rebel leader, acquired a Protestant missionary tract entitled "Good Words to Admonish the Age" when he visited Guangzhou for civil service examinations (which he repeatedly failed). He established a unique religious system by combining his vision with Christianity. He organized a religious association called the Society of God-Worshippers 拜上帝会 (bai shang di hui) in 1843 and launched a fervent crusade to convert the infidels. Besides revering Jehovah as the sole and absolute creator, the Society envisioned the "Great Harmony" 大同 (da tong) of Confucianism as its ideal future society. The men and women who joined the Society were brothers and sisters entrusted with the mission of ushering in a Utopia, the Heavenly Kingdom of Great Peace. Every man and woman was obliged to strengthen his or her faith and participate in the battle against the demons.

Underlying this religious egalitarianism was the labor-based gender equality of the Ke Jia people, Han immigrants who had migrated from the north and east to the south of China several centuries ago. Ke Jia women cultivated the land and managed the household, while men found employment outside the villages. To be different from the "cultured woman", Ke Jia women never bound their feet.

On January 11, 1851, Hong led an uprising in Guangxi Province and established his kingdom. The rebels attacked and occupied Nanjing in March 1853 and changed the capital's name to the Heavenly Capital 天京 (tian jing). The kingdom instituted a new land system 天朝田亩制度 (tian chao tian mu zhi du), which abolished all private ownership, and declared war against all foreign invasions. In May, it launched expeditions northward and westward. Peasant brotherhood societies and troops of the Nian Jun Uprising responded from various regions and fought together with the Taiping army. The Qing dynasty's major camps in southeastern China fell in June 1856. Major setbacks for the rebels followed, when the revolutionary forces were split and factional struggles spread. The rebels not only lost many cities, but their own Heavenly Capital was encircled. Hong promoted new generals and persisted in revolutionary struggles until the second peak occurred in 1860 and the rebels occupied Changzhou and Suzhou.

After the second Opium War, invaders from Britain, France, America and Russia supported the Qing government in suppressing the Taiping Rebellion. The rebels fought against the imperialists in attacks on Shanghai, Ninbo and other cities in 1862. Faced with the allied forces of foreign imperialists and the Qing Dynasty's imperial army, the

Taiping rebels lost Suzhou in December 1863, Hangzhou in March 1864, and their own capital in July 1864. Their remaining troops continued the rebellion for another two years.

The Taiping Rebellion spread to 18 provinces and lasted 14 years. It was the longest and largest peasant revolution in China's history. It has been regarded as the end of the old-style peasants' movement, and the prelude to the democratic movement in China (Xie & Jian, 1981).

The Boxers were originally called "Boxers United in Righteousness" 义和拳 (yi he quan). This secret association had an origin similar to that of the White Lotus religion 白莲教 (bai lian jiao) and the Eight Diagrams religion 八卦 (ba gua jiao; eight diagrams are eight combinations of three whole or broken lines formerly used in divination). These secret fraternities were activated in Shandong and Henan provinces after the Sino-Japanese War. Uprisings broke out and were suppressed by the Qing Dynasty in 1896. In 1899, Boxers changed the name of the organization from the United Righteousness Boxer (yi he quan) to the United Righteousness Association 义和团 (yi he tuan) and raised the anti-imperialist slogan "support the Qing, destroy the Foreign" 扶清灭洋 (fu qing mie yang). Supported by the Qing court now, the movement spread from Shandong and Henan into Hebei and northeast China. The main participants were peasants, craftsmen, and transport workers who had lost their lands and jobs after the inroads made by foreign imperialists. Boxers were most active in the Beijing and Tianjin areas.

In order to suppress the Boxers, Japan, Russia, England, France, Germany, the United States, Austria, and Italy joined in the Eight-Nation International Expedition 八国联军 (ba guo lian jun) and attacked China in August 1900. The Qing court declared war on the foreign powers, and China entered a state of belligerency against the imperialists. Yi He Tuan fought fierce battles against the invaders at Langfang 廊坊 and Zizhulin 紫竹林 in defense of Beijing and Tianjin. Lacking any real weapons or unified organization, and armed only with traditional martial arts, the Boxers' confrontation against the modern Western guns was doomed.

The Qing court signed the Boxer Protocol with 11 nations in September 1901 and openly sold out the country. With the customs and salt tax revenues as security, 450 million taels of silver in indemnity were assessed. The Qing Dynasty became the "foreigners' dynasty", and the Boxers changed their slogan from "supporting the Qing, destroy the foreign" into "sweep away the Qing, destroy the foreign" 扫清灭洋 (sao qing mie yang). The Boxer Movement stopped the momentum of the foreign imperialists' partition of China and cleared the way for the development of Sun Zhongshan's revolution to overthrow the Qing Dynasty.

Sun Zhongshan established the "China Allied Association" 中国同盟会 (zhong guo tong meng hui) in Tokyo, Japan, in August 1905. This Chinese bourgeois revolutionary party was based on three patriotic associations of overseas Chinese: "Reviving China Association" 兴中会 (xin zhong hui), "China Revival Association" 华兴会 (hua xing hui) and "Glorious Revival Association" 光复会 (guang fu hui), all

named and aimed at vitalizing China. Tong Meng Hui established a political program of "Sweep away foreign invaders, vitalize China, establish the republic, and equalize the right over land" 驱除鞑虏，恢复中华，建立民国，平均地权 (qu chu da lu, hui fu zhong hua, jian li min guo, ping jun di quan). It published a newspaper, established branches in mainland China, contacted overseas Chinese, and established revolutionary armed forces. From 1906 on, it launched nine uprisings in Guangdong and Yunnan provinces. The most famous of these rebellions was the Guangzhou Uprising 广州起义, which featured a major battle at Huanghuagang 黄花冈 in April 1911. All these uprisings failed, but they cleared the path for the national Xin Hai Revolution 辛亥革命 (xin hai ge ming) with the eruption of the Wuchang Uprising 武昌起义 on October 10, 1911. Within two months, 14 provinces declared independence from the Qing court, which was dismantled rapidly. Sun Zhongshan came back to China in December and was elected provisional President by the representatives of 17 provinces.

The Provisional Government of the Republic of China 中华民国临时政府 (zhong hua min guo lin shi zheng fu) was established on January 1, 1912. By February 12, the last Qing emperor was dethroned. In August, the Tong Meng Hui was changed into the CNP and moved its headquarters from Tokyo to Shanghai and, subsequently, to Nanjing, the new capital of the provisional government.

This provisional government was short-lived, however. Sun Zhongshan was forced to resign in April 1912. Yuan Shikai 袁世凯, a powerful warlord who was appointed by the Qing court as the North Ocean Minister 北洋大臣 (bei yang da chen)

in 1901 to establish a new army called the North Ocean army in Tianjin, usurped the position of the President. Yuan tried to proclaim himself emperor but failed to restore the imperial ruling system. After Yuan's death in 1916, the North Ocean warlords were divided into three systems: Zhi 直, Wan 皖, and Feng 奉. These warlords engaged in a 17-year-long armed struggles among themselves until Duan Qirui 段祺瑞, the head of the Wan system was overthrown in 1926, the zhi system was destroyed by the CNP and the CCP's North Expedition (NE) army in 1927, and the government of the feng system collapsed in 1928.

In sum, all these revolutions were caused by intensified internal class contradictions and external imperialist invasions. With regard to the driving forces that propelled these revolutionary events, scholars have all kinds of explanations. They may be summarized as the influential ideologies imported from Western countries, disillusion with Chinese value systems, universal dissatisfaction with the existing social structure and the impotent government, and a common desire to change China's inferior and shameful status in the world community. All of these factors stimulated strong patriotic zeal. A fundamental concern of group survival--fear that China might be totally subjugated by imperialist powers--underlay all these driving forces. In short, when the intrusion of war into a society is profound and lasts over the course of several decades, and particularly when the state's survival is at stake, all men and women are mobilized to a certain extent and become engaged in activities such as participation in warfare or armed revolutionary struggles.

Civil wars

The Communist International sent a representative to China in the spring of 1920 to meet with Li Dazhao 李大钊 and Chen Duxiu 陈独秀 for discussion about founding the Communist party in China. In the summer of that year, the first Communist group was founded in Shanghai by Chen Duxiu. Many Communist groups were subsequently founded in major Chinese cities, as well as among Chinese students in European countries. Based on these Communist groups and their activities, the first CCP conference was held from July 23 to 31, marking the founding of the CCP. There were more than 50 members.

The CCP focused on the labor movement and organized several major workers' strikes during the first two years of its existence. During its third national conference on June 12, 1923, the 420-member party made a decision to cooperate with the CNP. The first united front between the CNP and the CCP was formalized during the CNP's first national conference in Guangzhou on January 20, 1924. Civil wars against feudalistic warlords by this united front from 1924 to 1928 and between CNP and CCP forces from 1927 to 1937 were revolutionary in nature generally and closely related to the land. The struggle against feudalism and dictatorship was a common feature of all these civil wars.

The first Eastward Expedition 第一次东征 (di yi ci dong zheng), led by the Nationalist Revolutionary Army 国民革命军 (NRA, guo min ge ming jun) from the winter of 1924 to March 1925, and the three-year Northern Expeditionary War 北伐

战争 (bei fa zhan zheng) led by both the CNP and the CCP were successful in destroying the forces of the landed warlords, who functioned collectively as the main feudalistic forces in China after the collapse of the Qing Dynasty.

From April 12 to July 15, 1927, the CNP launched several attacks and massacres against the Communists in Shanghai, Guangzhou, Changsha and Wuhan. Jiang Jieshi and Wang Jingwei 汪精卫 thus ended the first effort at cooperation between the CCP and the CNP that Sun Zhongshan had forged. These attacks inaugurated the ten-year civil war between the CNP and the CCP. On August 1, 1927, through an abortive armed uprising in Nanchang, the CCP managed to fire the first gunshot back against the CNP. On September 9 of the same year, Mao Zedong 毛泽东 (known as Mao tsetong in the West) led the Autumn Harvest peasants' uprising 秋收起义 (qiu shou qi yi) and formed the first revolutionary army of workers and peasants. Toward the end of the year, there was another armed uprising led by the CCP in Guangzhou. The Red Army was formed on the basis of these three armed uprisings led by the CCP. Mao led this army to the Jinggangshan area of Jiangxi province and established revolutionary bases and a Soviet government there.

From December 1930 to October 1934, Jiang Jieshi launched five encirclements against the Jiangxi revolutionary bases. The forces in the first encirclement numbered 100,000; by the time of the fifth encirclement, they numbered one million. The Red Army won four times under Mao's leadership but failed in the last encirclement under the leadership of Wang Ming 王明 , who tried to replace Mao's strategies and tactics with

those of a "regular army." In the end, the Red Army was forced to take the Long March 长征 (chang zheng) to break away from the encirclement in August 1934. This famous Long March lasted about one year, crossed 11 provinces and covered more than 25,000 li (8,400 miles). It finally ended at Yanan 延安 in Shaanxi province in October 1935. This strategic diversion has been regarded as vital to the survival and development of the Red Army, which had less than 20,000 troops left when it arrived in Yanan.

In August 1937, the Red Army was renamed the Eighth Route Army 八路军. This period marked the second instance of cooperation between the CCP and the CNP. It occurred after the kidnapping of Jiang Jieshi in Xian in 1936. Red Army Guerrilla troops in the eight eastern and southern provinces were organized as the new Fourth Army 新四军 (xin si jun) of the NRA under the same coalition between the CCP and the CNP.

In the winter of 1945, during the third civil-war period between the CCP and the CNP, these Communist troops were renamed the People's Liberation Army 人民解放军 (ren min jie fang jun). From September 1948 to January 1949, the PLA launched three major campaigns, defeated 1.54 million NRA's main troops, and liberated northeastern and central China. On April 20, 1949, the PLA launched the Cross River campaign; Nanjing, the capital of the CNP's government, was liberated on April 23. The CNP's government was forced to escape to Taiwan. This campaign also included the liberation of the three cities in Wuhan area on May 16 and 17, and of Shanghai on May

27; the total casualty count on the CNP side from these battles was more than 430,000. On October 1, 1949, when the PLA was still fighting in the south and southwest areas of China against the CNP's NRA troops, Mao declared the founding of the PRC in Beijing. It was officially recorded that from July 1946, when the CNP launched the attack on all the CCP's territory, until June 1950, a total of 8.07 million CNP troops were defeated (Handbook of Grassroots Political Work, 1981). This civil war was the largest in China's contemporary history.

Military Technology and Institutions

The level of military technology of the various armed forces in China in this historical period is hard to describe. All kinds of weapons were used by soldiers of feudal landlords, revolutionary armies, and regular troops. The weapons ranged from primitive swords and spears to modern cannons and guns. Compared with the weaponry of ancient imperial armies and militiamen, the Chinese armed forces of the post-Opium-War period benefited from some modern weapons with much higher accuracy and killing power.

Compared with military establishments in the West, the level of military technology and institutions in China was very low. Descendants of the innovator of gunpowder did not pay enough attention to the development of modern weaponry at a time when Western armies were entering modern times with airplanes, tanks, submarines and self-propelled heavy artillery. For example, by 1918, the French air force had

already deployed 260 squadrons with 3,300 airplanes on the western front. The British air force numbered 300,000 men. Battles at Soissons and Amiens in 1918 were already called tank war, with the utilization of hundreds of tanks. All major Western armies relied heavily on mechanized transportation in World War I. Against this standard, the level of Chinese military technology in the same period was primitive. The Chinese had acute shortages of modern infantry weapons, no experience with massed artillery before 1948, and no indigenous production capacity for tanks and other types of mechanized transportation. The PLA possessed no tanks before 1946 and had only 622 obsolete captured tanks by June 1950. The formally organized Air Force of the PLA had only 86 old, serviceable airplanes by January 1950. When the PLA's navy was created in April 1949, there were only 200 to 300 small gunboats and wooden sailing junks and a few cruisers, destroyers, and submarines (Adelman, 1980).

In sum, in a sharp contrast with the modern weaponry enjoyed by major Western countries, Chinese warfare in this time period was mainly fought by walking infantrymen armed with rifles. That is why Mao proudly stated that foreigners' airplanes and tanks were eventually defeated by Chinese people's millet plus rifles.

Chinese military institutions in this period displayed greater variety and experienced tremendous changes in this period. As early as the last two decades of the 19th century, the Qing government started to send officials and students abroad to learn Western military strategy and technology. These people not only brought back knowledge of advanced weaponry, Western strategies and tactics, but also methods of

organizing the army. Military academies and schools following the Western model were set up from the 1920s. The Huangpu Military Academy 黄浦军校 (known as Whampoa Military Academy in the West) was established in Guangzhou in May 1924; both its faculty and its student body were composed of veteran members of the CNP and the CCP. This institution has been regarded as the Chinese West Point, although Sun Zhongshan also invited military commissars from the Soviet Union to train Chinese officers in the revolutionary armies. These Soviet advisers helped the CNP and CCP to establish a political officer structure--first within the allied NRA and later, separately. Military commanders of both the CCP's and the CNP's troops were trained in either German or Japanese military traditions. Until the liberation war in the late 1940s, however, neither army possessed an adequate production base or enough skilled commanders to direct the production and use of modern weaponry.

The modernization of the military institutions of both sides was a slow process from the very beginning. As for the level of regularization, that of the NRA was much higher. The Communist's troops for the most part of the period were organized more as an army suitable for guerrilla warfare.

In short, this time period saw Chinese military institutions in various forms, ranging from feudal imperialist armies, insurgent peasant troops, warlords' mercenary units, and revolutionary armies to quasi-modern regular troops. Chinese military women should be observed in this context as foot soldiers with simple modern firearms.

Women's Status and Movement

Women's Suffering

This period is also regarded as one of the peaks of women's suffering in China's long history. The excessive suppression of Chinese women was symbolized by the increasingly widespread practice of footbinding and prevalent prostitution during the Qing Dynasty. Footbinding began during the Five Dynasties period (907-960), when some female palace dancer-concubines 舞妓 (wu ji), whose profession in life was to please and entertain their male owners, were presented with bound feet for esthetic refinement. These had an erotic appeal to men, who developed a sexual fetish for abnormally small feet. This elite court practice gradually spread throughout China, particularly among families that least needed women's labor for agricultural work. In many areas, footbinding was considered a requirement for any proper marriage. Families of poorer classes had to follow suit in order to retain the option of marrying their daughters decently in the future. Only girls destined for the life of a slave or indentured servant might escape the painful, maiming custom. In addition to its erotic or even sadomasochistic function for men, footbinding has been regarded as a means of controlling women by physically restricting their freedom of movement and further solidifying their dependent position vis-à-vis men and the family (Snow, 1967; Johnson, 1983).

Footbinding shackled generations of women in central, northern and northeastern China but never became a wide spread practice in the south since southern women had to

work in the rice fields. A footbound woman would never allow anybody to see her bare feet unbound; thus, the practice was very impractical for people in the southern or coastal areas.

Many ethnic groups also did not follow the custom of footbinding. When the Man first conquered China in 1656, the first Man Emperor abolished footbinding because Man women did not bind their feet. Ironically, this law was enforced only for seven years. In the course of their assimilation into Chinese society, Man women imitated the aristocratic Han women's practice of footbinding. Footbinding became the symbol of a cultured woman with higher status. Eventually, the custom of mass mutilation became so prevalent that 18 styles of footbinding were derived from five basic patterns (Yao, 1983).

The imitators became more strict in following Confucius' indoctrination of women's virtue. This fact partially explained why the Man people's last Qing Dynasty ushered in the second peak period of Chinese traditional feudalism. It was enforced by the phenomena of women's chastity and total submission to men, as well as men's indulgence in prostitution. The city of Nanjing was the capital of prostitutes prior to the Taiping Rebellion in 1849. In short, prior to the revolution and reform around the year 1894, Chinese women were extremely suppressed and saw no sign of any possible improvement in their lives.

Naturally, the women's liberation movement started with a rejection of footbinding. There was a short-term prohibition against footbinding during the time of

the Taiping Movement, when big-footed Ke Jia female fighters of Taiping had to enforce the law by inspecting the feet of Nanjing women one by one every evening. Women who had not removed their bindings were punished, with punishments ranging from the light penalty of flogging to the more severe one of cutting off the feet (Bao, 1979; Yao, 1983). This practice was followed by educated Chinese revolutionaries of the early 20th century, when men cut their long hair in braids¹ to symbolize their total break from the feudal Qing Dynasty and at the same time encouraged their female relatives to resist the tremendous social pressure to bind their feet. Rejection of men's long hair and women's bound feet were the most symbolic events in the 1911 Revolution.

The practice of footbinding finally moved toward an end in the late 1920s. In the early 1930s, Communist women workers had to teach footbound women of poor families in the eastern and southeastern parts of Fujian and Jiangxi provinces how to do farm work. Foreign visitors observed female children's feet still being put into bandages even in the revolutionary base of Yanan in 1937 (Snow, 1967). The author's mother has a pair of "liberated feet" that are disproportionally small and distorted. Born into a farmer's family in the countryside of Hebei in 1922, she cried and protested fiercely whenever her mother and elder sister tried to tighten up the bindings over her feet. Fortunately, the older women of her family were convinced that footbinding was no longer required for determining who was a good woman, and they stopped the binding before it was too late. Still, she had to wear small shoes throughout her childhood in

¹ People in ancient China believed that hair was part of the body given by parents and should never be cut. Men during the Qing dynasty wore long hair in braids instead of in buns.

order to be judged a better commodity for her future arranged marriage. Her toes were all broken and the distorted feet caused extra hardship during her military life, since walking was the only mode of transportation for most Communist fighters.

Women's Education

Chinese women's desperate need for education was first recognized by Western missionaries, who established outreach programs to them (Yao, 1983). Mary Ann Aldersey Ningho established the first women's school in China in 1844 (Kazuko, 1989). By 1902, more than 4,000 women had studied in missionary schools for women. Female scholars scored highest in examinations, with titles such as "Female Number One Scholar" 女状元 (nyu zhuan yuan), "Female Number Two Scholar" 女榜眼 (nyu Bang Yan) and "Female Number Three Scholar" 女探花 (nyu tan hua), and served in the Taiping Kingdom as women officials. A case in point was Fu Shanxiang 傅善祥 (Bao, 1979; Hua Xia Dictionary, 1988; Liu, 1989). On one occasion, the rebels needed female accountants to work as officials in "women halls" and decided to hold an examination among women in Nanjing (Chen, 1979). This fact has been recorded by Qing scholars, and it has been used to highlight some of the uniqueness of women policies of that peasant revolution.

Among the scholars sent abroad by the reformers of the Qing Dynasty, there were also women students. Some entered the Girls' Practical School in Kojimachi, Tokyo in 1901 (Kazuko, 1989); Kang Tongbi 康同璧 went to India, and Jin Yamei 金雅妹 went to America (Hua Xia Dictionary, 1988). Women teachers' formal education

was integrated into the Division of Educational Affairs in 1906 by the Qing court (Li & Zhang, 1975). Advocacy of women's education was begun on a larger scale by educated revolutionaries of the 1911 revolution. The first statistics released by the Ministry of Education in 1916 reflected the enormous increase in the number of young female students during the first five years of the new Republic. They show that from 1912 to 1916, an average of 135,000 girls enrolled in schools (Chen, 1977). Given the 200 million women population in China at the time, this was a small step forward in women's education. By 1949, girls' school enrollment represented only 20% of the population; 90% of Chinese women were still illiterate (Statistics on Chinese Women, 1991).

In sum, on the eve of the 1911 revolution, everybody was supportive of women's education: the Christian missionaries, the Qing court, reformers, and revolutionaries, all for different reasons (Qi, 1975). Some educated women formed the backbone of the women's movement, as well as of the revolutions. The general educational level of Chinese women remained low until the end of this period, however.

Women's Movement

To study the origins, theories and patterns of the Chinese women's movement is not the goal of this research. Nevertheless, women's military participation in this time period could not be observed and analyzed properly without a basic understanding of the women's movement as a whole. I outline in this section the Chinese women's movement in the post-Opium-War period and focus on major themes and collective activities.

During the five imperialist invasion wars, many women fulfilled traditional expectations by participating in homeland defense against the invaders, as well as providing wide-ranging logistical support to the resistance. Heroic female defenders will be presented in the following chapter. Women in occupied areas suffered rape and massacre. Many women committed suicide before the imperialist attackers' approach in order to avoid humiliation.

When the eight-nation expedition army occupied Beijing, the situation became worse. Even the female members of the extensive royal families could not avoid violence. For example, all female members of Chun Qi 崇绮, the noble family of Qing, were driven to the Temple of Heaven in Beijing and raped as a group by the imperialists. The foreign Allied Armies set up a place in the Biaobei Lane 裱背胡同 of Beijing for "official prostitution." Female bodies were found all over the city, where they sometimes lay for days without recognition by family members (Liu, 1989). Chinese women knew too well how war could affect their lives. This knowledge explained partially why so many Chinese women participated in and risked their lives in the anti-imperialist struggles.

Large-scale women's participation in the Taiping Rebellion has been regarded as the first women's movement in China's history. As the previous section noted, for the first time in China's feudal history, the political program of the peasants' revolution reflected gender equality. Men and women were not only brothers and sisters; they were also colleagues and comrades-in-arms. On the other hand, gender segregation was

strictly observed in the revolutionary army. Even married couples could not sleep together. Gender segregation in war time had been observed as a positive thing, not only for disciplinary reasons, but also for the protection of women (Liu, 1989). Nevertheless, an attempt to extend this segregation policy to everybody in the occupied cities by imposing a collective life in men's and women's halls was doomed to failure. Even after the execution of Chen Zongyang 陈宗扬, a high-ranking official, and his wife for their "crime" of sleeping together, and after repeated promises of reunion after the victory of the Heavenly Kingdom, the gender-segregation policy could not be implemented and was stopped in 1854. The gender-segregation policy has been regarded by modern scholars as another characteristic of the Taiping Rebellion.

In order to administer women within the revolutionary force and occupied areas during the Taiping Rebellion, many women were named as officials in the rebellion. One statistic stated that there were 6,584 female officials in the Heavenly Kingdom--a number similar to that of male officials (Wang, 1975). This was the largest cohort of female officials in Chinese feudal history. These female officials were categorized into three groups: "court internal" 朝内 (chao nei), officials who served in the headquarters of the Heavenly King (rebel leader) and in other kings' mansions; "army internal" 军中 (jun zhong), officials who were in charge of the female battalions and women's halls; and "function similar" 职同 (zhi tong), officials who were in charge of logistical duties such as the manufacture of uniforms. The Taiping Kingdom also undertook some marriage reforms by allowing people to select their spouses without arrangement by their parents.

In short, based on peasants' egalitarianism, women enjoyed a certain degree of freedom and equality in this revolution but also suffered from gender differentiation. All rebel leaders practiced polygamy; they assigned themselves many wives after entering the cities.² Some of them even asked the women scholars who scored highest during the only service examination open to them to "serve in bedroom." This practice led many parents to prevent their daughters from taking the examinations. Modern scholars agree that progress was made in women's liberation during this largest peasants' movement, but the issues of women's equality and independence had never been seriously theorized and implemented by the rebel leaders (Liu, 1989; Yao, 1983; Kazuko, 1989; Li & Zhang, 1975).

The women's movement during the Xin Hai revolution (1911 revolution) was led by a small but energetic group of educated women. From the very beginning, Sun Zhongshan declared that women, as equal citizens, should participate in governmental and political affairs. He and his fellow revolutionaries advocated women's equality and liberation. There were 59 women members of Sun's Allied Association (Tong Meng Hui), 16 of whom were studying in Japan. In addition to promoting the end of footbinding (discussed in the previous section), these educated women revolutionaries engaged mainly in propaganda, education, fund-raising, management and maintenance of revolutionary secret sites, liaison work, and reconnaissance. They also participated

² Hong Xiuquan had 36 women in the early stage of the rebellion. Later, he recruited a dozen concubines in Wuchang. In his palace at the Heavenly Capital, there were 68 imperial concubines and 300 palace maids, all of whom were strangled to death when Zeng Guofan 曾国藩 entered the palace after defeating the rebellion. "About 2,000 female bodies were found in the channel surrounding the forbidden city" (Yang, 1975).

directly in military operations and in the manufacture and transportation of bombs and weaponry, as the following chapter will discuss (Lin, 1975).

The propaganda work was mainly done through the publication of magazines and newspapers. The earliest revolutionary publication put out by women was a monthly called Women's Newspaper 女报 (nu bao), which was started by Chen Xiefen 陈撝芬 in 1902. Feminism, abolition of footbinding, women's education, the development of the women's movement in other countries, and racial liberation were advocated by this publication, which ceased after several issues because the publisher had to escape to Japan to avoid arrest. This was followed by many short-lived women's publications.

The earliest women's revolutionary school was the Patriotic Women School, founded by Cai Yuanpei 蔡元培 and others in Shanghai. Limited at first to the founders' female relatives, it was opened to public enrollment in 1902. In addition to regular courses, the school taught the history of the French revolution, the history of Russian nihilism, and the manufacture of bombs. This school later became a regular middle school.

Qiu Jin 秋瑾 taught at various schools when she returned China from Japan in 1905. She founded a women's school called Bright Path Girl School 明道女学 (ming dao nu xue) at Shaoxing in 1906. Its students included Yin Ruizhi 尹锐志 and Yin Weijun 尹维峻, the heroic sisters of the 1911 revolution. In the first half of 1907, Qiu became the principal of Da Tong School 大通学堂 (da tong xue tang), which was in reality a training base for her revolutionary army. Several women's schools in

Guangdong and Hong Kong functioned similarly as cradles for women revolutionaries. Some of them served also as the secret sites for uprisings.

Women fund-raisers did an excellent job of financing the revolution in 1911. Most of the fund-raisers themselves were female members of wealthy families or rich widows in eastern and southern China, particularly Shanghai, Guangzhou, and Hong Kong. Qiu Jin even visited her estranged husband's family in a man's suit and demanded a large amount of money for the revolution. In order to avoid "losing face in the community", two of her sisters-in-law mediated with the father-in-law and gave her several thousand taels of silver.

After the 1911 revolution, associations that specialized in revolutionary fund raising in public replaced the individual fund-raisers. These associations spread to all major cities on the eastern coast of China. The most famous one was the Shanghai Women Circle Support Association 上海女界协赞会 (shanghai nu jie xie zang hui). Many female members cooperated with newspapers and schools in their fund-raising efforts for soldiers' pay and provisions for the Nationalist Revolutionary Army.

The most common job for female activists in the 1911 revolution period was housekeeping at the secret sites in Japan and China. These women made hundreds of revolutionary banners and arm bands for the revolutionaries. Other housekeeping jobs included book-keeping, secretarial work and cooking. Women were also particularly adept at liaison and secret communications work. Their creativity and courage made discovery of such activities by the Qing government almost an impossible task. Even

some prostitutes in Shanghai organized themselves to seek training on how to conduct reconnaissance for the revolution.

Uprisings and assassinations were the two major strategies of the 1911 revolution. Women's participation in these activities will be discussed in Chapter VIII.

Women's participation in the 1911 revolution and the Northern Expedition War (which will be detailed in the following chapter) ushered in the first peak of the Chinese women's movement in the late 1920s. Like "bamboo shoots after a shower" (Li and Zhang, 1975), thousands of women's organization emerged all over the country during and after the Northern Expedition War when the revolutionary forces were fighting the feudal warlords in a final contest. This situation was also a direct result of the first coalition between the CNP and the CCP. Female members of both parties jointly organized numerous women's conferences and associations. Together they fought against the warlords, celebrated the International Labor Women's Day on March 8, went to factories and to the countryside to agitate women, and published women's journals (All China Women's Federation, 1989).

During the Northern Expedition War period, Hunan and Hubei, where rural women suffered the most, became the centers of peasants' movements. Not only were the practices of female infanticide and the sale of child-brides prevalent, but also the adult women lacked basic rights and safety. A common practice in the area was called "being sunk in pond" 沉潭 (chen tan); a woman accused of adultery would be drowned upstream in a river with a millstone tied to her neck and her hands and feet bound.

Rural women did all the work in the field and at home, and a lot of them did not even have a name.

It is no wonder that these rural women became the most active participants in the anti-feudal revolution. They were organized and acted in groups. They would break the old temples of kinship, destroy the gambling and opium dens enjoyed so much by the wealthy men and put high paper hats on bad clan chiefs and mothers-in-law who had maltreated their child daughters-in-law or other women and force them to parade in the streets. In the spring of 1927, a woman named Shao Zhenwei 邵振维 was elected to be the county governor of Liuyang county 浏阳 in Hunan (All China Women's Federation, 1989).

These women were also very instrumental in the campaign against footbinding. For example, after the celebration of International Labor Women's Day on March 8, 1927, 100,000 women paraded to the CNP's headquarters in Wuhan and asked for a strict order to all officials to stop the footbinding. A similar resolution was passed on the same day by the provincial women's conference of Hubei, and its political affairs committee passed a regulation on March 23 that forbade footbinding. Similar movement broke out in Jiangxi province when the National Revolutionary Army arrived there in early 1927. The sale of women and child-brides and the practice of female infanticide, footbinding, ear piercing, mercenary marriage and betrothal gifts were forbidden by the first provincial peasant conference held in Jiangxi in February of the same year. Re-married women and illegitimate children were to be protected from maltreatment,

members of the peasants' association could not beat their wives, and women received the right to inherit family property and the right to the land.

In November 1931, the new Law of Land of the Chinese Soviet Republic's revolutionary base in Jiangxi stipulated that women had equal rights to land distribution. For the first time, women's names appeared on certificates of land. In the eastern Fujian revolutionary base, women of the She nationality were given better rice land than the Han women (All China Women's Federation, 1989). Badly needed women cadres were trained rapidly in women's literacy classes, night schools, and half-day schools. Many women's organizations required their members to learn three words per day and 270 new words in three months. Footbound women were taught how to farm in their newly allocated fields. Thus, the rural women's movement in revolutionary bases run by the CCP was closely related to the issues of land reform and women's education.

A natural focal point of this movement was the issue of free marriage. Mao had personally changed the slogan of "forbidding mercenary marriage and betrothal gifts" into a simple sentence of "one does not buy his wife" (All China Women's Federation, 1989). A relevant issue was the termination of the practice of child daughters-in-law, in which girls as young as five and six were sold to future husbands' families to work as cheap laborers in the field and slaves at home. A surge of women seeking divorce caused fear and dissatisfaction among the peasants, including many Red Army soldiers. The Regulations on Marriage in the Chinese Soviet Republic were issued in November

1931, with seven chapters and 23 articles. After two years of practice, the Law of Marriage of the Chinese Soviet Republic was issued on April 8, 1934.

Fundamental aspects of these marriage regulations and laws involved the establishment of the principles of free marriage and monogamy, stress on protection of women on the issue of divorce, and a requirement of consensus in divorce cases if the husband was a Red Army soldier.³ The implementation of the law had to be verified regularly and particularly during the labor women's holiday period. At almost the same time, starting May 5, 1931, the Marriage Law was implemented in the Republic of China. This law was criticized for never having been made known to labor women, and some of its articles protected men in their practice of polygamy (All China Women's Federation, 1989).

There was also a sharp contrast between the areas governed by the CNP and the CCP with regard to the degree and scale of women's participation in government and political affairs. The Chinese feminist movement started as early as the beginning of the century. At first, women's issues emphasized by the movement included: 1) abolition of wealthy women's bad habits such as their daily extensive personal grooming, gossiping, and gambling as well as their feudalistic ideas; 2) the encouragement of women's participation in volunteer work outside the sphere of family life; 3) awareness of women's potential, including their physical strength and capabilities; 4) the

³ In order to consider interests of both genders and maintain male Red Army soldiers in high morale, the new law regulated that unless no letter from the soldier had been received in two years where mail service was available, and in four years where it was lacking, no woman could file divorce by herself.

encouragement of women to seek mental independence; 5) women's role in child-rearing; 6) and the encouragement of women to study abroad (Yao, 1983).

A few women were radical advocates of the suffrage movement. Tang Qunying 唐群英 from Hunan, Lin Zongxue 林宗雪 from Fujian, and Shen Peizhen 沈佩贞 from Guangdong were the three earliest and most famous suffragists in China (Yang, 1975). Lin and her associates harassed Song Jiaoren 宋教仁 for suffragettism on the day of Sun Zhongshan's inauguration as the provisional president of the Republic of China. On another occasion, Tang slapped Song during an argument for the suffragist cause during a CNP conference in Beijing. Tang was also reported as running into the Senate during a meeting in 1912, breaking window panels and kicking the guards who tried to stop her. Shen was reported to have slapped a comrade in the CNP, as well as a returned student from America, during an argument about the same issue in a hotel in Tianjin. These violent scenes presented such a sharp contrast to women's image in traditional China that even revolutionaries found them difficult to accept (Qi, 1975).

Yuan Shikai's conspiracy for imperial restoration during 1913 evoked a momentary revival of women's military action and led to the May Fourth Movement on May 4, 1919, when female emancipation was acknowledged by more women. The May Fourth Movement was an intellectual, cultural, social, and political crusade that offered the Chinese women's movement another chance to enhance women's legal status. By that time, the social expectations of women had been swiftly transformed from such traditional thoughts as "a woman's ignorance is a virtue" 女子无才便是德 and "three

obedience and four virtues" 三从四德 to the modern idea of women as "faithful wife and good mother" 贤妻良母 .

At the first CNP Congress, in 1924, women's equality was interpreted more specifically in the legal, economic, educational, and social arenas. Implementation of the proclamation of equality involved two dimensions: legal and administrative. The policy was outlined at the Second CNP Congress in 1926. Almost at the same time that the proclamation was legalized in the CCP's liberated area, in November 1929, the Central Executive Committee declared that forced or purchased marriages, infanticide, concubinage, prostitution, footbinding, and ear piercing should be gradually abolished. Once again, the traits and virtues of motherhood and good housekeeping were stressed. This philosophy has guided the CNP's policy on women's issues up to the present day (Yao, 1983). In May 1930, three women's groups in Nanjing held a meeting to determine the number of female representatives to the Congress. After negotiations with the CNP, ten regular and 17 observer seats were designated for women at the Congress; this figure constituted one percent of the total seats in the Congress.

The women's movement started to gain momentum in the CCP's liberated areas at the same time. A Resolution on the Women's Movement was adopted by the CCP's sixth national conference in June 1928.

" Concrete requirements are regulated to protect women's interests in rural areas, such as the right to inherit, the right to land, the fight against polygamy and child daughters-in-law, the fight against forced marriage, the right to divorce, the fight against sale of women, and the protection of female farm hands' labor" (All China Women's Federation, 1989).

On the other hand, "the slogan for women's work should be consistent with the slogan for peasants as a whole, and win their sympathy" (All China Women's Federation, 1989).

A system of conferences of women representatives was set up in the liberated areas. In model areas, these conference met every ten days fir discussions of all issues in the area. Large numbers of women cadres were trained. By September 1933, a campaign to increase the percentage of women representatives to 25% was launched. Sometimes female representatives constituted a majority of the Soviet government. For example, more than 30 women became Soviet chairpersons in Xingguo 兴国, Jiangxi Province. Forty three out of the 75 representatives (60%) from Shangcaixi village 上才溪 of Shanghang 上杭, Fujian Province were women, as were 59 out of the total of 91 (66%) from Xiacaixi 下才溪. Thirteen women became members of the Central Committee of the Second National Congress of the Central Soviet Republic in 1934. Women constituted one-fourth of the cadres in Soviet governments in Sichuan and Shaanxi provinces. Some women became provincial governors or ministers (All China Women's Federation, 1989).

Women's participation in government and political affairs occurred on a larger scale and at a deeper level in the CCP's liberated areas. On the other hand, the women's movement faced problems similar to those in the CNP's territory: in both areas, it was unable to shed the deeply-rooted ideas of sexism and feudalistic conservatism. Female cadres were assigned mainly to work with peasant women and to focus on family affairs.

Some of the women's sections were called marriage departments and were overwhelmed with marriage and divorce issues (Yao, 1983; All China Women's Federation, 1989).

Most peasant women, especially the elderly, suspected and feared strangers who advocated unheard of ideas, and they disapproved of "liberated" women who had short hair and big feet. Marriage, children, and relationships with in-laws meant more to rural women than to their urban sisters. Thus, the price of emancipation for peasant women was much higher.

In sum, the women's movement under the CNP focused more on women's education and suffrage; modernity and legislation were the major themes. The women's movement was deeply demoralized after the split between the CNP and the CCP, and only groups of educated women continued the participation. In the CCP's revolutionary bases, rural women were more mobilized by the new laws and regulations. Their level of participation was of broader scale and deeper, and was spearheaded by those young rural women who suffered the most. Many learned basic reading and farming skills through women's organizations. Many became cadres as well as Soviet officials. Footbinding was finally terminated nationwide in the 1930s, and new marriage laws were adopted in both the CNP and CCP territories. Nevertheless, the historical inertia was strong, and resistance from feudalism was deep-rooted. Women were rare in high-ranking positions, and most of them still suffered from inequality in marriage and the family, unequal income, and inferior political and social status. Emancipation was high-priced, and the revolutionaries still had a long way to go.

Summary

This century-long transitional period was characterized by penetration of China by foreign imperialist powers with advanced technology and weaponry; internal turmoil caused by class struggles, and revolutionary agitation inspired by western modern ideologies. A 2,000-year-old Oriental feudal society with its unique norms and value system was finally challenged and defeated by modern Western science, democracy, imperialism and individualism. The conflict was a deep-rooted life-and-death struggle. The anomie was protracted and nationwide. Women were awakened by imperialist gunboats and by education at the hands of Christian missionaries, reformers, and revolutionaries. Women were active participants in the wars, revolutions, and reforms and movements that occurred during this long time span. At the very least, they won back their natural feet and stopped the 1,000-year-old practice of mass mutilation. Their rights to education, to free marriage and divorce, to inherit property, and to land were legitimized by laws and regulations, although a longer time was required to transform these rights into practice. Similar was the situation with regard to their social status. The designated seats in Parliament could not guarantee equal opportunity for women in suffrage. Women have had to fight constantly for their freedom, independence and equality since the ending of matrilineal society.

Chapter VIII Women Fighters in Post Opium War Period, 1840-1949

Within the context described in the previous chapter, hundreds and thousands of ordinary Chinese participated in the nationwide wars, regional armed struggles, and local guerrilla warfare during the Post Opium War period. Chinese women's military participation in this time span was the largest and the longest, compared to other historical periods. Due to the methodological reasons discussed in Chapter III, the description of women's involvement in Chinese military operations in this period is different from the previous one. It is impossible to focus on individual participants, since there were so many of them. On the other hand, quantitative analysis of veteran women fighters' biographical data is not likely to be productive, due to the problem of quality control and the time limit of this research. Finally, due to personal and family background reasons, this author has been unable to visit Taiwan for data collection. This makes the quantitative study of veteran women fighters' biographical data more unrealistic, since information on women military personnel on the side of the CNP is limited and incomplete. Because of these reasons, for the purpose of this study, the descriptive presentation is mainly based on secondary sources and the author's personal interviews, of which a detailed description is provided in Chapter III .

Military operations are defined as armed conflicts engaged in by groups of people (see Chapter I). Women's military participation is defined as women's presence and

action in military operations either in uniform or without uniform, and either as conscripts or volunteers (see Chapter II). Guided by these definitions, women arsonists and assassins in the 1911 revolution are regarded as military participants, since arson, assassination and armed uprisings were major forms of armed struggle in that revolution, and were performed by groups of people. Armed conflicts in the Anti-Japanese War include many forms of guerrilla warfare, intelligence work and logistical support. Thousands of women took part in these activities. Only women soldiers who served in the regular armies of the CCP and the CNP, leaders of guerrilla teams, and heroines engaged in guerrilla warfare, were selected as subjects of this study. Women cadres engaged in organization, agitation and philanthropic work in the Anti-Japanese war period are not regarded as military participants, though their activities had positive contributions to the victory of the great struggle. Women engaged in underground Anti-Japanese struggles without arms and any military engagement are not included either. As for hundreds of young women enrolled in various Anti-Japanese universities, training schools and classes, only those in military training classes are included.

Six hundred and forty seven women combatants have been identified by this study for this time period. These women have been listed in **8** tables according to the time period and nature of their participation. Some of them have been listed twice or even three times, due to their continued military involvement.¹ The tables are attached to the sections described below.

¹ This means the total series number of each table only shows how many women were identified for the military operation in that particular time period.

This chapter is organized in four parts: 1) women combatants in wars and revolutions before the split of the CCP and the CNP in 1927; 2) red army women soldiers; 3) women fighters in the Anti-Japanese War and Liberation War period; and 4) a discussion of emergent patterns of Chinese women's military involvement in this period. This categorization is mainly based on a comprehensive consideration of the scale, nature, frequency, degree and duration of women's military participation.

Table 8.1 is entitled Women Combatants in Anti-imperialist Warfare from 1840 to 1911. Table 8.2 lists women combatants in the Taiping and other rebellions before 1911. Table 8.3 is for Women Fighters in the 1911 Revolution. And Table 8.4 lists women participants in the Northern Expedition War Period around 1926. These tables are attached to the first section.

Table 8.5 is entitled Women Red Army Soldiers in Guerrilla Warfare. It is for the period from 1927 to 1937. Table 8.6 lists women Red Army soldiers on the Long March. These two are attached to the second section.

Table 8.7 is entitled Women Combatants in the Anti-Japanese War Period (1937-1945) and Table 8.8 is for women combatants in the third Civil War period (1946-1950). These two are included in the third section.

A summary account of each data set is offered first, followed by the description of women's military activities as a whole. Presentation of individual representatives' concrete actions will be provided in future publication, not in this document.

Women Fighters in Wars and Revolutions From 1840 to 1927

As is discussed in Chapter VII, there were five imperialist invasion wars and three revolutionary peaks from 1840 to 1927. Women's participation in military operations during this period differ in scale, mode, frequency, degree and duration. The description of this section is further sub-grouped into three: 1) women combatants in anti-imperialist warfare; 2) women participants in the Taiping and other rebellions; 3) women fighters in the 1911 (Xin Hai) revolution and the Northern Expedition War from 1924 to 1927.

Women Combatants in Anti-Imperialist Warfare

The five imperialist invasion wars were fought between the Qing imperial army and the foreign invaders. Women's participation in these aggressive wars was sporadic and of short duration. Three women combatants have been identified by this study (see Table 8.1 on the following page).

Although some artistic work has portrayed women fighting alongside the Qing regular troops disguised as men, this author has not found proof of this, except a description of a woman named Chen Suxia 陈淑霞, who vowed to live and die together with her husband named Lin Fuxiang 林福祥, the Commander of the "Ping Hai Battalion" of the Qing army (Historical Materials on Sanyuanli People's Anti-British

Struggles, 1978). Many female combatants were peasant women who rose to defend themselves and their homeland. Unfortunately, their names have not been recorded.

Table 8.1 Women Combatants in Anti-Imperialist Warfare (1840-1911)

#	Name	Dates Battle	Origin	Eth	SES Father	Marital Husband	Mil. Skil	CMBT Time	Note
1	Liu Shi 刘氏	1817-1841	Beijing	Han		Lei Cheng-xing 雷成星	No	Once	died in battle
2	Lin Shi 林氏	1895	Taiwan	Han	Sun Kaihua 孙开华	Sun Youji 孙幼季	No	Once	died in battle
3	Feng Wanzhen 冯婉贞	1841	Beijing	Han	Feng Sanbao 冯三宝		Yes	Two	

Key:

1. Battle: time of battle the subject participated.
2. Eth: ethnic origin.
3. SES: social and economic status, in this table, only the name of the subject's father is included.
4. Mil. Skil: whether or not the subject has military skills.
5. CMBT: combat.

During the first Opium War, when the British soldiers invaded Ferry Village 渡头 in the Fragrant Hill County 香山县 (xiang shan xian) of Guangdong province on March 13, 1841, a dozen peasants rose to fight back. The self-defense was headed by a peasant named Lei Zhaocheng 雷兆成. Liu Shi 刘氏, the wife of another villager named Lei Chenxing 雷成星 participated in the battle. With only hoes, sticks, and axes as weapons, this resistance was defeated. Liu Shi was killed at the age of 24. She has been regarded as the first woman killed in the anti-aggression struggles in contemporary Chinese history (Liu, 1989). Another woman named Lin Shi 林氏 was a

daughter-in-law of Sun Kaihua 孙开华, a general of the Qing dynasty famous for his repeated defeat of the French army. Her husband was a pure scholar but recruited strong men to defend their homeland when Taiwan was given to Japan in 1895. He was killed at the Three Martens Mountain 三貂岭 (san diao ling). Lin spent her all family property and raised an army which she herself led. She was also killed in battling the Japanese occupants (Yan, 1939). This case reflects a repeated pattern of women defenders' behavior in Chinese history.

The resistance at the place named Sanyuanli 三元里 in Guangdong province was of larger scale. It involved several thousand peasants from 103 villages. Young and strong women participated directly in the battle. Women and children cried out loudly to cheer the Chinese resistance. Women's role was vital in logistic support which made it possible for a hundred villages to be involved.

A nineteen-year-old peasant woman named Feng Wanzhen 冯婉贞 was outstanding in the second Opium War. She learned the martial arts from her father who was a hunter from Shandong. They lived in a hunter's village called Xie Zhuang 谢庄, in the suburbs of Beijing, which was occupied by the Allied Army of Britain and France on October 13, 1860. This army burnt down the Empress Dowager's summer palace called Yuan Ming Yuan 圆明园 in the area, and started to loot and rape. Feng's father Feng Sanbao 冯三宝 was selected to lead the self defense of the village. A militia troop was trained quickly, and some earthen defense works were built. After the first victory over a small unit of the Allied army, Feng advised her father to avoid

fighting the enemy from a distance since the foreign invaders had longer range weapons. She organized a small army of young people with martial arts, and ambushed a British led Indian army of five to six hundred soldiers. During the battle, she repeatedly reminded her followers to get closer to the enemy, so that the enemy did not have chance to use their cannons and guns. About a hundred invaders were killed or wounded. This resistance was a victory and Feng's tactics of close combat have been highly praised (Hua Xia Dictionary, 1988; All China Women's Federation, 1989).

Women Participants in the Taiping and Other Rebellions

Women Fighters in the Taiping Rebellion

Women fighters in the Taiping and other rebellions are listed in Table 8.2 on the following page. When the Taiping rebellion started in Jintian Village in 1851, entire families of the members of Hong Xiuquan's Society of God Worshippers (see Chapter VII)--old and young, men and women--took part in the uprising (Kazuko, 1989). Between 2,000 and 3,000 women combatants participated in the uprising from the beginning, out of a total of 20,000 (Zhang, Chen, Wang, & Wang, 1983). Some of them wore men's clothes, some painted their foreheads with red; some put their hair in high buns or coils, some wrapped their heads with red cloths. These healthy and strong Ke Jia, Yao and Zhuang women (see Chapter IV) in Guangxi and Guangdong areas bared their "large" (unbound) feet and preferred to wear pants. Some could scale steep cliffs faster than men, some were even stronger than men (Chen, 1979; Yang, 1979). At the

Table 8.2 Women Combatants in the Taiping and Other Rebellions

#	Name	Dates (Battle)	Origin	Ethni	SES (Father)	Marital (Husband)	Mil. Skil	CMBT Time	Note
1	Hong Xuanjiao 洪宣娇	(1851-)	Guangxi	Ke Jia 客家	Huang Quanzheng 黄权政	Xiao Chaogui 萧朝贵	Yes	Many	Women Army Marshal
2	Su Sanniang 苏三娘	(1851-)	Guangdong	Han 汉		Su San 苏三	Yes	Many	Women Army General
3	Xiao Shi 萧氏	(1851-)	Guangxi	Ke Jia 客家		Hong Xiuquan 洪秀全	Yes	Many	Women Army General
4	Yang Ergu 杨二姑	(1851-)		Ke Jia 客家	Yang Fuqing's sister 杨辅清	Jiang Desheng 江得胜	Yes	Many	Women Army General
5	Bao Fengying 包凤英	(1861)	Zhejiang Zhuji	Han 汉	Bao Lishen's sister 包立身		Yes	Many	fought against Taiping, committed suicide
6	Chi Shi 池氏	(1855)		Han 汉	Mo Yuanyou's mother 莫远猷	widow	No	Once	died in battle
7	Li Shuzhen 李淑贞 (李素贞)	(1854)	Henan Guangzhou	Han 汉	Li Mengqun's sister 李孟群		Yes	Many	fought against Taiping
8	Lin Heier 林黑儿	?- 1900	Tianjin	Han 汉		Li You 李有	Yes	Many	executed
9	Lin Puqing 林普晴	(1856)	Yunan	Han	Lin Zexu 林则徐	Shen Baozhen 沈葆楨	No	Once	fought against Taiping
10	Shen Caixia 沈彩霞	(1861)	Zhejiang Jinhua	Han			Yes	Once	fought against Taiping
11	Zhou Xiuying 周秀英	?- 1855	Jiangsu Qingpu	Han	Zhou Lichun 周立春		Yes	Many	died in battle

Key: (Battle): time of the battle during which the subject participated. 2. Please see keys of Table 8.1 for others.

beginning of the uprising, these women combatants were always deployed at the front. Many Qing soldiers were so puzzled at the sight of these colorful women soldiers that they giggled and stopped fighting (Yang, 1979). A report was rushed to the Qing court, requesting that all these women combatants should be killed when captured, and no mercy should be shown to them since they were dangerous (Zhang, 1953). When the rebellious troops conquered Wuchang 武昌, the total figure of women participants reached 120,000. New recruits were called "new sisters", to be distinguished from the "old sisters" from Guangdong and Guangxi (Wang, 1979; Yang, 1979; Chen, 1979; Kazuko, 1989). When the Taiping army arrived in the capital of Nanjing, there were 500,000 women in segregated "women's halls" stationed in Xihuamen of Nanjing. The women officer corps totaled 6,584, which is a controversial figure in the existing literature, but this author accepts the figure for this document.² Some of these women officers became civilian officials when the Heavenly Capital was established. They served in the palaces and mansions of rebel leaders. By whatever standard, either in history or in modern time, this was a very large women's involvement in military operations.

Women combatants were organized in gender-segregated units. There were five women's army groups: front, rear, left, right, and central. Each had its first to eighth armies. Altogether there were forty women's armies. Each women's army was under the

² It seems to this author that most of the existing literature is based on a book entitled Intelligence Handbook on the Taiping Enemy 賊情匯纂 composed by Zhang Dejian 张德建 of the Qing dynasty, whose credibility is highly doubtful to modern scholars (Kazuko, 1989).

command of a "general" 军帅 (jun shuai), who was assisted by a woman officer called "deputy commander" 副军帅 (fu jun shuai). The second level of the chain of command was composed of lieutenants called "zu zhang" 卒长. The lowest level of unit was a group of 25 women soldiers headed by a sergeant 两司马 (liang si ma). Normally there were twenty five lieutenants and one hundred sergeants under one commander. The total strength of a Taiping women's army was over twenty six hundred. In the headquarters, there were female commandants 总制 (zong zhi) and female military superintendents 监军 (jian jun), who were in charge of administration and training. The officers who specialized in strategic planning were called "female ministers" 女丞相 (nu chen xiang). When the rebels occupied Nanjing, 8,000 foot bound Nanjing women were put into the "Embroidery Battalion" 绣锦营 (xiu jing ying), which specialized in the manufacture of uniforms. These logistic units were commanded by 160 female military superintendents. There was also a labor team of 5,200 women. A systematic hierarchy of female bureaucrats based on seniority existed in the troops. New sisters from Hunan and Hubei occupied the posts of lieutenants and sergeants, and old sisters from Guangxi filled the positions of superintendents and above.

In short, the military system in the segregated women units was similar to the men's units. The only difference was that there were no division commanders and brigade commanders in the women's army (Liu, 1989). Women officials have been seen in most feudal courts in China's ancient time. They were mainly engaged in administrative work within the palaces, particularly within the quarters of empresses and

princesses. There had never been a case when so many women officers were designated and served in the armed forces. When the rebels established their Heavenly Capital in Nanjing, almost all women combatants who participated in the battles became officials in charge of the "Women's Halls" (see Chapter VII). All women officials who served in the palaces or mansions of rebel leaders were female relatives of veteran rebels. Some of the female accountants or secretaries were recruited through the service examination which was first opened to women.

In sum, we learn from the existing literature that Taiping women combatants participated directly in battles, and they were organized in segregated women's units led by a hierarchical chain of command. The rebel leaders did not hesitate to designate women officers and generals. Their military experiences were direct combat participation at the beginning of the revolution, and more logistic support and city defense after establishing the Heavenly Capital in Nanjing. The gender issue involved in Taiping policies was awkwardly theorized and practiced. Modern scholars tend to praise the disciplinary necessity of gender segregation in war time and criticize the inhuman segregation policy when applied to ordinary life in peace time. Modern feminists are more critical of Taiping leaders' indulgence in polygamy which was actually practiced by all Chinese feudal rulers. Taiping rebels were more old style revolutionaries in an agrarian society rather than the democratic revolutionaries we will see in the following sections. On the other hand, it is worth noting that Taiping leaders were influenced by some European religious beliefs and had used them as inspiration for the uprising. This

is new and relevant to the changed world when China was opened up by foreign cannons.

Women combatants on the Qing court's side during the Taiping rebellion were rarely noticed by modern scholarship. This research has found five representatives (see section 2 of Table 8.1). These women were defenders when the rebels invaded. There were officials' wives such as Li Shuzhen 李淑真 (Yan, 1939) or Li Suzhen 李素贞 (Wang, 1966); and Lin Puqing 林普晴, Shen Baozhen's 沈葆楨 wife but more famous as the daughter of Lin Zexu 林则徐 (Yan, 1939; Shi, 1975).³ There were also ordinary female farmers, such as Bao Fengying 包凤英; Chi Shi 池氏, Mo Yuanyiu's 莫远猷 mother; and Shen Caixia 沈彩霞 (Yan, 1939). Similar to defenders in ancient China, these women's participation was of shorter duration. Li Suzhen had a very high level of martial arts, while Madame Lin did not have any military training except her knowledge of the arts of war. Both Bao and Shen had martial arts as well as strong physical strength, while Mo's mother had no military training at all. The significance of this brief discussion is that at least during the Taiping Rebellion, women participated in both sides of the battles. Some of the women defenders were from the same family background as those of the women rebels. Two of them died in the combat.

³ Lin Zexu was the most outstanding Qing governor of Yunnan and Guizhou, who ordered the destruction of thousands of cases of Opium imported from Britain and has been regarded a national hero since the Opium War.

Women Revolutionaries of the Small Sword Association

In addition to women combatants and defenders in the Taiping rebellion, two more women rebel leaders were identified for the same period (Table 8.2). One was a heroine who emerged in a similar but much smaller peasants' uprising in Shanghai. In 1852, the year following the Jintian Uprising of the Taiping Rebellion, a grain uprising involving two to three hundreds peasants broke out in the place named Green River county 青浦 (qing pu) of Jiangsu province, which is called Shanghai in modern time. This armed struggle was headed by Zhou Lichun 周立春 from Tang Wan village 塘湾 of the county, joined by his daughter Zhou Xiuying 周秀英. She emerged as the heroine during the battles against the Qing court along the White Crane River 白鹤江 (bai he jiang), and their troops grew to several thousand. In March 1853, Taiping occupied Nanjing. On September 5 the same year, Zhou Xiuying launched the Jia Ding city 嘉定 uprising and occupied the city overnight. This has been regarded as the prelude to the Shanghai Small Sword Association 小刀会 (xiao dao hui) uprising on September 7, 1853 (All Times Dictionary, 1989; Chen, 1991), which was headed by Liu Lichuan 刘丽川. On September 19, Qing's imperial army and the troops of the local landlord attacked Jia Ding. The three day battle could not overpower Zhou's army until the powder magazine was burnt down by a small unit of the rich and influential people within the city. Zhou was forced to retreat to Shanghai and joined the Small Sword Association's troops there. She was designated as a female general. In the following July, the Qing army headed by a new Governor was trapped and badly defeated by

Zhou's battle array of barbed wire. By this time, foreign troops in Shanghai participated in the Qing government's effort to suppress the uprising. The rebels decided to retreat to Zhenjiang and join the Taiping troops there. In the evening of February 17, 1855, at the place called Hong Qiao 虹桥 in a suburb of Shanghai, both Liu and Zhou fought to the end and died in combat.

Women Fighters of the Red Lanterns Shining

When the Boxers set out to do battle with the invaders of the Eight-Nation International Expedition, there was no reason for the women to stand aside quietly (Kazuko, 1989). Young women in Tianjin 天津 organized the "Red Lanterns Shining" 红灯照 (hong deng zhao), middle-aged women formed the Blue Lanterns 蓝灯照 (lan deng zhao), while elderly women organized the Black Lanterns 黑灯照 (hei deng zhao) (Hua Xia Dictionary, 1988; All Times Dictionary, 1989; Chen, 1991). Logically the most active group was the Red Lanterns. The Red Lanterns were an organization of young women between the ages of twelve and eighteen. Occasionally they even included girls as young as eight or nine (Kazuko, 1989). All dressed in red from top to bottom, no bound feet, sleeves tied up to make it easy to work, each of them carried a red lantern. They rigorously trained themselves with skills of wielding swords and waving fans on a daily basis. Every few days, they would form bands and circle through the streets. This was called "walking the city" 踩城 (cai cheng), which was similar to the Boxers' "walking the streets" 踩街 (cai jie). These Red Lanterns joined the Boxers in burning foreign buildings and killing foreigners. The Red Lanterns' leader was named

Lin Heier 林黑儿 . She grew up on the Southern Canal of Tianjin and married another boatman named Li You 李有 (Hua Xia Dictionary, 1988; All Times Dictionary, 1989). She learned martial arts from childhood. As an itinerant entertainer, she went to Shanghai with her father when she was young. Her husband was put into jail by a foreign priest due to a dispute. He was beaten and died in the prison several months later. In 1900, the Boxers' movement, headed by Zhang Decheng 张德成 , was spread to Tianjin. Lin responded by setting up an altar on a big sailboat at the place called Behind the Hou's Family 侯家后 (hou jia hou) on the Southern Canal of Tianjin. Before long, 2,000 to 3,000 participated her Red Lanterns organization. She designated herself as the Holy Mother of the Yellow Lotus 黄莲圣母 (huang lian sheng mu). Under her leadership, there were "Senior Sister-Disciples" 大师姐 (da shi jie) and "Second Sister-Disciples" 二师姐 (er shi jie), similar to the structure of the Boxers' organizations. In June and July of 1900, together with Zhang's Boxers, Lin led the Red Lanterns' fight against the foreign invaders in the defense of Tianjin. The first battle was fought at the place called Old Dragon Head Station 老龙头车站 (lao long tou che zhan), where 2,000 invaders tried to occupy this transportation center between Tianjin and Beijing. Lin and her Red Lanterns defeated about five hundred enemies and declared victory. These women soldiers were also famous in the battles at the Purple Bamboo Woods 紫竹林 (zi zhu lin), where over fifty buildings of Japanese business were burnt down. After this, the rebels had heavy casualties from a converging attack by troops under the capitulationist clique within the Qing court. Both Zhang and Lin were

wounded. Lin was captured and executed at the age of twenty after the fall of Tianjin to the foreign invaders. It was said that even after her death, red lanterns continued to be hung from the boats along the Grand Canal. When foreign soldiers saw them, they would immediately flee (Kazuko, 1989).

In sum, women participated in the anti-imperialist invasion wars, as well as various peasants' revolutions in that chaotic time. Female combatants took part in battles, organized in gender segregated units with hierarchical structures. They also participated in other forms of military operations, such as city defense, patrolling, guarding, and logistic support. Their leaders enjoyed legendary heroine status in China's history, similar to their predecessors. On the other hand, women defenders in the same time period obtained less praise compared with their predecessors, probably due to the pro-revolutionary bias of the modern scholars who recorded them. All 14 women combatants in anti-imperialist wars and rebellions of this period had direct combat experiences. Some of the women fighters in the Anti-invasion war had no military training (33%), while most of those in rebellions did have military training (82%). Three were Ke Jia women, a sub-group of the Han nationality. As for geographic representation, they were from ten provinces or cities. Six of them (43%) died in combat or were executed for their military participation. With two exceptions (one was a widow, there is no information on the relatives of the other), all fought alongside male family relatives.

As a group, these women fill in the gap between the ancient China and the modern one. Their behavioral patterns are more similar to those of the ancient military women than that of the modern women soldiers: they responded to a call or a need for self defense, rose to fight as bravely as men, played roles in combat as well as other military operations, organized in segregated units, and many of them fought alongside male relatives. Their leaders became legends whose deeds will be recalled in times of need.

Women Fighters in the 1911 Revolution and the Northern Expedition War

Women also participated in the national revolution which overthrew the last emperor of the Qing Dynasty in 1911. A group of educated female revolutionaries was active in both the armed uprisings and the assassination, the two major modes of the 1911 (Xin Hai) revolution. Women's military participation in the 1911 revolution was followed by women's involvement in the Northern Expedition War from 1924 to 1927. Out of the 380 women activists of the 1911 revolution (A Collection of Papers On 70th Anniversary of the 1911 revolution, 1983), this study has identified **113** (30%) women who had military activities during the revolution. Table 8.3 on the following pages presents these cases. This is one of the most satisfactory data sets this author has obtained. Partially this is due to the fact that most of these women revolutionaries were educated, and thus were more likely to be recorded in history.

Table 8.3 Women Fighters in 1911 Revolution

#	Name	Dates (Battle)	Origin (PRCT place)	Ethni	SES (F:Father) (H:Husband)	Mil. Skil	CMBT Time	Note
1.	Bai Yayu 白雅雨	(1912)	(Tianjin)	Han	teacher of Tianjin Girl School 14	No	Many	organizer, transport ammunition, Luanzhou Uprising, arrested & executed
2.	Cai Hui 蔡蕙		Jiangxi Jiujiang	Han	student in Japan 4	No	Yes	first-aid on battlefield Jiujiang Red-Cross
3.	Cao Dexin 曹德新		(Shanghai)	Han	student	No	No	organizer of Women's army
4.	Chen Bijun 陈璧君			Han	student in Japan 4	No	Yes	assassination group in Japan
5.	Chen Bingqing 陈秉卿		(Macao)	Han	4	Yes	No	Guangdong bombing team
6.	Chen Hanxing 陈汉兴	(1911)	(Guangdong)	Han		Yes	No	Guangdong bombing team
7.	Chen Shuzi 陈淑子	(1909)	(Hong Kong)	Han	4	No	Several	transport ammunition
8.	Chen Wanhang 陈婉珩	(1911)	(Nanjing)	Han	principal, 5	No	Once	Chief of Women's Army Nanjing campaign
9.	Chen Huiquan 陈惠权	(1911)	(Guangdong)	Han	Nurse	Yes	No	Guangdong bombing team
10.	Chen Zhenquan 陈振权	(1911)	(Guangdong)	Han	Nurse	Yes	Several	Guangdong bombing team
11.	Chen Zhijian 陈志坚		(Guangdong)	Han		No	Once	Qianshan New Army Uprising
12.	Chen Zhide 陈志德	(1925)	(Guangdong)	Han	4	No	Once	Dongjiang uprising

13.	Cheng Wenhua 程文华	(1925)	(Guangdong)	Han	4	No	Once	Dongjiang uprising
14.	Cui Zhaohua 崔昭华	(1912)	(Tianjin)	Han	4	No	Several	participant in uprisings
15.	Cui Zhenhua 崔振华	(1912)	(Tianjin)	Han	4	No	Several	participant in uprisings
16.	Deng Mufang 邓慕芳	(1911)	(Guangzhou)	Han	poor, Xu Zonghan's maid 4	Yes	Once	participated in Huanghuagang campaign
17.	Ding Xiangtian 丁湘田	(1909)	(Hong Kong)	Han	5	No	Yes	Assassination group in Hong Kong
18.	Ding Zhiqian 丁志谦			Han	student 5	Yes	No	Women's Military Brigade
19.	Fan Moying 范模英			Han	student 5	Yes	No	Women's Military Brigade
20.	Fang Junying 方君瑛	?- 1932	Fujian Fuzhou	Han	student in Japan 4	No	Once	assassination organizer committed suicide
21.	Feng Shijun 冯世俊	(1912)	(Tianjin)	Han	student of Tianjin Girl School 4	No	Once	transport ammunition Luanzhou Uprising
22.	Ge Jingcheng 葛敬诚			Han	student 5	Yes	No	Deputy team leader Women's Military Brigade
23.	Ge Jinghua 葛敬华			Han	student 5	Yes	No	Women's Military Brigade
24.	Guo Yusheng 郭玉生	(1925)	(Guangdong)	Han	4	No	Once	Dongjiang uprising
25.	Han Yuzhen 韩玉贞	(1925)	(Guangdong)	Han	4	No	Once	Dongjiang uprising
26.	He Shaoqing 何少卿	(1909)	(Guangzhou)	Han	4	No	several	arson Huanghuagang campaign
27.	He Xiangning 何香凝 (何谏)	1878- 1972	Guangdong Nanhai	Han	real estate H: Liao Zhongkai 廖仲恺	No	Yes	first aid in front, organizer of Red-Cross, leader 15, 3

28.	Hu Peiwen 胡佩文	(1911)	(Guangzhou)	Han	4	No	Several	arson Huanghuagang campaign
29.	Huang Beihan 黄悲汉	(1909)	(Guangzhou)	Han	poor Xu Zonghan's maid 4	No	Several	fought in Huanghuagang campaign manufacture bombs
30.	Huang Furong 黄芙蓉	(1911)	(Guangdong)	Han		No	Once	Qianshan New Army uprising
31.	Huang Fuyong 黄扶庸	(1909)	(Hong Kong)	Han	4	No	Several	transport ammunition
32.	Huang Mingxun 黄铭训 (杜黄)		(Tianjin Beijing)	Han	F: Du Guan 杜关 4	No	Many	assasination organizer
33.	Huang Shoujing 黄守憬	(1911)	(Tianjin)	Han	student of Tianjin Girl School 4	No	Several	assasination transport ammunition Luanzhou Uprising
34.	Huang Zhaolan 黄昭兰	(1911)	(Shanghai)	Han	student 5	Yes	No	Women Military Brigade
35.	Jiang Tao 江涛	(1909)	(Guangzhou)	Han	4	No	Several	jailed for assasination
36.	Kang Tianqin 康天琴	(1911)	(Shanghai)	Han	prostitute	Yes	No	organizer of women school for spying
37.	Lai Junhua 赖军华	(1911)	(Guangdong)	Han	nurse on Expedition	No	Several	participated in Xinqiao, Guzhen campaign
38.	Li Junying 李俊英	(1911)		Han	medical person	No	Many	first-aid on battlefield China Red-Cross
39.	Li Peishu 李佩书	(1909)	(Guangzhou)	Han	Li Jinyi's sister 李晋一 4	No	Many	participated in Huanghuagang campaign
40.	Li Wanyuan 李晚媛	(1909)	(Guangzhou)	Han	4	No	Many	manufacture bombs
41.	Li Xinghan 黎兴汉	(1911)	(Guangdong)	Han	nurse	No	Several	participated in Xinqiao, Guzhen campaign

42.	Li Yinqing 李荫菁	(1909)	(Guangzhou)	Han	4	No	Many	jailed for transport ammunition and assassination
43.	Li Ziping 李自平	(1909)	(Guangzhou)	Han	4	No	Several	transport ammunition
44.	Liang Dinghui 梁定慧	(1909)	(Guangzhou)	Han	4	No	Several	transport ammunition
45.	Liang Guoti 梁国体		(Macao)	Han	4	No	Several	transport ammunition
46.	Liang Meiyu 梁梅玉	(1909)	(Guangzhou)	Han	4	No	Several	transport ammunition
47.	Liang Qichuan 梁绮川	(1909)	(Guangzhou)	Han	rich widow 4	No	Several	transport ammunition
48.	Liang Quanfang 梁荃芳		(Macao)	Han	4	No	No	Guangdong bombing team
49.	Liang Xuejun 梁雪君		(Macao)	Han	4	No	Several	Dongjiang uprising bombing team
50.	Liang Yingyan 梁英颜			Han		Yes	No	Guangdong bombing team
51.	Lin Ju 林菊	(1911)		Han	medical person	No	Many	first-aid on battlefield China Red-Cross
52.	Lin Yanniang 林炎娘	(1911)	(Guangzhou)	Han	4	No	Once	fought in Huanghuagang campaign
53.	Lin Zongsu 林宗肃			Han	student in Japan 6	No	No	
54.	Lin Zongxue 林宗雪	(1911)	Zhejiang (Nanjing)	Han	organizer Women Army 5	No	Once	Zhejiang dare-to-die team
55.	Liu Hongbo 刘鸿博		(Guangdong)	Han		No	Once	Qianshan New Army uprising
56.	Liu Weiming 刘伟明	(1911)	(Guangdong)	Han	Expedition team	Yes	No	Guangdong bombing team
57.	Lu Guoxiang 陆国香		Hubei Hanyang	Han	student	No	Once	organizer Women's Army

58.	Mei Qongying 梅琼英			Han	student 5	Yes	No	Women Military Brigade
59.	Qiu Jin 秋瑾 (秋闾瑾)	1875- 1907	Zhejiang Shanyin	Han	landed gentry intellectual 6	No	No	leader and organizer but executed before uprising
60.	Ren Rui 任锐 (任伟坤)	1891- 1949	Henan Xinkui	Han	F: Ren Zhiming 任芝铭 intellectual	No	Once	participated assassination H: Sun Bingwen 孙炳文
61.	She Qongyu 余琼玉			Han		Yes	No	Guangdong bombing team
62.	Shen Jingyin 沈警音		Zhejiang Jiaxin	Han	student 5	Yes	No	team leader of Women Military Brigade
63.	Shen Peizhen 沈佩贞			Han	5	Yes	No	organizer of Martial Quality Association
64.	Shi Meiyu 石美玉		Jiangxi Jiujiang	Han	organizer regional organ	No	Many	Red-Cross organizer
65.	Song Minghuang 宋铭黄	1877- 1940	Guangdong Panyu	Han	rich widow 4	No	Many	transport ammunition assasination
66.	Song Qingling 宋庆龄	1893- 1981	Guangdong Hainan Island	Han	rich H: Sun Zhongshan 孙中山	No	No	organizer of first aid leader 15, 3, 2
67.	Su Huici 苏惠慈	(1911)	(Wuhan)	Han	medical person	No	Many	first aid on battlefield China Red-Cross
68.	Su Yanfang 苏燕芳	(1911)	(Wuhan)	Han	medical person	No	Many	first aid on battlefield China Red-Cross
69.	Sun Xia 孙侠	(1911)		Han	student	Yes	No	Women's Military Brigade
70.	Tan Jingrong 谭锦蓉	(1911)		Han		Yes	No	Guangdong bombing team
71.	Tang Lian 汤莲	(1911)		Han	Women Expedition	Yes	No	Guangdong bombing team
72.	Tang Shoude 唐守德	(1911)	(Wuhan)	Han	medical person	No	Many	first-aid on battlefield China Red-Cross

73.	Tang Qunying 唐群英	(1905)		Han	6	No	No	organizer of Logistic Support team
74.	Tong Tongxue 童同雪	(1911)	(Nanjing)	Han	teacher 5	No	Yes	organizer of Women's Army Nanjing cmpg
75.	Wang Weixia 汪纬霞			Han	student 5	Yes	No	Women's Military Brigade
76.	Wang Ying 王颖	1889- 1977	Fujian Fuzhou	Han	student in Jap. H: Fang Shengdong 方声洞 4	No	Yes	fought in Huanghuagang campaign Guangzhou uprising
77.	Wang Yun 汪筠	(1911)	(Tianjin)	Han	student of Tianjin Girl School 4	No	Seve-ral	transport ammunition
78.	Wen Min 文敏	(1911)	(Guangzhou)	Han	4	No	Seve-ral	jailed for assasination
79.	Wu Guanghan 伍光汉	?- 1909	(Guangzhou)	Han	4	No	Seve-ral	died in assasination
80.	Wu Guie 吴桂娥			Han	student in Japan	No	No	Red-Cross organizer
81.	Wu Mulan 吴木兰		Jiangxi	Han	student in Japan 6	No	No	organizer Women's Martial team
82.	Wu Qiniang 吴七娘	(1911)	(Guangzhou)	Han	4	No	Once	fought in Huanghuagang campaign
83.	Wu Shunzhi 吴舜芝	(1911)		Han	medical person	No	Many	first-aid on battlefield China Red-Cross
84.	Wu Shuqing 吴淑卿	1892-	Hubei Hanyang (Hankou)	Han	intellectual	Yes	Once	organizer of Women's army fought in Hankou campaign
85.	Xin Suzhen 辛素贞 (薛素贞)	(1911)	Zhejiang (Nanjing)	Han	Sponsor for Women's Army	No	Once	Zhejiang Women's Army
86.	Xu Jianhun 许剑魂		(Macao)	Han	4	No	Once	Guangdong Women's Expedition team

87.	Xu Mulan 徐慕兰	(1909) (1911)	Guangdong Xiangshan	Han	tea merchant 4	No	Many	fought in Huanghuagang combat, organizer of Women's army, transport ammunition
88.	Xu Peiyao 徐佩书	(1909) (1911)	Guangdong Xiangshan	Han	tea merchant 4	No	Many	Huanghuagang campaign transport ammunition
89.	Xu Zonghan 徐宗汉 (徐佩莹)	1876- 1944	Guangdong Xiangshan	Han	tea merchant H: Huang Xing 黄兴 4	No	Many	transport ammunition, arson Huanghuagang campaign
90.	Yao Xueqin 姚雪琴		Hubei Hanyang	Han		No	Once	organizer of Women's Army
91.	Yin Shuji 尹淑姬			Han	4	Yes	No	Guangdong bombing team
92.	Yin Ruizhi 尹锐志	1891- 1948 (1890)	Zhejiang Cheng County	Han	raised by grandmother 5	No	Many	uprisings, assasination combat
93.	Yin Weijun 尹维峻	1896- (1894)	Zhejiang Cheng County	Han	raised by grandmother 5	No	Many	leader of dare-to-die team
94.	Zeng Sangu 曾三姑	(1911)	(Guangzhou)	Han	Λ	No	Once	Huanghuagang campaign
95.	Zeng Su 曾肃	(1911)	(Shanghai)	Han	brigade commander	Yes	Once	organizer of Women's Military Brigade
96.	Zeng Xing 曾醒			Han	student in Japan 4	No	Severa	assasination
97.	Zhang Fuzhen 张馥贞	(1911)	Zhejiang	Han	organizer Women's Army 5	No	Once	Zhejiang dare-to-die team member
98.	Zhang Hanying 张翰英			Han		No	No	organizer of logistic team
99.	Zhang Junlai 张俊来		Jiangxi Jiujiang	Han	organizer regional organ.	No	No	Red-Cross organizer

100.	Zhang Xiaqin 张侠琴	(1911)	(Shanghai)	Han	prostitute	Yes	No	organizer of women spying school
101.	Zhang Zhaohan 张昭汉 (张默君)	1884- 1965	Hunan Xiangxiang	Han	F: Zhang Bochun 张伯纯	Yes	No	organizer of Women's Military Brigade
102.	Zhang Zhaolian 张兆廉			Han	medical person	No	Many	first aid on battlefield China Red-Cross
103.	Zhang Zhaoyan 章兆彦			Han	medical person	No	Many	first aid on battlefield China Red-Cross
104.	Zhang Zhujun 张竹君		Guangdong Panyu	Han	sonspor leader 5	No	Many	medical doctor first aid on front
105.	Zhao Biru 赵璧如	(1909)	(Hong Kong)	Han	4	No	Seve- ral	transport ammunition
106.	Zheng Bi 郑璧			Han	student 5	No	No	liaison for foreign affairs Women's Military Brigade
107.	Zheng Miaoqing 郑妙卿		(Guangdong)	Han		No	Once	Qianshan New Army uprising
108.	Zheng Yuxiu 郑毓秀	1894-	Guangdong Baoan	Han	3	No	Yes	assassination transport ammunition
109.	Zhou Qiyong 周其永	(1912)	Jiangxi Boyang	Han	teacher of girl school	No	No	organizer of women military support association
110.	Zhuang Hanqiao 庄汉翘	(1909)	(Guangzhou)	Han	rich widow	No	Many	manufacture bombs arson
111.	Zhuo Guoxing 卓国兴	(1909)	(Guangzhou)	Han	4	No	Many	manufacture bombs arson, assassination
112.	Zhuo Guohua 卓国华	(1909)	(Guangzhou)	Han	4	No	Many	arson transport ammunition
113.	Zou Xingmin 邹醒民	(1911)	(Guangdong)	Han		No	Once	Suzhou campaign first expedition

Key:

1. Women Minister of the Chinese Nationalist Party (CNP, KMT in the West).
2. Member of both the CCP and the CNP.
3. Woman Legislative of the CNP.
4. Member of the Allied Association " Tong Meng Hui "同盟会 .
5. Member of the Glorious Revival Association "Guang Fu Hui" 光复会 .
6. Member of both the Guangfu and Tongmeng Associations.
7. Anti-Japanese Heroine.
8. Continued military participation in the Anti-Japanese Invasion War.
9. Woman cadet who participated in Long March.
10. Commanded military operation.
11. Joined the armed forces as a teenager.
12. Was sold as a child-bride at the young age.
13. Remained in the PLA with a rank of major or above.
14. Became a civilian cadre after 1949.
15. Becomes a national leader.
16. Either leader of guerrilla team or woman minister of the local government.
17. (Battle): time of battle during which the subject participated.
18. (PRCT place): places where the subjects participated in combat.
19. Ethni: subject's ethnic originality.
20. SES: social and economic status, in this table, only the name of the subject's father is listed.
21. Mil. Skil: whether or not the subject has military skills.
22. CMBT: combat.
23. organ: organization.

Women Fighters in the Armed Uprisings

As is described briefly in Chapter VII, women took part in all the efforts of manufacturing bombs and ammunition, transportation of weapons, arson, assassination, and the nine armed uprisings. The 113 women were from 14 provinces and cities (for 25 [22%] this author had no information on their origins or places of participation). Some of them had a certain degree of military training (26 [23%] had military skills). For half of them there is no information on their family background. Of those who had social and economic status information, fifteen were students, including eight overseas students in Japan. Four were teachers, and two were from intellectuals' families. Eleven were from rich families. Only four were from lower class families (two were maids of a leading female revolutionary, two were prostitutes). In sum, given the elite nature of the 1911 revolution, most of the women participants were educated, from upper class families. Almost half of these women were partisans of either the Guang Fu or Tong Meng Association, or members of both. Most interestingly, only eight (7%) women were recorded together with their husbands. Most of the women were identified in the existing literature in their own right. This is the start of a new trend, which will be re-addressed later. Another feature of this group of women is that thirty four had no direct combat experiences (30%) but were involved in logistic support of the military operation.

There were several women's military units or quasi-military organizations formed for short periods during the peak of the revolution. Women fighters of four such organizations actually participated in the military operation. The first one was initiated by Wu Shuqing 吴淑卿, a 19 year old girl from Hanyang 汉阳. Together with Lu Guoxiang 陆国香, Yao Xueqin 姚雪琴, etc., they wrote a letter to Li Yuanhong 黎元洪, requesting permission to participate in the military action. After repeated requests, they were authorized to openly recruit a women's unit. Within 10 days, several hundred responded, and a women's army was formed and trained. They participated in the campaign against the Qing army at Hankou 汉口 (Liu, 1989). The second women's military unit was called the Zhejiang Women's Nationalist Army 浙江女子国民军. Over thirty women soldiers of this unit took part in the liberation of Nanjing.⁴ They participated in the campaign on November 25, 1911, attacked Fort Wulong 乌龙炮台 and Fort Mufu 幕府炮台, occupied Yuhuatai 雨花台, climbed ladders over the walls when engaged in the forced attack, and entered Nanjing on December 2. These women fighters were praised by those who witnessed their combat behavior (Min Li Newspaper, Nov. 26, 1911; Min Li Newspaper, Dec.2, 1911), but were discharged by Huang Xing, the Commander in Chief, in the middle of December, simply because he believed that women would not be suitable in future lengthy expeditions. A third women's unit called the Women's Northern Expedition Army 女子北伐光复军 was headed by Chen

⁴ After the liberation of Zhejiang province, the Zhejiang Army set up a branch to support the fight in Jiangsu province, which was headed by Zhu Rui 朱瑞. Directly under the command was the dare-to-die team, including the thirty women's unit. Xue Suzhen 薛素贞 and Lin Zongxue 林宗雪, from Zhejiang also, who had previously requested and approved by the Commander in Chief of the Shanghai New Army to form a women's unit also participated in this unit (Liu, 1989).

Wanhang 陈琬珩.⁵ Over fifty women soldiers in this troop also took part in the liberation of Nanjing. Their major function was to provide first-aid on the battlefield and logistic support (History of Chinese Women's Movement, 1989). The fourth women's unit was the Guangdong Women's Northern Expedition Bombing Team 广东女子北伐炸弹队, headed by Xu Mulan. About a hundred women soldiers took part in the battle at Xuzhou 徐州, fighting against Zhang Xun 张勋 (Lin, 1975).

There were several other women's military organizations which did not participate in any actual military operation, but engaged in recruiting, fund raising and military training for women's armed forces. These included: 1) Women's Military Brigade 女子军事团 (nu zi jun shi tuan), a seventy women dare-to-die team from Shanghai, organized by Zhang Zhaohan 张昭汉 and Zeng Su 曾肃.⁶ Most of the team members were twenty year old female students from Shanghai and Tianjin. After two months' military training, they all arrived in Nanjing on January 30, 1912, but were discharged soon. 2) Wu Mulan 吴木兰, an Allied Association member as well as an overseas student in Japan, organized an Allied Women Martial Art Exercise Team 同盟女子经武练习队 (tong meng nu zi jing wu lian xi dui) with eighty women members. 3) Shen Peizhen 沈佩贞, another female Allied Association member, organized a Women's Martial Quality Association 女子尚武会 (nu zi shang wu hui) on December 24, 1911, which specialized in logistic support. 4) Tang Qunying 唐群英, the first and

⁵ This unit was also called Women's Team to Sweep Nanjing 女子荡宁队 (nu zi dang ning dui)

⁶ Zhang's other name was Zhang Mojun 张默君 (1884-1965). She and her father talked the Governor of Jiangsu into declaring independence from the Qing court after the Wuchang Uprising. Then, she went back to Shanghai where she had been studying English at the St. Joseph's women school to organize the women's unit.

oldest female member of the Allied Association, together with Zhang Hanying 張翰英, organized a Women's Logistic Support Association 女子后援会 (nu zi hou yuan hui) and a First-Aid Team for the Northern Expedition in Shanghai in December, 1912.⁷

These units did not take part in any military action, since they were established too late.

In sum, women's participation in the 1911 revolution was of very short duration and limited scale. Most of the militant revolutionaries were young and educated. About eighty women took part in the liberation campaign of Nanjing, and about seventy five participated in first-aid work on the battlefield. All women's armies were quickly discharged in early 1912 when a compromise was reached between the Southern revolutionaries and the Northern forces. Many women fighters felt disappointed and frustrated when they found out that their risk, participation and dedication to the revolution were either given lip service or not appreciated at all. When the revolution was won, male comrades allocated key positions among themselves within the provisional government, but no women were given any consideration to take important responsibilities in the new government of the republic.⁸ Their patriotism and brave image in military uniform shocked the society, but they enjoyed no ready acceptance.

⁷ One source says Tang also participated in the campaign of Nanjing (Chen, 1991).

⁸ The Yin sisters were so frustrated by this ignorance and disrespect that they went to face Hu Hanmin 胡漢民 and cursed him openly. They were granted the position of consultants to the Provisional President without any authority but a 20,000 Yuan annual salary (Chen, 1991).

Women Fighters in the Northern Expedition War

With the first coalition between the CNP and the CCP in 1924, the revolutionary government strengthened the base in Guangdong after the Eastern and the Southern Expeditions, and finished the suppression of rebels from Yang Ximen's 杨希闵 Yunnan army and Liu Zhenghuan's 刘震寰 Guangxi army. By July 1926, another revolutionary peak emerged and the Guangdong Nationalist government decided to start the Northern Expedition (NE) in order to finally destroy the warlords' power. At the time, the revolution's enemies included: 200,000 Zhi system's 直系 army headed by Wu Peifu's 吴佩孚 in Hunan, Hubei, Henan, and Hebei provinces; 300,000 Feng system's 奉系 army headed by Zhang Zuolin 張作霖 in Northeastern China, Beijing and Tianjin; and a 200,000 person army as a part of the Zhi system headed by Sun Chuanfang 孫傳芳 in Jiangsu, Zhejiang, Anhui, Jiangxi, and Fujian provinces. The war started on July 9, 1926.

Women's participation in this war mainly included medical and propaganda teams working along with the expedition army, and the military activities of first generation of women cadets of Huangpu (Whampoa in existing Western scholarship) Military Academy. Table 8.4 on the following pages presents these women combatants.

By the end of 1926, the CNP had 16,000 female members (All China Women's Federation, 1989). The CNP's Central Department of Women sent a 13 member women medical and propaganda team headed by Gao Tianbo 高恬波 and Zhao Xueru 赵雪如

Table 8.4 Women Participants in the Northern Expedition War Period (around 1926)

#	Name	Date (Battle)	Origin (PRCT place)	Ethni	SES (F:Father) (H:HSBD)	Rank	Mil Skil	Com Time	Note
1	Cai Chang 蔡畅	1900-1990	Hunan Xiangxiang	Han	intel. H: Li Fuchun 李富春	leader 10, 15	No	Many	propaganda section chief N Expe Army
2	Cao Zezhi 曹泽芝	(1927)		Han		cadet	Yes	many	Nanchang uprising
3	Chen Juewu 陈觉吾 (陈兆森)	1903-1927	Hunan Taoyuan	Han	intel.	cadet	Yes	Once	Nanchang uprising died in jail
4	Deng Su 邓苏	?-1927	(Guangzhou)	Han		cadet	Yes	Two	died in combat
5	Deng Yingchao 邓颖超	1904-1992	Henan Guangshan	Han	intel H: Zhou Enlai 周恩来	leader 10, 15	No	No	leader & organizer first aid, propaganda logistic support
6	Gao Tianbo 高恬波	1898-1929	Guangdong Huiyang	Han	intel H:Ruan Xiaoxian 阮啸仙	first-aid team leader 2	Yes	Once	Tingsi Bridge campaign, Expedition wounded while worked as first aid
7	Guo Dejie 郭德洁	1906-1966	Guangxi Guilin	Han	H: Li Zongren 李宗仁	propa-leader 2	No	Yes	First-aid organizer Guangxi Women's Expedition Army
8	Hong Ying 洪英			Han		general service	Yes	Yes	logistic officer
9	Hu Jun 胡筠	1898-1934	Hunan Pingjiang	Han	rich landlord	cadet 9, 10	Yes	Many	executed by comrades
10	Hu Lanqi 胡兰畦	1909-	Sichuan	Han		cadet leader, 14	No	Yes	Shanghai Front Service Team

11	Hu Yuxiu 胡毓秀			Han		cadet	Yes	Two	Nanchang uprising
12	Huang Jie 黄杰	1910-	Hubei Jiangling	Han	intel. H: Xu Xiangqian 徐向前	cadet leader 14	Yes	Many	Women Team leader New Fourth Army's Service Brigade
13	Huang Yi 黄颐		(Hunan)	Han		1	No	No	organizer of women logis.progan,suppo
14	Li Wenyi 李文宜 (李哲时)	1903-	Hubei Wuhan	Han	H:Luo Yinong 罗亦农	leader 2	No	No	organizer of women logistic support, propaganda, support
15	Li Yunrui 李蕴瑞	?- 1927		Han		cadet	Yes	Two	died in combat
16	Liao Dezhang 廖德璋	(1927)	(Guangzhou)	Han		cadet	Yes	Two	Guangzhou uprising first aid at front
17	Liu Guanghui 刘光慧	(1927)	(Guangzhou)	Han		cadet	Yes	Two	Guangzhou uprising
18	Lu Xiaomei 陆小妹	(1927)	(Shanghai)	Han	worker	leader	No	Yes	workers' uprising in Shanghai to support the expedition
19	Luo Yinghao 骆英豪	(1927)	(Guangzhou)	Han		cadet	Yes	Two	Guangzhou uprising
20	Peng Jingqiu 彭镜秋 (曾璞)	(1927)	(Guangzhou)	Han	H: Wu Zhan 吴展	cadet 9	Yes	Two	Guangzhou uprising
21	Peng Wen 彭文 (彭援华)	1905-	Hunan Yueyang	Han	intel	cadet	Yes	Many	Nanchang uprising guerrilla war 14
22	Peng Yilan 彭猗兰			Han		political officer	Yes	Once	
23	Qin Yijun 秦怡君			Han	Commis- ssar	leader	No	No	organizer of women logistic, propa,support
24	Qiu Jiwen 邱继文	1901- 1927	Hunan Pingjiang	Han	teacher	cadet	Yes	Two	died in combat

25	Tan Qinxian 谭勤先 (谭乐华)	(1927)	(Nan Chang)	Han		cadet	Yes	Two	Nanchang uprising
26	Tang Weishu 唐维淑			Han		political officer	Yes	Once	leader cadet
27	Tao Huanfu 陶桓馥			Han		cadet	Yes	Once	went to study in Soviet Union
28	Wang Minggao 王鸣皋	(1927)	(Nan Chang)	Han		cadet	Yes	Two	Nanchang uprising
29	Wang Yixia 王亦侠			Han		cadet	Yes	Once	went to study in Soviet Union
30	Wei Gongzhi 危拱之	1907-	Henan Xinyang	Han		cadet 9, 10	Yes	Many	Guangzhou uprising Long March
31	Xie Bingying 谢冰莹 (谢鸣冈)	1907-	Hunan Xinghua	Han	intel	cadet writer	Yes	Many	1937 leader of Hunan Women's Front Service Team
32	Xong Tianchun 熊天春	(1927)	(Guangzhou)	Han		cadet	Yes	Two	Guangzhou uprising
33	Xu Linxia 徐林侠 (徐丽芳)	1904-1949	Jiangsu Pei county	Han	intel H: Song Qiyun 宋绮云	cadet 2	Yes	Once	died in jail when her whole family was arrested with Yang Hucheng
34	Xu Quanzhi 徐全直	1902-1934	Hubei Gaiyang	Han	F: Xu Shian 徐世安 4 H: Chen Tanqiu 陈潭秋	leader	No	No	leader, organizer, logistic, propaganda support teams in Hubei province, arrested & executed
35	Yang Longying 杨龙英	(1927)	(Shanghai)	Han	worker	leader	No	Yes	the Third Workers' uprising in Shanghai to support NE

36	Yang Peilan 杨佩兰			Han		general service	Yes	Once	logistic officer
37	Yang Qinggui 杨庆桂	(1927)	(Guangzhou)	Han		cadet	Yes	Two	Guangzhou uprising
38	Yang Qinglan 杨庆兰	(1927)	(Nan Chang)	Han		cadet	Yes	Two	Nanchang uprising
39	Yang Ranxiang 杨染香	(1927)	(Guangzhou)	Han		cadet	Yes	Two	Guangzhou uprising
40	Yang Shiwei 杨时伟			Han		general service	Yes	Once	logistic officer
41	Yang Zhihua 杨之华	1900- 1973	Zhejiang Xiaoshan	Han	H: Qu Qiubai 瞿秋白	leader	No	No	organizer of female workers' third uprising in Shanghai
42	You Xi 游曦	1908- 1927	(Guangzhou)	Han		cadet	Yes	Two	died in combat body cut in pieces
43	Yuan Puzhi 袁溥之	(1926)	(Wuchang)	Han		cmnst	No	No	organizer of women logistic, propa support
44	Yuan Mu 袁穆	(1926)	(Wuchang)	Han		cmnst	No	No	organizer of women logis, propa support
45	Zeng Xianzhi 曾宪植	1910-	Hunan Xiangxiang	Han	intel	cadet 9, 10	Yes	Many	Guangzhou uprising Long March
46	Zhang Bi 张弼	(1927)	(Guangzhou)	Han		cadet	Yes	Two	Guangzhou uprising
47	Zhang Hanying 张汉英	1872- 1916	Hunan Liling	Han			No	No	died of illness organizer Women's Expedition Team
48	Zhang Qiong 张琼 (朱舜华)	1902- 1981	Hunan Rucheng	Han	intel H: He Shu 贺恕		Yes	Yes	participant of Northern Expedition
49	Zhang Ruihua 张瑞华			Han		cadet	Yes	Once	
50	Zhang Xianyi 张先怡			Han		cadet	Yes	Once	

51	Zhang Yizhi 张益志			Han		cadet	Yes	Once	
52	Zhao Xueru 赵雪如			Han		team leader 10	No	Many	Tingsi Bridge first-aid on front
53	Zhao Yiman 赵一曼 (李坤泰)	?- 1936	Sichuan Yibin	Han		cadet leader 7, 10	Yes	Many	went to Soviet Union Anti-Japanese Heroine
54	Zheng Meixian 郑梅仙	(1927)	(Guangzhou)	Han		cadet	Yes	Two	Guangzhou uprising first aid at front
55	Zhong Fuguang 钟复光			Han		political officer	Yes	Once	participated in combat with cadets
56	Zhong Zhujun 钟竹筠	1903- 1927	Guangdong Suixi	Han	intel H:Han Ying 韩盈		No	Once	marched with revolutionary troops in 1925 Eastern Expedition
57	Zhou Kaibi 周开璧	(1927)	(Nan Chang)	Han		cadet	Yes	Two	Nanchang uprising
58	Zhou Yuehua 周越华			Han		cadet 9, 10	Yes	Many	Guangzhou uprising Long March
59	Zhu Yingru 朱英茹	(1927)	(Shanghai)	Han	worker	leader	No	Yes	workers' uprising to support NE

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- (Battle): time of battle during which the subject participated.
cmnst: commissar.
Com: combat.
Ethni: subject's ethnic origin.
HSBD: husband.
intel.: intellectual.
Mil. Skil: whether or not the subject has military skills.
organ: organization.
NE: Northern Expedition War.
N Expe: Northern Expedition.
(PRCT place): places where the subjects participated in combat.
SES: social and economic status, in this table, only the name of the subject's father is listed.

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to march together with the NE army.⁹ This team provided first - aid at the battlefield at the Tingsi Bridge 汀四桥 campaign. Gao was wounded while rescuing a soldier in August, 1926. Along the march, this team of women conducted propaganda and agitation work by singing and performing along the road "from five o'clock in the morning until eight in the evening" (Women's Voice, Nov. 15, 1926).

On October 26, the CNP's Women Department sent another six member medical team to the front. The CNP in Guangxi sent an eight women propaganda team to march along with the Seventh Army. This unit was a part of the regular establishment of the Political Department of the Seventh Army, which was headed by Guo Dejie 郭德洁, whose husband Li Zongren 李宗仁 once replaced Jiang Jieshi as the President of the Republic of China. It traveled from Guilin to Changsha, Wuhan, Jiujiang 九江, all the way to Anhui province. The CNP's headquarters in Hunan appointed its chief of the Women Department to head an Action Committee, which organized fifty propaganda teams and 14 cheerleading teams to support the expedition. Each had women members. Girl students of Pingjiang 平江 formed a nursing team to work at the local field hospitals. Together with the CNP's women cadres, the CCP's female communists were very instrumental in mobilizing labor women to support the war effort. This included various women's propaganda teams, cheerleading teams, shoe making teams, laundry teams, cooking teams, etc., which provided all kinds of support to the expedition army. He Xiangning 何香凝 and Song Qingling 宋庆龄, the two veteran revolutionaries of the Allied Association, organized expedition Red Cross teams, Front First-aid teams and

⁹ Another source stated that there were 17 of them (Dagong Newspaper, 8/8/1926).

Rear Hospitals to provide medical support. In sum, the characteristics of women's military participation in this war effort was different from the 1911 revolution. Instead of participating in self-organized women's armed forces, women cadres of both the CNP and the CCP went to mobilize large scale logistic support, medical service to the army, and political work within the army. The larger scale of war efforts among ordinary women was in sharp contrast to the few women involved in elite military activities in the 1911 revolution. This was further complemented by women's military training as cadets in regular military school.

When the Northern Expedition Army occupied Wuchang in October 1926, a branch of the Central Military and Political Academy (also called Huangpu Military Academy) was set up in Wuhan. This school was later named the Wuhang Central Military and Political Academy. The institute recruited and trained the first generation of 220 women cadets in six months from February 1927¹⁰ (a partial list of these women cadets is included in Table II). Most of these women cadets had middle school educations or more: some were from poor families, some were rich girls. All were about twenty years old, with some as young as fifteen to sixteen years old. Some of them were enrolled with sisters, in-laws, or even mothers. A few had bound feet. Some women were shorter than the rifles in their hands. Some had to place their young children in others hands in order to become woman cadets. One third of them were communists. Many were CNP members. As the sixth generation of Huangpu cadets, these women

¹⁰ The first effort recruited 195 women, of which 61 were from Hunan. At the end of March, 1927, thirty more women cadets were added from Nanhu Military Training Brigade (All China Women's Federation & Huangpu Alumni eds., 1991).

were organized in three teams headed by male officers. Each team had three squads. In addition to the male team leader and deputy leaders, there were three women political instructors, following the Soviet model of political officers.¹¹ The military courses included "Infantry Drills", "Shooting Exercises", and "Military Duties". Cadets were also trained for skills of first-aid in the field. After three months' strict military training, they took field exercises with live ammunition. In April 1927, they held a city attack and defense exercise along the route taken in the October campaign at Wuchang in the previous year. Male and female communists gave political courses to these women cadets on a regular base. The Soviet influence could also be seen through a Soviet expert's visit and a photo taken for Stalin on March 5, 1927.¹² Constant debate between members of the CNP and the CCP, and between the leftists and the rightists within the CNP, occurred in the daily life of these women cadets (All China Women's Federation & Huangpu Alumni eds., 1991). Starting on May 19, 1927, almost all women cadets were sent to the front, and experienced 34 days (one writer said it was 42 days) of combat life. Their main tasks were first-aid in the field, burying the dead, guarding, and agitation work among civilians. It was the first time that many women cadets witnessed casualties.¹³ The women troops had been to Tuditang 土地堂, Puqi 蒲圻, Xianning

¹¹ They were Peng Yilan 彭漪兰, Zhong Fuguang 钟复光 and Tang Weishu 唐维淑. There was also a woman in charge of general service 特务长 (te wu zhang), Yang Shiwei 杨时伟, Hong Ying 洪英, and Yang Peilan 杨佩兰 were put into this position.

¹² Wuhan Central Military and Political Academy was officially headed by Jiang Jieshi and his CNP, but most of the time the school was under the control of key member of the CCP, such as Yun Daiying 恽代英, the chief political officer, and the leftists of the CNP, such as Deng Yanda 鄧演達, the acting President.

¹³ According to Xie Bingying's 谢冰莹 *Military Diary*, published in 1927, casualties on the revolutionary side were one hundred seventy, including seventy cadets.

咸寧, Xindi 新堤, and other battle areas. As soon as they arrived in a new area, they would seize time to do propaganda work among the masses, including those for termination of footbinding and women's liberation. Due to the backward conditions of battle areas, women cadets had no sanitary materials for menstruation during the military move. Their bloodied pants cut their legs when they became hardened by dried blood. When this was reported to the authorities, some of women were sent back together with pregnant women fighters (All China Women's Federation & Huangpu Alumni eds., 1991). The team came back to the school at the end of June, and was discharged early in July when Wang Jingwei and other the CNP members openly attacked the CCP, which led to the split of the CNP and the CCP in 1927.

The fates of most of these women cadets are unknown to this author. Some women cadets became core officers of the CCP's red army and anti-Japanese troops. For example, Chen Juewu 陈觉吾 and thirty women cadets participated in the Nanchang uprising and behaved bravely during the two month battles and march.¹⁴ These thirty women have been recorded as the first group of PLA women soldiers in the Army's 68 year history. A group of women cadets participated in the CCP's Guangzhou uprising. Some died in the battle. You Xi 游曦 (1908-1927) led a squad of women and fought three days and nights until all were killed in bayonet-fighting by enemies who outnumbered them several times. The enemy displayed their naked bodies with bloody

¹⁴ Other female cadet participants of Nanchang Uprising were: Hu Yuxiu 胡毓秀, Yang Qinglan 楊慶蘭, Tan Qingxian 潭勤先, also called Tan Lehua 潭樂華, Zhou Kaibi 周開壁, Cao Zezhi 曹澤芝, Wang Minggao 王鳴皋, Peng Wen 彭文, etc.

marks of "female communists".¹⁵ You Xi's body was cut into several pieces and displayed at Tianzi Harbor 天字码头 (tian zi ma dou).

Liao Dezhang 廖德璋 and Zheng Meixian 郑梅仙 took part in first-aid work at the battlefield. Some women were in charge of transportation of ammunition and intelligence work. Later, twenty of these women soldiers participated in the Hailufeng 海陆丰 campaign (Chinese Women, 8th issue, 1981). Some of the women cadets' military participation was almost a life long involvement. For example, Wei Gongzhi 危拱之 and Zhou Yuehua 周越华 took part in the Guangzhou Uprising in 1927. They were also seen on the Long March in 1935. Wei's military participation continued into the third civil war period of 1946 to 1950. She is the female veteran identified in this study who had the longest military participation in China's modern history. Tao Huangfu 陶桓馥, Wang Yixia 王亦侠, and Zhao Yiman 赵一曼, went to study in the Soviet Union, and came back to take part in the Anti-Japanese War. Wang Yixia organized a two hundred person Anti-Japanese guerrilla troop in her homeland of Shanxi province.

The most outstanding woman was Hu Jun 胡筠 (All China Women's Federation & Huangpu Alumni, 1991), who went back to her homeland in Pingjiang county of Hunan province, burnt down the houses of her own family to show her dedication to the revolution, and opened six guerrilla districts in the border areas among Hunan, Hubei

¹⁵ Other identified women who died in the battle included: Qiu Jiwen 邱继文, Li Yunrui 李蕴瑞, and Deng Su 邓苏. From Peng Yilan's memoir, other female cadet participants of Guangzhou uprising were: Zeng Xianzhi 曾憲植, Zhang Bi 張弼, Luo Yinghao 駱英豪, Zhang Ruihua 張瑞華, Xong Tianchun 熊天春, Wei Gongzhi 危拱之, Zhou Yuehua 周越華, Yang Qinggui 楊慶桂, Zhang Yizhi 張益志, Zhang Xianyi 張先怡, Liu Guanghui 劉光慧, Peng Jingqiu 彭鏡秋, Yang Ranxiang 楊染香, etc.

and Jiangxi provinces. Hu divorced her husband (who was from a landlord's family) in February 1928, and became a key leader in the Pingjiang peasants' uprising. This rebellion had a hundred thousand participants. As the CCP Party Secretary of Pingjiang county, she turned the militia units into the Pingjiang Workers and Peasants Revolutionary Army, which was actually called "Hu Jun's Army" by local people. On July 22, 1928, another Pingjiang Uprising led by Peng Dehuai 彭德懷 took place. Its victory increased the revolutionary forces. Hu married a comrade named Zhang Jingwu 張警吾 after this uprising. She became the Commander in Chief of the Guerrilla Command of one thousand soldiers. Her troops won two battles against the CNP's units and killed 40 enemies. In July 1929, she gave birth to a daughter at the front while commanding guerrilla warfare. She was carried by her comrades in a basket while commanding the retreat after the battle. This deed became legendary among the local people. By September 1930, she was also appointed the Commander of the Independence Brigade of the Northern Jiangxi Red Army. In March 1931, she was appointed the Brigade Commissar of the Women Cadet Team of the Red Army Academy. According to some memoirs, she was also the Commander of the Eighth Division of the Sixteenth Army of the Red Army.

Hu Jun developed a series of guerrilla tactics during this period, as well as a whole set of methods about how to mobilize people in the liberated area. This living legend to her comrades and people was executed at the age of 36 by her own communist comrades in January 1934, when she was accused of being a spy of the CNP's spying

brigade by Wang Ming 王明 and his followers. Although she was officially rehabilitated by the CCP's Seventh Congress in 1945, and was designated posthumously as the Division Commander by Pingjiang county in 1952, her name was unknown to most Chinese except her comrades and her homeland.¹⁶ By whatever standard, Hu Jun is an outstanding woman commander and heroine.

In sum, 59 women participants have been identified for the Northern Expedition War period. They were women from eight provinces (no information for 16 women's origins and places of participation), most of them had military training (72%), and participated directly in combat (85%). Eight women died in combat and one was wounded (1.69%). Among the 36 women cadets, about one third continued their military participation after being discharged from the Military Academy. Eight had commanded in combat, two became national leaders, and one became one of the women legislators of the Taiwan government. Some of them were legendary heroines in the second civil-war and the anti-Japanese war periods. Since 44 out of the 59 women listed in this study had no family background information, it is hard to produce any analysis. On the other hand, only 12 women had their husbands recorded (20.34%) in the existing literature. Most of them were noted in the historical entry by themselves. This continues the new trend started in women's participation in the 1911 revolution. Similar to the case of the 1911 revolution, no woman of minor nationalities has been identified as woman fighter in this period of military operation.

¹⁶ Her hand-writing on a wall in Pingjiang county was kept carefully by local people during the several decades of war time. When Peng Dehuai went back to visit in December 1958, he recognized Hu's calligraphy immediately (Chen, 1990).

Red Army Women Soldiers

In the early years of the Chinese communist movement (1927-1935), women served in large numbers and in a wide range of combat and noncombat military roles. This participation included two types of activities: guerrilla warfare at various revolutionary bases, and participation in the Long March. It is impossible to calculate accurately how many women were involved in these military operations, given the scale and duration of this participation. One source states that in Hainan Island alone, about 2,000 women joined the two Women Independence Brigades (All China Women's Federation, 1989). If this figure is used as a base, it may be estimated that less than twenty thousand women took part in the military operation at the twelve revolutionary bases. As for the total number of Long March red army women soldiers, there are two figures. Most research findings agree that about 2,600 regular women Red Army soldiers participated the Long March (Biographies of Red Army Heroines, 1986; Study Materials of the History of Women Movement, 1986; Li & Liu, 1991). This figure may be accurate, given the facts that officers of the First and Second Fronts tried very hard to ask women to remain in the base, and many women soldiers could not pass the physical fitness test required by certain leaders (Li & Liu, 1991). Another source states that in Sichuan province alone, about 8,000 women red army soldiers participated in the Long March in March 1935 (History of Chinese Women's Movement, 1989). This figure included women laborers such as carriers, laundry women, and workers in arsenals, who marched together with regular Red Army units. Many of these women of the Fourth

Front participated in battles, and were captured as POWs. According to the definition of military participant specified in this research, these women should be included as the subjects of this research.

The study has identified a total number of **281** Red Army women soldiers, among whom 7 were veteran fighters who had participated in previous military operations. Fifty participated in guerrilla warfare, 231 took part on the Long March. Table 8.5 presents women guerrilla fighters. Table 8.6 lists Red Army women soldiers on the Long March. These two tables compose the longest list of this generation of women veterans produced so far by Chinese and English scholarship.

Logically women veterans should have enjoyed the highest regard, since they are comrades of the founders of the People's Republic. The fact is that most of them did not even have their names recorded in history. The group of the nameless male veterans was even larger. Some efforts have been taken to investigate the survivors and try to rescue the oral history since the middle of 1980s.

Women Red Army Guerrilla Soldiers

The 50 women guerrilla fighters were from 14 provinces and cities (45 have their origins recorded, 5 have participation places named). Two were from the Zhuang nationality, while most women were of the Han nationality. Twenty six were from low class families, including two child workers and three child-brides (52%). Ten were from

Table 8.5 Women Red Army Soldiers in Guerrilla Warfare

#	Name	Date (Battle)	Origin (PRCT place)	Ethni	SES (F:Father H:HSBD)	Rank	Mil Skil	CMBT Time	Note
1.	Chen Junqi 陈君起	1885-1927	Shanghai Jiading	Han	teacher	1, 2	No	Yes	political work within the troops arrested & executed
2.	Chen Kangrong 陈康容	1915-1939	Fujian Yongding	Han	Overseas Chinese	leader	No	Yes	guerrilla warfare arrested & executed
3.	Chen Shaomin 陈少敏 (孙进修)	1902-1977	Shandong Shouguang	Han	poor child-worker	leader 10, 15	No	Many	creator, leader of revolutionary base guerrilla warfare
4.	Dai Liuying 戴柳英	1909-1940	Jiangxi Ruijin	Han	poor	leader	No	Many	continued guerrilla when Red Army in Long March arrested & executed
5.	Dai Xingqun 戴醒群	1911-1939	Hubei Hongan	Han	medical doctor H: Zhang Tixue 张体学	10	No	Many	continued guerrilla when Red Army on Long March, arrested & dismembered alive
6.	Fan Lechun 范乐春	1902-1941	Fujian Yongding	Han	poor peasant	leader 10	No	Many	1928 peasant uprising 3 years guerrilla war died of illness
7.	Fan Ming 范明	1915-	Henan Xin county	Han	poor 11	medical	No	Many	3 years guerrilla war when Red Army on Long March 13
8.	Feng Xinger 冯杏娥	1903-1940	Hunan Pingjiang	Han	poor 12	leader 10	No	Many	peasant uprising guerrilla warfare arrested & executed

#	Name	Date (Battle)	Origin (PRCT place)	Ethni	SES (F:Father H:HSBD)	Rank	Mil Skil	CMBT Time	Note
9.	Feng Zengmin 冯增敏	(1931)	Guangdong Hainan Island	Han	poor peasant	com CMND 10	Yes	Many	Qiongyia Women's Army com. POW
10.	He Ying 贺英(贺明英)	1886- 1933	Hunan Sangzhi	Han	H: GuJiting 谷吉庭	Leader 10	Yes	Many	Creator ofrevolutionary base, died in combat
11.	He Zizhen 贺子珍	1910- 1984	Jiangxi Yongxin	Han	small business H: Mao Zedong 毛泽东	leader 10	Yes	Many	peasant uprising guerrilla warfare
12.	Hu Kaicai 胡开彩	1919-	Hubei	Han	11 poor	soldier	No	Yes	retired at deputy Division Com 13
13.	Hu Rongjia 胡荣佳	(1935- 1937)	(Fujian)	Han		leader 10	No	Many	3 years guerrilla war Dingrui team
14.	Huang Dunying 黄墩英	(1931)	Guangdong Hainan Island	Han	poor	com. CMND	Yes	Many	Qiongyia Women's Army guerrilla warfare
15.	Huang Yuniang 黄玉娘		Guangxi Silin	Zhu- ang	poor peasant	member	No	Once	peasant red guard attacked county gov.
16.	Kang Keqing 康克清	1912- 1992	Jiangxi Wanan	Han	poor fishmen 12 H: Zhu De 朱德	leader 10, 15	Yes	Many	dare-to-die team lead guerrilla warfare
17.	Lan Ze 蓝泽	1914- 1931	Hunan Xiangyin	Han	poor peasant	11	No	Many	peasant uprising guerrilla warfare arrested & executed
18.	Li Fagu 李发姑 (李珊)	1916- 1969	Jiangxi Anfu	Han	poor	leader 10	No	Many	continued guerrilla when Red Army on Long March 8, 14
19.	Li Huaying 李华英	1906- 1931	Hunan Pingjiang	Han	poor peasant	leader 10	No	Many	guerrilla warfare

#	Name	Date (Battle)	Origin (PRCT place)	Ethni	SES (F:Father H:HSBD)	Rank	Mil Skil	CMBT Time	Note
20.	Li Meiqun 李美群	1911-1936	Jiangxi Xingguo	Han	poor 11	leader 10	No	Many	peasant Red Guard's leader, continued guerrilla warfare arrested & tortured to death
21.	Liu Qiuju 刘秋菊	1899-1949	Guangdong Hainan Island	Han	poor peasant H: Lin Maosong 林茂松	leader 10	No	Many	guerrilla warfare anti-Japanese war continued fighting after HSBD's death died of illness
22.	Mao Zejian 毛泽健	1905-1929	Hunan Shaoshan	Han	rich peasant	leader 10	Yes	Many	guerrilla team lead arrested after delivery a child, tortured to death
23.	Ou Mengjue 区梦觉 (区润燕)	1906-	Guangdong Hainan Island	Han	merchant	leader 10	No	Once	Guangzhou uprising
24.	Ou Xiamin 区夏民	1906-1928	Guangdong Foshan	Han	overseas Chinese	leader 10	No	Several	Hailufeng uprising guerrilla warfare arrested & executed
25.	Pang Qionghua 庞琼花	(1931)	Guangdong Hainan Island	Han	poor peasant	com. CMND 10	Yes	Many	Qiongya Women's army at Hainan Island
26.	Pang Xuelian 庞学莲	(1931)	Guangdong Hainan Island	Han	poor	com. political director	Yes	Many	Qiongyia Women's Army at Hainan Island
27.	Peng Shengbiao 彭胜标	(1934-1937)	(Fujian)	Han		political officer 8, 10	No	Many	3 years guerrilla war Dingrui team, 1937 in 2nd Branch of New Fourth Army
28.	Peng Xueying 彭雪英	(1934-1937)	(Fujian)	Han		staff 8, 10	No	Many	3 years guerrilla war Dingrui team

#	Name	Date (Battle)	Origin (PRCT place)	Ethni	SES (F:Father H:HSBD)	Rank	Mil Skil	CMBT Time	Note
29.	Qian Ying 钱瑛	1903-1973	Hubei Xianning	Han	student H: Tan Shoulin 覃寿林	leader 10, 15	No	Many	leader of peasant Red Guard, creator of revolutionary bases, died in the Cultural Revolution
30.	Ren Zhizhen 任志贞 (任海棠)	1914-1934	Shaanxi Zichang	Han	poor H: Bai Desheng 白德胜	political officer 10	Yes	Many	first com. political instructor in Shaanxi guerrilla team arrested & executed together with HSBD
31.	Shao Zhenxiong 邵振雄	1905-1927	Hunan Liuyang	Han	intellectual	leader 10	No	Several	peasants' army leader, attacked Changsha arrested & executed
32.	Shuai Mengqi 帅孟奇	1897-	Hunan Hanshou	Han	intellectual	leader 10	No	Several	Deputy CMND county peasants' army
33.	Wang Qifeng 汪起凤 (董桂贞)	1893-1930	Hunan Xiangtan	Han	intellectual	leader 10	No	Many	Zhuzhou Harvest uprising guerrilla warfare arrested & executed
34.	Wang Shaokun 王绍坤 (陈青田)	1911-1931	Hunan Liuyang	Han	student H: Wang Shoudao 王首道		No	Several	Liuyang county guerrilla team arrested & executed
35.	Wang Shixiang 王时香	(1931)	Guangdong Hainan Island	Han	poor	com. political director	Yes	Many	Qiongyia Women's Army at Hainan Island
36.	Wang Xiaozhi 汪孝芝	1890-1933	Anhui Shucheng	Han	poor peasant 12	leader 10	No	Many	peasant Red Guard guerrilla warfare arrested & executed

#	Name	Date (Battle)	Origin (PRCT place)	Ethni	SES (F:Father H:HSBD)	Rank	Mil Skil	CMBT Time	Note
37.	Wei Rong 韦荣	1907-1935	Guangxi Tiandong	Zhu-ang	poor peasant	nurse 9	No	Many	peasant red guard attacked county gov. died on Long March
38.	Wen Yuan 文媛	1911-	Anhui Jinzhai	Han	landlord	confidentia 1	Yes	Many	continued guerrilla when Red Army on Long March 14
39.	Wu Cheng 吴澄 (吴剑秋)	1898-1930	Yunan Kunming	Han	teacher 1, 2	leader	No	Seve-ral	Mengzi Harvest uprising arrested & executed
40.	Wu Jichun 吴继春 (吴克斌)	1915-	Henan Xin county	Han		Chief nurse	No	Many	POW, rescued 8, 13
41.	Wu Ruolan 伍若兰	1906-1929	Hunan Leiyang	Han	intellectual H: Zhu De 朱德	leader 10	Yes	Many	guerrilla warfare, captured when covering for her husband's troops executed
42.	Yan Chunshan 晏春山	1893-1935	Hubei Huangpo	Han	child- worker	Leader 10	No	seve-ral	lead peasants' troops betrayed & committed suicide by jumping cliff
43.	Yang Yingui 杨银贵	1912-1931	Hunan Huarong	Han	11 poor	leader 10	No	seve-ral	peasants' red guard pregnant when betrayed and killed
44.	You Yuchun 游玉春	?-1936	(Fujian Nanjing)	Han		leader 10	Yes	Many	guerrilla team leader arrested & executed
45.	Zeng Zhi 曾志	1911-	Hunan Yizhang	Han	intellectual	leader 10, 15	No	Many	creator, leader revolutionary bases, guerrilla warfare
46.	Zhang Longdi 张龙地	1881-1969	Fujian Longyan	Han	poor peasant	leader 10	No	Many	lead women spear team attacked city guerrilla warfare 14

#	Name	Date (Battle)	Origin (PRCT place)	Ethni	SES (F:Father H:HSBD)	Rank	Mil Skil	CMBT Time	Note
47.	Zhang Min 张敏	(1934-1935)	(Anhui)	Han	poor	soldier	No	Many	guerrilla warfare killed own baby for comrades' safety
48.	Zhang Shangwen 张尚文	1911-	Anhui Jinzhai	Han	poor	leader	No	Many	continued guerrilla when Red Army on Long March killed own child for comrades' safety 14
49.	Zou Yinglan 邹映兰	?-1935	Sichuan Wanyuan	Han	poor hunter	leader 10	Yes	Several	guerrilla warfare died in combat
50.	Zou Zhishu 邹志淑	1897-1931	Zejiang	Han			No	Two	Hailufeng uprising Guangzhou Uprising arrested & executed

Key:

1. Women Minister of the Chinese Nationalist Party (CNP, KMT in the West).
 2. Member of both the CCP and the CNP.
 3. Woman Legislative of the CNP.
 4. Member of the Allied Association "Tong Meng Hui" 同盟会.
 5. Member of the Glorious Revival Association "Guang Fu Hui" 光复会.
 6. Member of both the Guangfu and Tongmeng Associations.
 7. Anti-Japanese Heroine.
 8. Continued military participation in the Anti-Japanese Invasion War.
 9. Woman cadet who participated in Long March.
 10. Commanded military operation.
 11. Joined the armed forces as a teenager.
 12. Was sold as a child-bride at a young age.
 13. Remained in the PLA with a rank of major or above.
 14. Became a civilian cadre after 1949.
 15. Becomes a national leader.
 16. Either leader of guerrilla team or woman minister of the local government.
- (Battle): time of battle during which the subject participated.
cmnst: commissar.
CMND: Commander.
CMBT: combat.
Ethni: subject's ethnic origin.
HSBD: husband.
intel.: intellectual.
Mil. Skil: whether or not the subject has military skills.
organ: organization.
NE: Northern Expedition War.
N Expe: Northern Expedition.
POW: Prison of War.
(PRCT place): places where the subjects participated in combat.
SES: social and economic status, in this table, only the name of the subject's father is listed.

Note:

Shaded cell means the subject participated and was listed in later period of military operations.

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intellectual families, two were overseas Chinese, and only four were from rich families. It is clear from this information that most women guerrilla fighters were from lower class families. Nine (18%) were recorded with their famous husbands, such as Mao Zedong, Zhu De, etc. This follows the pattern described in previous section. While all participated in direct combat, only 14 had military training (28%). Thirty two commanded battles (64%), 3 of those became national leaders (6%), 4 became civilian cadres after liberation (8%). Most of these 50 fighters were communists, while one was a member of both the CCP and the CNP, and one was a the CNP's Minister of women. Three remained in the military and became PLA officers with the rank of major and above, who continued military participation in different periods. This group of women fighters also had the highest casualties (52%), given the hardship and severe conditions they had been fighting in: 23 died in combat or were executed by their enemies, three died of illness. Some of them were tortured to death, for example, Dai Xingqun 戴醒群 was dismembered alive in front of other communist POWs.¹⁷

Thousands of women participated in military operations at the twelve Soviet bases in fourteen provinces.¹⁸ One source states that at the beginning of 1927, about a million women were already organized under the leadership of the CCP (All China

¹⁷ She was a medical doctor who rescued many soldiers. When engaged in guerrilla warfare while the main force of the red army was on the Long March, she was arrested together with her comrades. Because her husband Zhang Tixue 张体学 was the chief commander of the guerrilla force, the captors tortured her for information. When failed, they decided to cut her breasts with small knives first, then cut the four limbs and her head with big sword in front of the other POWs.

¹⁸ The twelve bases are listed in footnote # 18. They are located in Jiangxi, Hunan, Hubei, Guangdong, Anhui, Henan, Hainan Island, Fujian, Zhejiang, Sichuan, Shanbei, Gansu, Guizhou, and Guangxi provinces.

Women's Federation, 1989). This included 350,000 female workers, 150,000 women peasants, and 600,000 girl students and women of other sectors. Some of them took part in combat as soldiers of regular armies, some of them were engaged in unconventional warfare as guerrilla fighters. Some of them were women militia, some were just ordinary women farmers, who were temporarily organized into logistic support teams. Women were main forces in logistic support, including transportation of grain and weapons, manufacture of ammunitions and bombs, first aid on the battlefield as well as nursing the wounded. They won major battles, as well as lost heavy casualties, and even suffered total destruction. Commanders did not hesitate to assign them the task of blocking, which often led to heavy casualties. Most of these women soldiers were young, from rural areas, with low levels of education if any. Many of them were women from Hunan, Hainan, Sichuan and Guangdong provinces where women were accustomed to heavy physical exertion in farming and hard work. The best tactic for women soldiers was avoiding bayonet fights, and attacking by surprise. While battling, their commanders sometime ordered them not to cry out so that their gender would not be discovered by their enemies. Women were specially good in guerrilla warfare when the enemies tended to be fooled by their motions. It is unusual in China, as well as in other countries, that so many women were engaged in such large scale unconventional warfare for several years.

Women Red Army Soldiers on the Long March

Table 8.6 on the following pages listed the 231 Red Army women soldiers on the Long March. Ninety four of the 231 Long March women soldiers were from 12 provinces and cities (133 had no record of origins and places of participation [57%]), among whom 44 were from Sichuan province, representing the largest geographic group. Four women were from minor nationalities (2%), with one representative from Tu Jia, one from Ke Jia, one from Zhuang, and one Muslim. Most did not have information on their social and economic status. Among the 88 who did have family backgrounds, 72 were from poor peasants' families (82%), 12 were from intellectuals' families (14%), 2 were from small business families, one from rich peasant family, and one from landlord family. Twenty were child-brides, who were sold at very young ages (23%). Thirty three were teenagers when they participated the Red Army (38%). In short, most of the identified Red Army women soldiers on the Long March were young and poor girls from peasants' families. Twelve women experienced extra hardship due to their gender: 8 gave birth on the March, 1 carried a young baby; 3 had their feet bound before their participation.

Among these 231 Red Army women soldiers on the Long March, 5 were enlisted, 12 were nurses, 4 were squad leaders, 9 were platoon leaders. Six had the rank of Brigade Commander, 7 were battalion commanders, plus 44 company commanders. There were altogether 57 officers with the rank of company commander and above.

Table 8.6 Women Red Army Soldiers on the Long March

The First Front Army

#	Name	Dates	Origin	Ethnic	Rank	SES	Marital (Husband)	Direct Com. bt.	Remain in Service
1	Deng Liu jin 邓六金	1911-	Fujian Shanghang	Han	leader	poor 5	Zeng Shan 曾山	No	No 9
2	Deng Yingchao 邓颖超	1904- 1992	Henan Guangshan	Han	leader	intel.	Zhou Enlai 周恩来	No	No 10
3	Cai Chang 蔡畅	1900- 1990	Hunan Xiangxiang	Han	leader	intel.	Li Fuchun 李富春	No	No 10
4	Cai Yunxiang 蔡云香			Han	soldier				
5	Chen Huiqing 陈慧清	1909- 1983	Guangdong Panyu	Han	leader		Deng Fa 邓发 ⁴	No	No 9
6	Gan Tang 甘棠 (Gan Shiyong)	1910- 1971	Sichuan Nanxi	Han	leader assigned locally	intel.		No	No 9
7	He Zizhen 贺子珍	1910- 1984	Jiangxi Yongxin	Han	leader 2	small business	Mao Zedong 毛泽东 ⁴	Yes	No
8	Jin Weiyong 金维映	1904- 1940	Zhejiang Daishan	Han	leader 2	intel.		Yes	died in Soviet Union
9	Kang Keqing 康克清	1912- 1992	Jiangxi Wanan	Han	leader 2	poor 5	Zhu De 朱德	Yes	No 10
10	Li Bozhao 李伯钊	1911- 1985	Sichuan Chongqing	Han	leader	urban intel.	Yang Shangkun 杨尚昆	No	No 9
11	Li Guiying 李桂英 (Li Guihong)	1911-	Jiangxi Xunwu	Han	leader 2 assigned locally		Dai Yuanhuai 戴元怀	Yes	Yes
12	Li Jianhua 李建华			Han					
13	Li Jianzhen 李坚真 (李见珍)	1907- (1916)	Guangdong Fengshun	Ke Jia (Hakka)	leader 2	poor peasant 5	Luo Mai 罗迈 (李维汉)	Yes	No 10

#	Name	Dates	Origin	Ethnic	Rank	SES	Marital (Husband)	Direct Com.bt.	Remain in Service
14	Li Xiaoxia 李小侠			Han					
15	Liao Siguang 廖似光 (廖娇)	1911-	Guangdong Huiyang	Han	leader	5	4	No	No 10
16	Liao Zhengfang 廖正芳	1915-	Sichuan Langzhong	Han	com. CMND	poor		Yes	Yes 7
17	Liu Caixiang 刘彩香	1915- 1980	Jiangxi Gang Xian	Han	leader 2	poor	Bi Zhanyun 毕占云	Yes	Yes
18	Liu Qunxian 刘群先	1907- 1940	Jiangsu Wuxi	Han	leader	urban intel.		No	No
19	Liu Ying 刘英 (郑洁)	1905-	Hunan Changsha	Han	leader 2	urban intel.	Zhang Wentian 张闻天	Yes	No 10
20	Qian Xijun 钱希均	1905-	Zhejiang Zhuji	Han	leader	intel. 5	Mao Zemin 毛泽民	No	No 10
21	Qiu Yihan 邱一涵	1907- 1956 (1909)	Hunan Pingjiang	Han	leader 2	intel.	Yuan Guoping 袁国平	Yes	No 9
22	Wang Quanyuan 王泉媛	1913-	Jiangxi Jian	Han	leader 2 rgm. CMND	poor peasant	Wang Shoudao 王首道	Yes	No citizen
23	Wei Gongzhi 危拱之	1908- 1973	Henan Xinyang	Han	leader 1			Yes	No 9
24	Wei Xiuying 危秀英	1910-	Jiangxi Ruijin	Han	leader	poor 5		Yes	No 10
25	Wu Fulian 吴富莲	?- 1937	Fujian Shanghang	Han	leader 2	poor 5	Liu Xiao 刘晓	Yes	died as POW
26	Wu Zhonglian 吴仲廉	1908- 1967	Hunan Yizhang	Han	leader 2	peasant	Zeng Risan 曾日三	Yes	No 10
27	Xiao Yuehua 肖月华			Han					
28	Xie Fei 谢飞 (琼香)	1913-	Hainan Island Wenchang	Han	leader 2	peasant	Liu Shaoqi 刘少奇	Yes	No

#	Name	Dates	Origin	Ethnic	Rank	SES	Marital (Husband)	Direct Com.bt.	Remain in Service
29	Xie Xiaomei 谢小梅	1913-	Fujian Longyan	Han	assigned locally		Luo Ming 罗明	Yes	No 9
30	Yang Houzhen 杨厚珍			Han		6			
31	Zeng Yu 曾玉			Han					
32	Zhong Yuelin 钟月林	1915-	Jiangxi Yudu	Han	PRG 3	poor 5	Song Renqiong 宋任穷	No	No 9
33	Zhou Yuehua 周越华	1904- 1977	Hubei Guangji	Han	leader 1			Yes	No 9

The Second Front Army

#	Name	Dates	Origin	Ethnic	Rank	SES	Marital (Husband)	Direct Com.bt.	Remain in Service
34	Chen Congying 陈琮英	1902-	Hunan Changsha	Han	classified staff	urban teacher	Ren Bishi 任弼时	No	No 9
35	Chen Luoying 陈罗英	1916-	Hunan Chaling	Han	leader 2	poor	Wu Jiqing 吴吉清	Yes	No 9
36	Chen Qiongying 陈琼英			Han					
37	Chen Yueying 陈月英			Han					
38	Du Yuzhen 杜玉珍			Han					
39	Fan Qingfang 范庆芳			Han					
40	Hu Yueqiang 胡越强			Han					
41	Jian Xianfo 蹇先佛	1915-	Hunan Cili	Han	propa- ganda		Xiao Ke 肖克 ⁴	No	No 10
42	Jian Xianren 蹇先任	1909-	Hunan Cili	Han			carried baby 4	No	No 10

#	Name	Dates	Origin	Ethnic	Rank	SES	Marital (Husband)	Direct Com. bt.	Remain in Service
43	Li Zhen 李贞	1908- 1992	Hunan Liuyang	Han	leader 2	poor 5	Gan Siqi 甘泗琪 4	Yes	Yes 8 jumped cliff in CMBT, survived
44	Li Zhi 李智			Han					
45	Ma Jilian 马积莲			Han					
46	Ma Yixiang 马忆湘	1922- (1923)	Hunan Yongshun	Tu Jia	3	poor 5		No	Yes 7
47	Qi Yuande 戚元德	1905- 1974	Hubei Wuhan	Han	leader 2	urban intel.	Wu Defeng 吴德峰	Yes	No 10
48	Qin Jinmei 秦金美			Han					
49	Shi Zhi 石芝			Han					
50	Wei Rong 韦荣	1907- 1935	Guangxi Tiandong	Zhuang	leader med.doc.	poor peasant		Yes	died on Long March
51	Wu Qingu 伍秋姑			Han					
52	Wu Youxiang 吴友香			Han					
53	Yin Juying 尹菊英			Han					
54	Zeng Honglin 曾红林			Han					
55	Zhang Ermei 张二妹			Han					
56	Zhang Jinlian 张金莲			Han					
57	Zhang Simei 张四妹 (张玉英)			Han					
58	Zhang Xiumei 张秀梅			Han			carried baby 4		
59	Zhou Xuelin 周雪林	1908- 1979	Jiangxi Yongxin	Han	leader 2			Yes	No 9

#	Name	Dates	Origin	Ethnic	Rank	SES	Marital (Husband)	Direct Com.bt.	Remain in Service
60	Zhu Guoying 朱国英			Han					

The Twenty Fifth Red Army

#	Name	Dates	Origin	Ethnic	Rank	SES	Marital (Husband)	Direct Com.bt.	Remain in Service
61	Cao Zongkai 曹宗楷			Han	nurse				
62	Dai Juemin 戴觉敏	1916-	Hubei Hongan	Han	nurse 2	intel. Dai Xuefang 戴雪舫		Yes	Yes 7
63	Tian Xilan 田喜兰			Han	nurse				
64	Yu Guoqing 余国清 (余光)			Han	nurse				
65	Zeng Jilan 曾纪兰			Han	nurse				
66	Zhang Guixiang 张桂香			Han	nurse				
67	Zhou Dongping 周东屏	1917-	Anhui Liuan	Han	nurse	5		Yes	Yes 7

The Fourth Front Army

#	Name	Dates	Origin	Ethnic	Rank	SES	Marital (Husband)	Direct Com.bt.	Remain in Service
68	An Mingxiu 安明秀	1918-	Sichuan	Han	3	poor			turned into Muslim
69	Cai Dezhen 蔡德贞			Han	POW	poor		Yes	forced to perform for her enemy
70	Cai Pingjun 蔡平君			Han	POW	poor		Yes	
71	Chen Chaxiu 陈茶秀	1922-	Sichuan Xuanhan	Han	POW 3			Yes	No citizen
72	Chen Guilan 陈桂兰			Han	POW			Yes	forced to perform for her enemy
73	Chen Shiyong 陈世英			Han					
74	Chen Sue 陈素娥			Han	POW			Yes	
75	Chen Taoyuan 陈桃园		Sichuan	Han	POW 3			Yes	died in combat
76	Chen Xiuying 陈秀英			Han	POW			Yes	committed suicide
77	Chen Zhenren 陈真仁	1920- (1919)	Shaanxi Ningqiang	Han	3	peasant	Fu Lianzhang 付连璋	No	Yes 7
78	Dang Wenxiu 党文秀	1920- 1937	Sichuan Bazhong	Han	POW 3	poor	No	Yes	raped & killed
79	Dong Guifang 董桂芳	1918-	Sichuan Bazhong	Han	POW	poor		Yes	survived citizen
80	Du Xinglan 杜兴兰				POW			Yes	
81	Fan Xiuying 樊秀英			Han	POW			Yes	turned into Muslim
82	Gou Guiying 苟贵英			Han	nurse			Yes	died on Long March
83	Gou Xingcai 苟兴才			Han	POW	poor		Yes	enemy officer's concubine

#	Name	Dates	Origin	Ethnic	Rank	SES	Marital (Husband)	Direct Com. bt.	Remain in Service
84	Gou Zhengying 苟正英								
85	Gu Deyue 顾德月			Han	POW	poor		Yes	forced to perform for her enemy
86	Guo Changchun 郭长春				propogan reconn.			Yes	
87	He Cuihua 何翠华								
88	He Dezhen 何德珍			Han	POW	poor		Yes	enemy officer's concubine
89	He Fuxiang 何福祥	1913-	Hubei	Han	POW bt. CMND 2	poor		Yes	No citizen
90	He Lianzhi 何莲芝	1905- 1980	Sichuan Wanyuan	Han	leader 2	poor	Dong Biwu 董必武	Yes	No 9
91	He Yulan 何玉兰				POW				
92	He Zhi 何帜 (何正友)	1915-	Sichuan south		wounded	poor peasant		Yes	Yes
93	He Zhifang 何芝芳			Han	POW 3	poor		Yes	forced labor as maid
94	Hou Qianjin 侯前进			Han	platoon leader			Yes	
95	Hou Shouyu 侯守玉			Han	com. CMND				
96	Hou Zhengfang 侯正芳	1922-	Sichuan Langzhong	Han	PRG 3				
97	Hu Xiuying 胡秀英			Han	POW			Yes	buried alive survived
98	Hu Yulan 胡玉兰			Han	com. CMND				
99	Hua Quanshuang 华全双	1920-	Sichuan Ba Zhong	Han	leader 2, 3 com. CMND			Yes	No 9

#	Name	Dates	Origin	Ethnic	Rank	SES	Marital (Husband)	Direct Com.bt.	Remain in Service
100	Hua Ziyang 华子扬			Han	POW	poor		Yes	forced to perform for her enemy
101	Huang Guangxiu 黄光秀			Han	POW			Yes	raped, sold, killed
102	Huang Yulian 黄玉莲			Han	squad leader	carried 7 rifles			
103	Huang Qingxian 黄青仙			Han	squad leader	machine gun		Yes	died in combat
104	Jia Defu 贾德福			Han	squad leader	cook		No	
105	Jiang Jukun 姜菊昆			Han	2 bt CMND			Yes	died in combat
106	Jiang Ping 姜萍			Han					
107	Li Baozheng 李保珍			Han	laundry team leader				
108	Li Guizheng 李桂珍	1908-	Sichuan Bazhong	Han	POW. deputy com. CMND	poor		Yes	buried alive survived citizen
109	Li Hanbing 李含丙			Han	POW	poor		Yes	forced to perform for her enemy
110	Li Jian 李健	1918-	Sichuan Bazhong	Han	com. director			No	No 9
111	Li Jinlian 李金莲								
112	Li Kaifen 李开芬	1917-	Sichuan Da County	Han	bt.Party secretary 2	rich peasant	Zhu Liangcai 朱良才	Yes	Yes 7
113	Li Kaiying 李开英	?- 1937	Sichuan Tongjiang	Han	POW		married	Yes	escaped, bit by dog, committed suicide
114	Li Min 李敏 (李子明)	1918-	Sichuan Bazhong	Han	engineer battalion	poor 5		No	No 9

#	Name	Dates	Origin	Ethnic	Rank	SES	Marital (Husband)	Direct Com. bt.	Remain in Service
115	Li Shanren 李山仁								
116	Li Wenyong 李文英		Sichuan	Han	POW	poor		Yes	raped, escaped failed suicide citizen
117	Li Xiaolan 李小兰			Han	3	poor 5			
118	Li Xiuying 李秀英			Han	POW	poor		Yes	survived citizen
119	Li Yunan 李玉南				com. CMND				
120	Li Yuzhen 李玉珍								
121	Li Zhizhen 李芝珍								
122	Li Zonglan 李中兰				engineer bt.				
123	Liao Chijian 廖赤见 (廖肇见)	1915- 1936	Anhui Jinzhai	Han	PRG team leader 2, 3	poor		Yes	died in combat
124	Liao Chunfang 廖春芳								
125	Liao Guoqing 廖国清			Han	platoon leader				
126	Lin Jiang 林江 (向光莲)	1919-	Sichuan Langzhong	Muslim	3	poor 5	Zhang Guangcai 张广才	Yes injured	Yes 7
127	Lin Yueqin 林月琴	1914-	Anhui Jinzhai	Han	leader 2, 3	poor	Luo Ronghuan 罗荣桓	Yes	Yes 7
128	Liu Boxing 刘伯兴				com. CMND				
129	Liu Guilan 刘桂兰				com. CMND				
130	Liu Guoying 刘国英				com. CMND			Yes	died in combat

#	Name	Dates	Origin	Ethnic	Rank	SES	Marital (Husband)	Direct Com.bt.	Remain in Service
131	Liu Jian 刘坚 (肖成英)	1914- (1919)	Sichuan Tongjiang	Han	leader 2, 3	poor 5		Yes	Yes 7
132	Liu Liqing 刘立清	1916-	Sichuan Wanyuan	Han	com. CMND 2			Yes	No 9
133	Liu Wanshou 刘万寿				POW			Yes	No citizen
134	Liu Zhao 刘钊 (刘秀兰)	1918-	Shaanxi Zhen Ba	Han	soldier 3, 10			No	No 9
135	Liu Zhaolin 刘照林				com. CMND				
136	Lu Guixiu 卢桂秀				PRG				
137	Luo Guilin 罗桂林	1920-	Sichuan Cangxi	Han	platoon leader	poor		Yes	No citizen
138	Lu Mingzhen 吕明珍	1912- 1992	Sichuan Da County	Han	leader com. CMND	poor	Xu Changxun 徐长勋	Yes	No 9
139	Luo Lin 罗林			Han					
140	Luo Ping 罗屏			Han	com. CMND				
141	Ma Guihua 马桂花			Han	logistic soldier			Yes	
142	Ma Yulian 马玉莲		Sichuan Nanjiang	Han	POW com. Director 3	poor		Yes	buried alive survived citizen
143	Ma Yuxiu 马玉秀			Han					
144	Ma Xiuying 马秀英			Han	POW platoon leader 3	poor		Yes	sold to be maid citizen
145	Ma Zhengying 马正英			Han	com. CMND				

#	Name	Dates	Origin	Ethnic	Rank	SES	Marital (Husband)	Direct Com. bt.	Remain in Service
146	Mao Xiuying 毛秀英			Han	3				
147	Nian Mingxiu 年明秀			Han	POW			Yes	buried alive survived citizen
148	Meng Yu 孟瑜 (李秀春)	1920-	Sichuan Langzhong	Han	nurse 3			No	Yes 7
149	Pan Jiazhen 潘家珍			Han	com. CMND				
150	Peng Ru 彭儒	1913-	Hunan Yizhang	Han	depend. Team leader	intel.	Chen Zhengren 陈正人	No	No 9
151	Peng Su 彭素	1916-	Anhui Jinzhai	Han	med. bur. director 2, 3	poor 5		Yes	Yes 7
152	Peng Yuru 彭玉茹			Han	rgm. Chief of Staff 2				
153	Peng Zhongmei 彭仲美			Han					
154	Pu Wengqing 蒲文清	1918-	Sichuan Pingchang	Han	platoon leader			Yes	No 9
155	Pu Xiuying 蒲秀英				com. CMND				Yes 7
156	Qi Yongjie 戚永洁			Han	POW	poor		Yes	enemy officer's concubine
157	Quan Weihua 权卫华 (权志英)	1919-	Sichuan Langzhong	Han	wounded com. CMND 2, 3	poor peasant 5		No	Yes 7
158	Shen Ling 沈玲 (沈秀英)			Han	POW			Yes	sold as maid for 13 years citizen
159	Shi Qunying 史群英	1922-	Sichuan Wangchang	Han	nurse 2, 3	poor		Yes	Yes 7

#	Name	Dates	Origin	Ethnic	Rank	SES	Marital (Husband)	Direct Com.bt.	Remain in Service
160	Song Shihua 宋时华			Han					
161	Song Xuezhen 宋学珍			Han	bodyguard				
162	Su Guiying 苏桂英			Han	com. CMND				
163	Su Peizhen 苏佩珍			Han					
164	Sun Guiying 孙桂英			Han	POW bodyguard			Yes	forced to perform for her enemy
165	Tao Wanrong 陶万荣 (苏凤)	1916-	Hubei Macheng	Han	rgm. CMND 2			Yes	No 10
166	Wang Daying 王大英				com. CMND				
167	Wang Dingguo 王定国	1914-	Sichuan Yingshan	Han	POW	poor 5	Xie Juezai 谢觉哉	Yes forced to perform for her enemy	No 9
168	Wang Ronghua 汪荣华	1918- (1917)	Anhui Luan	Han	leader	poor	Liu Bocheng 刘伯承	Yes	Yes 7
169	Wang Shilian 王世莲			Han		POW		Yes	forced labor citizen
170	Wang Shunhong 王顺洪	1919-	Sichuan Xuanhan	Han	nurse 3	poor		No	
171	Wang Xinlan 王新兰	1924-	Sichuan Xuanhan	Han	propag.	intel.	Xiao Hua 肖华	No	Yes 7
172	Wang Xiuying 王秀英			Han					
173	Wang Xuenong 王学农			Han	engineer com. CMND				
174	Wang Xuerong 王学荣			Han	com. CMND				

#	Name	Dates	Origin	Ethnic	Rank	SES	Marital (Husband)	Direct Com.bt.	Remain in Service
175	Wang Yuchun 王玉春	1912-	Sichuan Bazhong	Han	POW	poor	Wang Yingkui 王英魁	Yes	rescued by a peasant, her husband
176	Wang Yulan 王玉兰			Han					
177	Wang Zenan 王泽南	1907-	Henan Shangcheng	Han	leader 2 bt. CMND	poor 5, 6		Yes	No 9
178	Wang Zijun 王子俊		Hubei Macheng	Han	POW, com. CMND			Yes	
179	Wu Chaoliang 吴朝祥	1916- (1918)	Sichuan Tongjiang	Han	leader 2 bt. CMND	5		Yes	Yes 7
180	Wu Guoxiu 吴国秀				com. CMND				
181	Wu Lanying 伍兰英	1916-	Sichuan Cangbin	Han	Logistic Officer 12	poor		Yes	Yes 7
182	Wu Lanying 吴兰英			Han	POW	poor		Yes	pretended to be dumb for 13 years, citizen
183	Wu Shunying 吴顺英	1917-	Sichuan Ba County	Han	leader	poor peasant		Yes	No 9
184	Wu Xianbi 邬先碧			Han	com. CMND				
185	Wu Ying 吴英			Han					
186	Wu Xiuzhen 吴秀珍			Han	POW	poor		Yes	
187	Xiang Cuihua 向翠花			Han	com. CMND	poor		Yes	No citizen
188	Xiong Xiuying 熊秀英			Han	POW 3	poor		Yes	sold many times, citizen
189	Xu Shishu 徐世淑			Han	POW	poor		Yes	forced to perform for her enemy
190	Yan Guiming 闫桂明			Han	laundry com. CMND				

#	Name	Dates	Origin	Ethnic	Rank	SES	Marital (Husband)	Direct Com. bt.	Remain in Service
191	Yan Rong 严荣			Han					
192	Yan Guixiu 闫桂秀			Han					
193	Yang Guixiang 杨桂香		Sichuan Bazhong	Han	POW 3			Yes	rescued citizen
194	Yang Lei 杨磊	1920-	Sichuan Tongjiang	Han	nurse	small business		Yes	Yes 7
195	Yang Wenju 杨文局	1913-	Sichuan Da county	Han	leader 2 bt.com. POW	poor	Zheng Yizhai 郑义斋 ⁴	Yes	No 9
196	Yang Yuhua 杨玉花			Han	POW carrier team lead	poor		Yes	buried alive survived citizen
197	Yao Zhizhen 姚芝珍		Sichuan Cang County	Han	POW squad leader 3	poor		Yes	buried alive survived citizen
198	Yin Qingping 尹清平	1916- 1986	Sichuan Wangcang	Han	bt..Com. 2, 3			Yes	No 9
199	Yu Chaoxiu 余朝秀			Han					
200	Yu Xiuying 于秀英			Han	3	poor			
201	Yue Kun 岳坤	1924-	Sichuan Nanjiang	Han	PRDG nurse 3			Yes	No 9
202	Yue Lanfang 岳兰芳			Han	POW platoon leader		Sun Yuqing 孙玉清 1st wife	Yes	No citizen
203	Zeng Guanglan 曾广澜	1903- 1969	Jiangxi Jian	Han	leader 2			Yes	Yes
204	Zhan Yingxiang 詹应香			Han	com. CMND				
205	Zhang Chajing 张茶清			Han	com. CMND				
206	Zhang Chuanyu 张传玉			Han					

#	Name	Dates	Origin	Ethnic	Rank	SES	Marital (Husband)	Direct Com. bt.	Remain in Service
207	Zhang Huaibi 张怀碧			Han	com. CMND				
208	Zhang Jiujiu 张九九			Han	POW	poor		Yes	forced to perform for her enemy
209	Zhang Mingxiu 张明秀	1918-	Sichuan Guangyuan	Han	com. director	rich landlord		Yes	No 9
210	Zhang Ping 张萍 (张先秀)			Han	platoon leader	poor			
211	Zhang Qinqiu 张琴秋	1904- 1968	Zhejiang Tongxiang	Han	leader Reg. CMND 2	intel.	Chen Changhao 陈昌浩 4	Yes	No 10 committed suicide in the culture revolution
212	Zhang Rongqing 张荣清	1914-	Hubei Honggan	Han	com. CMND 3				
213	Zhang Shixiu 张世秀	1921- 1935		Han	Carrier 3	poor		Yes	died on Long March
214	Zhang Su 张苏			Han					
215	Zhang Tingqing 张廷青			Han					
216	Zhang Wen 张文 (Zhang Xize)	1919-	Sichuan Tongjiang	Han	leader 2, 3	poor	Hong Xuezhi 洪学智	Yes	Yes 7
217	Zhang Xiufang 张秀芳	1917-	Sichuan Bazhong	Han	Platoon leader 3	poor		Yes	turned into Muslim
218	Zhang Zhengfu 张正富			Han	com.. director				
219	Zhao Lan 赵兰			Han	com.. CMND				
220	Zhao Lanying 赵兰英			Han	com. CMND				
221	Zhao Mingying 赵明英			Han	reg.com. 2				

#	Name	Dates	Origin	Ethnic	Rank	SES	Marital (Husband)	Direct Com.bt.	Remain in Service
222	Zhao Mingzhen 赵明珍			Han	com.. director				
223	Zhao Quanzhen 赵全贞			Han	POW				
224	Zhao Yinglan 赵应兰			Han	com. CMND				
225	Zhao Yulan 赵玉兰			Han	platoon leader				
226	Zheng Lanying 郑兰英			Han	POW			Yes	buried alive, survived citizen
227	Zheng Tingyu 郑庭玉			Han					
228	Zhou Qiyi 周起义 (周其玉)	1914-	Anhui Jinzhai	Han	leader com. director2	poor 6		No	Yes 7
229	Zhou Shiqing 周时清			Han					
230	Zhu Yingming 朱映明			Han					
231	Zhu Zhixiu 朱志秀			Han					

Key:

Blank cell in the column of "Dates" means no information available.

bt./bat.	=	battalion
bt. CMND	=	battalion commander
CMBT	=	combat
com.	=	company
com. CMND	=	company commander
depend.	=	dependents
intel.	=	intellectual.
med.bur.	=	medical bureau
med.doc.	=	medical doctor
PRG/propag.	=	propaganda worker
propagan/propa.	=	propaganda
POW	=	prison of war
rgm. CMND	=	regiment commander
Soviet U	=	Soviet Union

1. the first generation of women cadet in Wuhan Central Military and Political Academy (a branch of Huangpu Academy, Chinese West Point).
2. commanded military operation.
3. joined the Red Army as a teenager (youngest one was nine years old). On the Long March, these young girls were called "Little Red Devil" 红小鬼 (hong xiao gui) together with other young boys.
4. gave birth on the Long March.
5. sold as a child-in-law at the young age, the youngest was sold at age of more than ten days old.
6. feet were bound.
7. remains in the military service with a rank of major or above.
8. remains in the military service with a rank of general.
9. assigned civilian position as a woman cadre.
10. becomes a national leader.
11. Leader, either leader of guerrilla or militia troops, or woman minister of the local government.
12. Continued military participation in different historical periods.

Notes:

Shaded cell means the subject participated and is listed in military operations during the following periods too.

Shaded series number means the subject participated and is listed in military operations during the previous periods too.

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Party cadres totaled 44, 2 were medical doctors, 10 were engaged in propaganda, 2 were logistic officers.

The total casualties were 16 (7%): 6 died in combat and 3 died along the march; 1 died of illness; 3 committed suicide either in combat or as POWs; 3 were killed as POWs, 2 of whom were group raped first. The total number of POWs was 47 (20%). Seven of them were survivors who had been buried alive. Two were rescued by local peasants, and one of them had married her rescuer. Thirty POW survivors became ordinary citizens living under poor conditions in Gansu and Qinghai areas.

After a major defeat with heavy casualties in the fifth encirclement launched by Jiang Jieshi from October 1933 to October 1934 (see Chapter VII), the Red Army was forced to withdraw from its revolutionary base with a vague goal of going north to fight against the Japanese invaders. This strategic shift of forces was actually implemented in four parts:

1) the main force of the Red Army started the Long March in the middle of October 1934, with 86,800 people of the Central Committee of the CCP, the Central Military Committee, the First Front Army and the headquarters of the Logistic Support. This army arrived in Wuqi Town 吴起镇 in October 1935. It took the army a whole year to cross eleven provinces with a total covered distance of 12,500 miles (25,000 li). Thirty three of women identified for this study were from this army (all existing Chinese literature cited 30). Three of them were asked to remain in the base the army passed by,¹⁹ all others successfully survived.

¹⁹ They are Gantang 甘棠, Li Guiying 李桂英 and Xie Xiaomei 谢小梅.

- 2) The fourth Front Army withdrew from Chuanshan base in March of 1935 and joined the main force at Maogong 懋功 in June. Affected by its leader Zhang Guotao 张国涛, who wanted to go westward toward the border areas of Sichuan and Tibet, mostly inhabited by minor ethnic groups, this army maneuvered in the Mountain Snow and grass land areas. One hundred sixty nine women listed in Table 8.6 were from this army, representing the 8,000 women participants, the largest group.
- 3) The Sixth Army Group started the westward expedition as the vanguard of the main force in August 1934. Several women took part in this earliest march.²⁰ After two months march, this troop arrived in Yinjiang county 印江 of Guizhou and joined the Second Army Group. The two armies formed the Xiangechuanqian base. One year later, the Second and Sixth Army Groups withdrew from the Xiangechuanqian base and arrived in Xikang 西康 in June, where these troops were reorganized as the Second Front Army and joined the Fourth Front Army at Ganzi 甘孜 in Sichuan province in July. The two armies marched northward together and in October 1935, joined the First Front army at Huining 会宁 of Gansu province. Twenty four of the identified women on Table 8.6 were from this branch.
- 4) The Twenty Fifth Red Army withdrew from its Eyuwan base in November 1934 and opened the Eyushan guerrilla base. This army continued the Long March in July 1935 and arrived in Shaanbei in September. Seven female nurses participated in the Long March within this formation.

²⁰ These earliest women participants of the Long March are: Li Zhen 李贞, Chen Congying 陈琼英, Zhou Xuelin 周雪林, Chen Luoying 陈罗英, Ma Yixiang 马忆湘, etc.

This moving army was involved in 500 military engagements with the nationalists' armies and local armed forces (Dong, 1954). Most of the women on the Long March participated in these battles if their units were involved. Comparatively speaking, only the women soldiers of the Fourth Front engaged in real battles and suffered heavy casualties. The major enemy confronting women fighters of other armies on the Long March was death caused by starvation, freezing cold and hardship. Many veterans recalled that the most important thing in their lives on the march was to take care of their feet. To a certain degree, feet were more important than stomachs. The thing feared most by the marching soldiers was to fall behind. Li Zhen 李贞, the only woman general, remembered how she cherished a pair of old cloth shoes. She only wore it out of absolute necessity. In the daytime she always walked on bare feet. A whole set of techniques of foot protection had been developed by Red Army soldiers, including making all kinds of shoes and foot wrapping. Many women soldiers had four treasures: a basin, which could be used for cooking, washing, as a helmet or a stool; a stick; a piece of leather product, which could be taken as a meal when nothing could be found for food; and a needle, which was used constantly to mend and to make clothes to withstand cold. Most of them were young girls from the countryside of Sichuan Province. The youngest ones were only 9 years old.²¹ Almost all these women functioned as morale

²¹ According to an incomplete survey conducted by this author, the youngest female soldier on the Long March was Shi Qunying 史群英, who was 11 in 1934. Other youngest female Red Army soldiers include: Chen Zhenren 陈真仁, who joined the Red Army at the age of 9 in 1929; Hou Zhengfang 侯正芳, who joined the Red Army at age of 11 in 1933; Liu Jian 刘坚, at age of 13 in 1927; Wang Shunhong 王顺洪, 13 in 1933; Ma Yixiang 马忆湘, 13 in 1935. All these young girls participated in the Long March. One source states that youngest girl on the Long March, who was 9 on the Long March, was from Sichuan (All China Women's Federation, 1989).

boosters simply by the fact that they withstood similar or even greater hardship than their male comrades. Many developed reproductive diseases due to the harsh conditions. Some lost the capability for reproduction. There were numerous stories on how these women helped each other, assisted male comrades, and sometimes rescued their comrades-in-armies by risking their own lives. Almost all veterans recalled how they were encouraged by songs sung by women soldiers. Wei Gongzhi 危拱之 became legendary for running through the whole march--she was always seen running up to the front, sang songs when the unit marched by, and ran to catch up and to the front of the marching troops again. Many women soldiers engaged in this kind of propaganda work.

In addition to propaganda work, many women soldiers carried on logistic support. Soldiers of the Women Independence Brigade of the Fourth Front were responsible for building bridges and repairing roads on the Long March. Once many troops and wounded soldiers were stopped by a river due to a sudden attack from the enemy. A female company commander named Wang Xuenong 王学农 led a platoon of women soldiers in forming a bridge by themselves. Troops crossed the river by stepping on the wooden plates placed on their shoulders, and a fatal clash was avoided by this fast transportation. A 500 member Women Engineering Battalion of the Fourth Front was headed by Lin Yueqin 林月琴. These women carried the supplies of the Red Army. Each person had at least 25 kilograms of materials on her shoulders. Li Guiying 李桂英 was the Political Director of the company of stretcher-bearers of the Medicine Department of the Central Red Army. Two hundred civilian bearers were under her

command. She and her comrades had to make extra efforts on a daily basis to mobilize these civilians and keep them in high spirits. Many times these people stopped and refused to continue. At this kind of moment, the only thing that the women Red Army soldiers could do to make these people continue was to do the jobs themselves. Once the bearers left an X-ray machine of 400 kilograms at the bottom of a mountain and refused to carry it uphill. Women soldiers carried it up. It was only by personal order from Mao Zedong that women soldiers finally gave it up. Many women medical personnel had to go down on their knees and crawl to move wounded soldiers on stretchers uphill. It was hard for the wounded to remain in the stretchers when they saw these women's bloody knees and muddy look. They begged to be left behind, which of course was out of the question for these women medical personnel. Some of them died due to exhaustion (Li & Liu, 1991). Dong Biwu 董必武, the Vice President of the PRC once wrote: women soldiers in charge of stretcher-bearers and wounded soldiers were those who suffered the most (Dong, 1954). I believe that the tradition of taking care of the wounded has been a major cause of the Red Army's constant high morale.

Women's experiences in direct combat during the Long March were the most solemn and stirring. Only a summary description can be offered in this document. About one third of the thirty three women of the First Front participated in a battle at the border of Jiangxi and Hunan in the autumn of 1934. As the Political Director of the Cadre Company which was composed of senior Party officials, wounded Brigade Commanders and above, and wives of Red Army leaders, Li Jianzhen 李坚真

commanded the blocking. Her bodyguard died in this battle. In the spring of the following year, her troops ran into the enemy again. She organized all thirty bodyguards into a firing line and engaged in a fierce battle against the enemy. Finally the Guard Battalion caught up and reinforced their front line. This is one of the clashes that many women troops experienced.

The women Independence Brigade of the Fourth Front experienced more battles of larger scale. At a place called Jiange 剑阁 in Sichuan province, it defeated a regiment's attack from the troops of Tian Songyao 田颂尧, a warlord in Sichuan (Li & Liu, 1991; All China Women's Federation, 1989). In May 1935, a battalion of female logistic soldiers of an arsenal attached to the General Hospital of the Fourth Front ran into a local regiment of the enemy. About a hundred of the strongest women soldiers were selected and put into nine battle groups. Each group was armed with three to four rifles and grenades. After a whole night of hand-to-hand combat, the enemy's three to four hundred person regiment was destroyed, with about 60 POWs and several escapees. The total casualties of the women unit were over thirty. Some of the dead female soldiers were seen with their mouths biting the enemies ears, and hands on their necks. After this combat, many local poor women wanted to join the women's units, but the weak ones and women with babies were asked to stay home (Zhu, 1982). In the summer of 1935, the troop reached an area called Li county 理县 in western Sichuan, following the headquarters of the Fourth Front. The area was cohabited by Tibetan and Han people. The local Tibetan Buddhist Temples had formed a coalition with troops of Liu

Xiang 刘湘, another Sichuan warlord. Snipers from this force and its suppression of local people led to the decision of the Women's Brigade to destroy it. After careful reconnaissance, earth work, tactical planning, and battles of two days and nights, the combat was ended with another victory of the Women's Brigade, which distributed most of the war trophies to the poor citizens, an action which led to full support from the local people.

Battles Fought by Women Soldiers of the West Wing Army

In October 1936, based on the Women Independence Brigade of the Fourth Front Red Army, a 1300 member Women Anti-Japanese Vanguard Brigade was formed within the West Route Wing.²² This brigade had three battalions and nine companies. The Brigade Commander was Wang Quanyuan 王泉媛, and the Political Commissar was Wu Fulian 吴富莲. The first two battles after this new formation were fought at areas called Yitiaoshan 一条山 and Tumen 土门 in Gansu province, defeating attacks from the cavalry units of Ma Buqing 马步青, one of the five Muslim brothers. These victories included capture of thirty camels, which were useful for transportation. The Women Vanguard Brigade won another battle at Yongchang 永昌, located in the middle of the Hexi Corridor. A group of thirty women soldiers of the Advance Opera Troupe of the Women Vanguard Brigade had an encounter at Gaojiabao 高家堡 with a cavalry

²² The Fourth Front Red Army had suffered a major defeat in the battles of the Hexi (at the western side of the Yellow River) Corridor of Gansu province, attacked by 100,000 surrounding troops of five-brother Muslim warlords headed by Ma Bufang 马步芳. Twenty thousand Fourth Front Red Army managed to cross the Yellow River and formed the West Route Wing.

unit of the same warlord near Yongchang. Most the members of this theatrical company were poor teenage girls with an eleven year old as the youngest. They had about a dozen rifles and several grenades. The day long battle was ended with hand-to-hand combat. Liao Chijian 廖赤见, the political director who was commanding, was killed on the battlefield at the age of 21 with her comrades. Only a dozen women soldiers were captured. These POWs were sent to different places, and were forced to perform before their enemies. Wang Dingguo 王定国 and her comrades, who attracted less attention from their guards, managed to help Zhang Qinqiu 张琴秋, their captured Commander of the Women Independence Brigade escape, taking advantage of their young age. She and her colleagues at the troupe were finally rescued and returned to their units in the autumn of 1937, when the CCP and the CNP reached the second coalition.

In January 1937, the Muslim warlords' troops occupied Gaotai 高台 and killed Dong Zhentang 董振堂, the Army Commander of the Fifth Army, and several other high ranking red army officers. Many Red Army soldiers were massacred. After this fatal attack, the headquarters and the main force of the West Route Wing were surrounded by the Muslim troops at Linze 临泽. Several hundred women soldiers, directly subordinated to the headquarters, were assigned the task of city defense. Commanded by Tao Wanrong 陶万荣, these women moved all bricks, stones, pots and sticks they could find to the city walls. After three days and nights of fierce defense, the Red Army decided to break out of the encirclement. One company of the women units was assigned to block and cover for the retreat. After the battle of another two days and

nights, these women were concentrated at the West Pass of the city. Almost all died when the enemy burned the Pass down. Many other women died simply because they could not cross the big ditch outside the city. Troops that did break out fell into an ambush, in which they had to fight hand-to-hand. About four hundred women soldiers died in the battle of Linze city (All China Women's Federation, 1989; Dong, 1990; Li & Liu, 1991).

On January 23, 1937, the remaining ten thousand members West Route Wing were gathered at the place called Nijiayingzi 倪家营子 in Zhangye 张掖 county. The Muslim warlords used seventy thousand troops to surround them. The Women Vanguard Brigade had only about six hundred soldiers left. Facing an enemy seven times larger than itself, the West Route Wing engaged in another one-month defense and started to break through eastward on February 21. This break out was a victory, which led to a comeback to Nijiayingzi five days later. The second break out was heading southward to Qilian Mountain 祁连山. In March 1937, the troops arrived at Shiwo 石窝 in Qilian Mountain, and the women units were assigned the task of blocking at Liyuankou 梨园口. Being encouraged by former experiences of enjoying female POWs as sexual objects, the two attacking cavalry brigades of Muslim troops were determined to capture these women soldiers alive. The women units badly lacked ammunition: each soldier had fewer than ten bullets. The battle lasted only one hour with high morale on the enemy side and a bad ammunition situation on the women's side. Wang Quanyuan,

the Brigade Commander, was captured with her comrades.²³ On March 14, 1937, after an emergency meeting among all officers of Division Commanders and above, the remaining troops of the West Route Wing were divided into three branches for guerrilla warfare. The remaining three hundred women soldiers were re-organized into the Women Independence Brigade again, with Tao Wanrong as the Commander, and Zhao Mingying 赵明英 as the Deputy Commander. Many women soldiers fell over the cliff when the troop tried to break out through a perilous peak where fewer enemies were deployed. The women troops fought against ambushes, starvation, and temperature of minus 40 degrees centigrade along the Qilian Mountain. The final battle was caused by a bonfire, which was started by a group of women soldiers who had witnessed their comrades' death due to the freezing cold. Tao Wanrong and her comrade-in-arms fought to the end and were captured.

In sum, the 1,300 women of the West Wing Army suffered a total loss. Female POWs suffered gang rape, long term forced labor as concubines or maids in addition to the sufferings of their male counterparts. According to one source, the total number of

²³ She was captured at age of 24. Her commissar Wu Fulian died at the age of 27 outside her cell in jail. Another brigade rank officer Zeng Guanglan 曾广澜 managed to disguise her rank, and was released with other sick POWs when the CCP reached the second coalition with the CNP. Being recognized from the outset, Wang suffered all kinds of torture as well as enjoying assistance from other women POWs. She managed to escape on March 19, 1939, only to find out that the CCP had a special policy toward POWs of the West Route Army: retrieve those who come back within a year; examine carefully those who come back within two years; and refuse those who come back in three years. She was refused politely with a small amount of five silver yuan. Never having cried in front of the enemy, she broke up in tears. Wang survived as an ordinary woman peasant, finally met with her husband Wang Shoudao 王首道 in 1981, who had already become a national leader by that time. She is now living with an adopted son with a governmental pension of \$2 per month.

excuted POWs of the West Route Wing was 3,267.²⁴ No information is available on how many of them were women. This study had identified 50 women POWs, among whom seven are survivors of being buried alive. All became ordinary citizens living under poor conditions. One source states that altogether about 367 former women POWs are scattered in Gansu and Qinghai provinces (28%) as ordinary citizens (Dong, 1990). Some of them were assimilated into Islam, for which group this study has found three representatives. Women POWs suffered the ostracism even deeper than their male counterparts due to their gender. Most of them refused to be interviewed (Dong, 1990; Yuan, 1990). Fewer than 70 women soldiers managed to get back to their units (5%), including women officers with rank of company commander and above. They were returned when the CCP reached the second coalition with the CNP. Zeng Guanglan and Wu Chaoxiang 吴朝祥 continued to serve in the PLA, and Zeng was designated as a Lieutenant Colonel. Zhang Qinqiu became a national leader, but was forced to commit suicide during the Cultural Revolution. A few women POWs like Hua Quanshuang 华全双 and Li Kaifen 李开芬, managed to escape and get back to her unit on time.²⁵ They were lucky woman colonels who served in the PLA until their retirement.

²⁴ According to an investigation conducted by local government in 1958, the total number of 3,267 killed POWs was further divided into several categories: 2,609 were buried alive; 575 were shot by gun; 56 were burnt to death; 27 were dismembered alive (Dong, 1990).

²⁵ Because she had led the struggle against forcing women POWs to be their captors' concubines, Li Kaifen was almost beaten to death. But she later managed to talk an enemy's orderly into supporting her. Together with another woman POW, the three of them escaped. Li has been a close friend of this author's family, but I had never heard from anybody that she had been captured before, until her name was come upon when I read some of the written records of the oral history. Having been captured is a taboo even for those lucky survivors.

In sum, from the 20,000 women Red Army guerrilla fighters, to the 8,000 participants of Long March, this generation of women soldiers has experienced the hardest struggles with bravery, loyalty, mutual support, and spirits of sacrifice. Their military participation is the longest, largest, and the most complicated one in China's history. Heroism is a common characteristic for these women Red Army soldiers. Women of this group also suffered the most from the war, given the degree and scale of hardship they have gone through. To simply survive all those risks of death, torment, starvation, and hardship, is the hardest test of human strength. Most of these women soldiers have toiled in anonymity. Many of the dead bodies of women casualties were mutilated with cut breasts and sticks inside the genitals. Many of the women POWs were humiliated by gang rape, forced labor, repeated sale, and sexual slavery by their captors (Dong, 1990; Yuan, 1990; Li & Liu, 1991). Survivors among these POWs were further silenced by ostracism, their humble social status and poor lives. To provide detailed answer to the question of why they participated in the first place is beyond the scope of this dissertation, though many have given the reasons of escaping from slavery at home as child-brides, escaping from unhappy marriage, being inspired by seeing glamorous women warriors in uniforms, and being stimulated by the communist ideology indoctrinated by Red Army propaganda (All China Women's Federation, 1989; Li & Liu, 1990). Only a few expressed regret that they had joined the Red Army. Almost all cherish the memory of being a woman Red Army soldier (Dong, 1990).

Military Women in Anti-Japanese War and Liberation War Period

Despite the continuation of an internal war, the consolidation of Red Army and Nationalist forces in the late 1930s to oppose the Japanese invasion presaged the abandonment of an ideologically egalitarian definition of women's military roles, and saw women relegated to support functions. The Yanan 延安 (Yan' An in some Western scholarship) period after the march (1935-1945) was a time of recuperation and reorganization for the Red Army, which in August 1937 became the Eighth Route Army of the National Revolution Army under an agreement with the Nationalists to form a united Anti-Japanese Front. During this period the few remaining women in the Red Army were joined by thousands of young anti-Japanese women, but the military roles played by women in the Yanan period were noncombat and auxiliary. Women served in nursing, communications, clerical, propaganda, and logistical fields. Many of them spent time at political, medical, or art schools at Yanan. They participated actively in economic production. In short, Yanan was the main Anti-Japanese base of the CCP, while most of the Anti-Japanese battles were fought in other places.

Table 8.7 on the following pages lists 165 women combatants in the Chinese Anti-Japanese war from 1931 to 1945. Seven of them joined the military operation in previous sub-periods, and two participated in combat of the next sub-period. For two there was no information on their geographic origins, while information existed for 128 and 35 had the places of their participation registered here. There was background information for 99, but not for 66.

Table 8.7 Women Combatants in Anti-Japanese War Period (1931-1945)

#	Name	Date (Battle)	Origin (PRCT place)	Ethni	SES F:Father H:Husband	Rank	Mil Skil	CMB T Time	Note
1	An Shunfu 安顺福	1920-1938	Heilongjiang Linkou	Han	orphan	squad leader	No	Yes	one of the eight women soldiers committed suicide in CMBT
2	Ba Zengxiu 巴增秀	(1941-	Inner-Mongolia	Mongol		guerrilla fighter	No	Yes	Daqingshan guerrilla team died in child birth
3	Cai Yifei 蔡一飞	(1937-	Zhejiang Tai Lake	Han	bandit	guerrilla team leader	Yes	Yes	killed over 70 and captured 12 enemy in the first battle after change
4	Chen Guixiang 陈桂香	(1937-1945)	Shandong Haiyang	Han	peasant	militia 1	Yes	Many	engaged in mine etc. Guerrilla warfare
5	Chen Jieping 陈介平	1913-	Inner-Mongolia Huhehaote	Mongol	city intel	cadre 9	No	No	worked in battlefield mobilization committee of the Second District
6	Chen Jingwen 陈景文	1915-1990	Hubei Zaoyang	Han	rich H: Liu Xiyao 刘西尧	cadre 9	No	No	guerrilla warfare in occupied area of eastern Hubei, cultural education
7	Chen Lan 陈兰	1912-	Fujian Longyan	Han	6 H: Deng Zihui 邓子恢	leader 9 mobiliz staff	No	No	The New Fourth Army Jiangbei Headquarters
8	Chen Muhua 陈慕华	1921-	Zhejiang Qingtian	Han	H: Zhong Yi 钟毅	leader 10	Yes	No	one of the two women cadets in staff training in Yanan
9	Chen Ruoke 陈若克	1919-1941	Guangdong Shunde	Han	child worker	cadre	No	No	Eighth Route Army Cadre School died in battle

10	Chen Shanping 陈善平 (林涛)	1919-	Jiangsu Tongshan	Han		political officer 9	No	Yes	propaganda work, one of the two women in mil. operation in the whole army
11	Chen Shaomin 陈少敏 (孙肇修)	1902- 1977	Shandong Shouguang	Han	poor peasant H: Ren Guozhen 任国桢	Deputy CMSR 4, 10	No	Many	Central Plain Military Zone One of the few who commanded, organized and led large scale military operations
12	Chen Xiaoying 陈笑影	1922- 1942	Guangdong Xinhui	Han	poor	political officer	Yes	Yes	Dongjiang Guerrilla team arrested in CMBT, died in jail
13	Chen Yuhua 陈玉华	(1941-)	Northeast	Han		radio operator	Yes	Yes	3rd Army of the Allied Army died in combat
14	Chen Yuxia 陈玉霞	?- 1942	(Anhui)	Han		soldier	Yes	Yes	New Fourth Army soldier, arrested and killed after the "Wannan Incident" by CNP
15	Chen Zhao 陈昭	1921- 1945	Northeast	Han	poor child worker	political officer	Yes	Many	trained in CNP's women com 1938, Dongjiang Branch 1945, died in combat
16	Chen Zhongbo 陈仲柏	(1932)	(Shanghai Kunshan Front)	Han	student	dare-to-die member	Yes	Yes	one of the three women of Sichuan AJ Volunteers
17	Cui Jishu 崔姬淑	(1941-)	Northeast	Korean	poor	guerrilla fighter	No	Yes	2nd Army of Allied Army arrested, two eyes cut out, tortured to death
18	Cui Jinshu 崔今淑	(1934)	Northeast	Korean	poor	guerrilla fighter	No	Yes	died in combat when tried to rescue a comrade
19	Dai Guyin 戴谷音	(1938)	(Zhejiang Shaoxing)	Han	intel	bt. CMND	Yes	Yes	first aid on front, logistic support
20	Dai Xingqun 戴醒群	1911- 1939	Hubei Hongang	Han	rich H: Zhang Tixue 张体学	medical doctor	No	Yes	remained in base when Red Army was on Long March, treated many, dismembered alive by enemy
21	Ding Zhihui 丁志辉	1918- 1980	Jiangsu Wuxi	Han		Medical Doctor 2, 8	No	Many	first aid in Huangqiao campaign Korean War

22	Dong Ruqin 董茹琴	(1937)	(Shanxi)	Han	student	deputy team leader	Yes	No	8th Route Army Military Training Team, women unit
23	Du Wei 杜威	1920-	Henan Xinyang	Han	H: Feng Renen 冯仁恩	political officer 9	No	No	5th Division of the New Fourth Army blinded when labeled as rightist
24	Fan Ximan 樊西曼	1915-	Henan Zhoukou	Han	poor student	political officer	No	Many	Henan Biyang Guerrilla Team, New Fourth 9
25	Fang Lan 方兰	1921-	Guangdong Shunde	Han	grew up in Hong Kong	political officer	No	Seve- ral	Guerrilla warfare Dongjiang Brigade 9
26	Fu Guihua 符桂花	(1942)	Guangdong Hainai Island	Li	peasant	guerrilla fighter	No	Many	logistic, communication, combat
27	Fu Zhaonan 付兆南	1927-	Hubei Zhongxiang	Han		political officer 9	Yes	Yes	359 Regiment, cultural work, mobilization, social support
28	Gao Erhua 高尔华	(1937)	(Shanxi)	Han	student	cadet	Yes	Yes	cadet of Shanxi 11th women company died in combat
29	Gao Fei 高非 (高礼芬)	1919-	Hubei Wuchang	Han	city official	cadet	Yes	No	Tangchi Military and Political Training Class
30	Ge Baoyun 葛宝云	(1941-)	Northeast	Han		political director	Yes	Yes	5th Army of the Allied Army Women Brigade
31	Gu Xiuying 古秀英	(1937)	Kuala Lumpur	Han	overseas Chinese	guerrilla fighter	No	No	Dongjiang Overseas Chinese Wensen Team, front service
32	Guan Lin 管林 (管林一)	1922-	Hebei Xinan	Han	artist	singer 9	No	No	Jizhong Military Zone Front Cultural Troops
33	Guo Guiqin 郭桂琴	?- 1938	(Wusihun River)	Han		soldier	No	Yes	one of the eight women committed suicide in CMBT
34	Hao Zhiping 郝治平 (赤茜)	1922-	Henan Linzhang	Han	H: Luo Ruiqing 罗瑞卿	political officer 2, 8	Yes	Many	Deputy Director
35	He Bing 何冰 (宋赤松)	1922-	Guangxi Lipu	Han	student	political 9	No	No	propaganda work 5th Division of New Fourth Army

36	He Yulan 贺玉兰	(1937)	Kuala Lumpur	Han	overseas Chinese	guerrilla fighter	No	No	Dongjiang Overseas Chinese Wensen Team, front service
37	Hong Wenguo 洪文国			Man	mother of guerrilla leader	guerrilla fighter	No	Yes	sending all children to fight, three of them died, fight along side others
38	Hu Peng 胡朋 (初轫成)	1916-	Shandong Laiyang	Han	student	actress 8	No	No	Jinchaji Military Zone Political Dept. Kangdi Cultural Troops
39	Hu Xiuzhi 胡秀芝	?- 1938	(Wusihun River)	Han		soldier	No	Yes	one of the eight women committed suicide in CMBT
40	Huang Guiqing 黄桂清	?- 1938	(Wusihun River)	Han		soldier	No	Yes	one of the eight women committed suicide in CMBT
41	Ji Yuxiu 纪毓秀	?- 1939	Jiangsu Suqian	Han	college student	cadre	No	No	one of the three women leaders on front, died of illness
42	Jiang Tao 江涛 (姜淑贞)	1915- 1940	Jilin Yanji	Han	student	guerrilla soldier cadet	Yes	Yes	Shanxi 11th women company, arrested and killed
43	Jiang Zhonghua 江仲华 (江海霞)	1909-	Hubei Xiangyang	Han	poor H: Jian Wen 简文	logistic officer 9	No	No	5th Division of New Fourth Army
44	Jin Bowen 金伯文	1918-	Jilin Wangqing	Korea	H: Li Zhaolin 李兆麟	cadre 9	No	Yes	Northeast Anti-Japanese Volunteer Army & Allied Army
45	Jin Gemuzhai 金戈木窄	(1941-	Northeast	Man		deputy team leader	No	Yes	5th Army of the Allied Army Women Brigade
46	Jin Rushi 金如石	(1932)	(Shanghai Kunshan front)	Han	student	dare-to-die member	Yes	Yes	one of the three women of Sichuan AJ Volunteers
47	Jin Shunji 金顺姬	1910- 1932	Jilin Antu	Korea		1 guerrilla soldier	No	Yes	reconnaissance bit own tongue when tortured killed
48	Jin Zhenji 金贞吉	1910- 1933	Korean immigrant	Korea		1 guerrilla	No	Yes	died in combat

49	Le Qun 乐群	1918-	Shanghai	Han	city rich	political officer	Yes	Yes	New Fourth Army, Ninbo 401 group, guerrilla warfare 9
50	Leng Yun 冷云 (郑志民)	1915-1938	Heilongjiang Huachuan	Han	student	1 political director	Yes	Many	5th Army of Allied Army, gave away baby, one of the "Eight Women" who committed suicide in CMBT
51	Li Bozhao 李伯剡	(1937)	(Shanxi)	Han	H: Yang Shangkun 杨尚昆	team leader	Yes	No	8th Route Army Military Training Team women section leader
52	Li Fengdi 李逢梯	(1937)	Kuala Lumpur	Han	overseas Chinese	guerrilla fighter	No	No	Dongjiang Overseas Chinese Wensen Team, front service
53	Li Fengshan 李凤善	?-1938	(Wusihun River)	Han		soldier	No	Yes	one of the eight women committed suicide in CMBT
54	Li Landing 李蓝丁	1930-	Zhejiang Haining	Han	medical	Chief Nurse 2, 8	Yes	Many	model first aid on front
55	Li Lin 李林 (李秀若)	1916-1940	Fujian Minhou	Han	overseas Chinese merchant	Bt. 1 political Instructor	Yes	Many	CMSR of guerrilla team Eighth Route Army, 120 Division, died in combat
56	Li Min 李敏 (李凤仙)	1924-	Heilongjiang Luobei	Han	Korean immigrant	leader political officer 10	Yes	No	logistic, medical, parachute training in Soviet camp
57	Li Qing 李青	(1941-	(Guangdong)	Han		station leader	No	Yes	information, logistic, POW, transportation work
58	Li Shuhuan 李淑桓	1894-1941	Guangdong Heshan	Han	intel H: Guo Furong 郭富荣	1	No	Yes	sent all seven children in Anti-Japanese war first aid on front arrested and killed
59	Li Yuzhen 李玉珍	(1944)	(Guangdong)	Han		nurse	Yes	Yes	won medal when joined in combat
60	Li Yun 李云 (李宝智)	1923-1945	Hebei Wanping	Han		5 guerrilla soldier	No	Yes	Wanping Anti-Japanese Base died in combat

61	Lin Bin 林彬 (林敬徐)	1922-	Hebei Anping	Han	peasant H: Li Jiayi 李家益	political officer 9	No	No	classified staff, POW work, medical, personnel
62	Lin Hong 林红	?- 1942	(Anhui)	Han		soldier	Yes	Yes	New Fourth Army soldier, arrested and killed after the "Wannan Incident" by CNP
63	Lin Wan 林玩	1912- 1945	Guangdong Panyu	Han	overseas Chinese	Party secretary	No	Yes	Zhujiang Brigade Command died in combat
64	Lin Xinping 林心平 (林秋侠)	1919- 1942	Zhejiang Pingyang	Han	student	1, 4, 5	Yes	Many	guerrilla warfare, New Fourth Army Deputy Command of Cultural Troops, arrested & killed
65	Lin Zhenyu 林贞玉	(1931-	Heilongjiang	Korean	poor	guerrilla fighter	Yes	Yes	so-called modern Hua Mulan, Ningan guerrilla team
66	Liu Qiuju 刘秋菊	(1942-	Guangdong Hainan Island	Han	poor	guerrilla 1	Yes	Many	legendary heroine, Women Secretary of Qiongya branch
67	Liu Xingya 刘醒亚	1929-	Henan Xihua	Han	intel H: Wang Dinglie 王定烈	5 radio operator	Yes	Yes	influenced by communist father to join young, POW survivor, 9
68	Liu Yaxiong 刘亚雄	1901-	Shanxi Xing county	Han	student	guerrilla leader 10	No	Yes	organizer of guerrilla team in southeast Shanxi
69	Liu Yiqing 刘一清 (刘蕙馨)	?- 1941	Jiangsu Nanjing	Han	student H: Ma Shitu 马识途	guerrilla soldier	No	No	county Party secretary arrested and killed, baby daughter survived
70	Liu Zhen 刘真 (刘清莲)	1930-	Shandong Xiajing	Han	begging with parents	5, 9 writer	No	No	propaganda, cultural, communication work in Eighth Route Army
71	Liu Ziyun 刘紫云	(1939)	(Guangdong Zhongshan)	Han	local influential	leader	No	No	VP of Zhongshan War-time Women Association for fight against Japan's Hengshan landing

72	Lu Jifang 卢继芳	(1938)	(Zhejiang Shaoxing)	Han	local influential	leader	No	No	honorable battalion CMND of Women's bt
73	Lu Ming 吕明	?- 1942	(Anhui)	Han		soldier	Yes	Yes	New Fourth Army soldier, arrested and killed after the "Wannan Incident" by CNP
74	Luo Mingde 罗明德	1916-	Hubei Huanggang	Han	student	medical team chief	No	Yes	5th Division of the New Fourth Army 9
75	Luo Qiong 罗琼	1911-	Jiangsu Jiangyin	Han	Student	political officer 9	No	No	the New Fourth Army political instructor 9
76	Ma Yi 马仪	1918-	Henan Gong county	Han		political officer 2, 9	No	Yes	baby died when covering for wounded
77	Mo Ruzhen 莫如珍	(1937)	(Guangxi)	Han	student	political officer	Yes	No	Guangxi Girl Student Army Party's work
78	Niu Luoxiang 牛洛湘	1921-	Henan Jiyuan	Han	student H. Tan Fuping 潭扶平	political officer	No	Yes	guerrilla warfare gave births to three babies husband died in combat
79	Ou Jinxiong 欧巾雄	1923- 1980	Malaysia	Han	overseas Chinese	political officer 2, 9	No	Many	Dongjiang Guerrilla Brigade
80	Pei Manna 裴曼纳	(1938)	(Henan Huangchuan)	Han		leader	Yes	No	the Fifth District AJ Youth Army Group Women Team CMND
81	Peng Qing 彭青 (彭效贞)	1915-	Hebei Boyie	Han	peasant student	cadre 9	No	No	county mobilization center, Southern Tianjin Self-defense army
82	Pian Lianhe 片莲河	(1941-	Northeast	Han		com. CMND	Yes	Many	5th Army of the Allied Army Women Brigade Team Leader
83	Qian Shurong 钱树榕	1928- 1983	Zhejiang Hangzhou	Han	city student	actress 8	No	Yes	New Fourth Army 3rd Division Cultural Troops died of illness

84	Qian Ying 钱瑛	1903- 1973	Hubei Xianning	Han	poor student H: Tan Shoulin 覃寿林 7	leader 4, 10 guerrilla	No	Yes	organizer of Honghu Guerrilla Troops died in the cultural revolution
85	Qin Yun 秦耘	1917-	Henan Tanghe	Han		political officer 9	No	No	5th Division of New Fourth Army mobilization work
86	Qiu Chengchun 裘成春	1902- 1938	Korean immigrant	Korea		logistic officer	No	Yes	Allied Army 6th Army Uniform Factory Chief
87	Ren Xiao 任霄	1918- 1942	Hubei Wuchang	Han		logistic officer	Yes	No	cadet of AJMPU, captured and killed when sending supply to the front
88	Rong Guanxiu 戎冠秀	1897-	Hebei Pingshan	Han	poor peasant	model Army Support Model 1	No	No	Eighth Army Wounded Soldiers Transport Station Chief
89	She Lin 佘林	1923-	Hubei Fang county	Han	5	political officer 9	No	No	Central Hubei military zone headquarters
90	Shen Jingshu 沈景淑	(1941-	(Northeast)	Han		intel.	Yes	Yes	arrested, bled to death
91	Shen Ziju 沈兹九	1898-	Zhejiang Deqing	Han	H: Hu Yuzhi 胡愈之	cadre 9	No	No	New Fourth Army headerquarter
92	Shi Qi 施奇	1922- 1942	Zhejiang Pinghu	Han	6 child worker	confiden- tial radio op.	Yes	Yes	New Fourth Army headquarter staff, buried alive after Wannan Incident
93	Su Xiuzhen 粟秀真	1915-	Henan Qingyang	Han	medical	medical doctor 9	No	Yes	President of Field Hospital
94	Sun Weili 孙维理	1925-	Henan Xinyang	Han	5 H: Luo Menggang 罗孟刚	guerrilla soldier, staff, 2, 9	No	Yes	5th Division of New Fourth Army guerrilla warfare in south Shaanxi area
95	Sun Yi 孙毅	1914-	Guangdong Zhongshan	Han		political officer 9	No	No	Party organization, military reporter,

96	Sun Yumin 孙玉敏	1929-	Shandong Haiyang	Han	poor peasant	militia 1, 9	No	Many	"sparrow warfare", etc
97	Tian Hua 田华 (刘天花)	1928-	Hebei Tang county	Han	poor orphan	5, 8 actress	No	No	Jingchaji Military Zone Kangdi Cultural troops movie star
98	Tian Yu 田雨	1917-	Hubei Wuhan	Han	city student	dancer 9	No	No	Yan An Allied Defense Army Propaganda Team
99	Wang Ce 王册	1918- 1943	Hebei Lichang	Han	intel college grad	1	No	No	organizer of front support arrested & killed
100	Wang Chunhong 王春红	(1937)	Kuala Lumpur	Han	overseas Chinese	guerrilla fighter	No	No	Dongjiang Overseas Chinese Wensen Team, front service
101	Wang Guang 王光	1921- 1943	Shanxi Yuncheng	Han	student	1	No	No	organizer of front support arrested & killed
102	Wang Huimin 王慧民	?- 1938	(Wusihun River)	Han		soldier	No	Yes	one of the eight women committed suicide in CMBT
103	Wang Lan 王兰	?- 1942	(Anhui)	Han		soldier	Yes	Yes	New Fourth Army soldier, arrested and killed after the "Wannan Incident" by CNP
104	Wang Li 王丽	(1942)	(Guangdong)	Han	overseas Chinese	nurse	Yes	Yes	arrested and killed
105	Wang Ruihua 王瑞华	1920- 1990	Hubei Yingcheng	Han	student	President field hospital 9	No	Yes	political officer, died of illness
106	Wang Xi 王曦 (王锦雯)	1919-	Hubei Wuhan	Mus- lim	student H: Zhang Zhiyi 张执一	political officer 9	No	No	classified, dependents, political work, cultural education
107	Wang Yang 汪洋	?- 1942	(Anhui)	Han		soldier	Yes	Yes	New Fourth Army soldier, arrested and killed after the "Wannan Incident" by CNP
108	Wang Yi 王仪	1917-	Shaanxi Qingjian	Han	student	political officer 9	No	No	New Fourth Army Mil Medical Section

109	Wang Yizhi 王一知 (郭维轩)	1916- 1987	Heilongjiang Yilan	Han		bt. CMSR 4, 9	Yes	Many	Northeast Allied Army 5th army radio battalion
110	Wang Yixia 王亦侠	(1937)	Shanxi Lifen	Han		guerrilla leader	Yes	Many	leader of peasants' militia troops
111	Wang Yuhuan 王玉环	(1942-	(Northeast)	Han		bt. CMND	Yes	Yes	one of the three women team leader of 5th Army of the Allied Army Women Brigade
112	Wang Yuecun 王月村	1910- 1981	Shandong Linzi	Han		guerrilla soldier 9	No	Yes	Eighth Route Army 10th Brigade Cultural Troops Chief,
113	Wang Zhe 王哲	1916-	Jilin Fuyu	Han		officer 9	Yes	Yes	propa. Team chief 115th Division Indep. bt .
114	Wang Zhiping 汪志平	1926-	Hubei Wuhan	Han	city	political officer 9	Yes	Yes	359 Regiment
115	Wang Zhuan 王竹安	(1938)	(Zhejiang Shaoxing)	Han	student	bt. CMND	Yes	No	Zhejiang Shaoxing Women Battalion
116	Wei Gongzhi 危拱之	1907-	Henan Xinyang	Han		cadet 2, 3, 4	Yes	Many	supervising militia units in south Henan areas
117	Wu Xique 乌喜鹊	1924- 1948	Inner-Mongol Zhuezi	Mongol	student H:Zhu Yushan 朱玉珊	guerrilla soldier	No	Yes	support for 120th Division of the Eighth Route Army, Pingsui campaign, died in combat
118	Xia Ming 夏明 李慧馨	1909-	Hunan Jianghua	Han	H: Deng Zongxia 邓中夏	logistic support	No	No	Taihang Base Arsenal Party Secretary May 1st Anti-smash Operation
119	Xiang Yunying 向云英 (向润英)	1920- 1968	Shanxi Wenshui	Han	rich H: Cheng Tan 程坦	guerrilla 5, 9 died in cultural revolution	Yes	Yes	one of the two women participated in mil. operation in Eryu area after Lugou incident
120	Xiao Lin 肖琳 (肖巧)	1919-	Hubei Hanyang	Han	F:Xiao Lisan 肖利三	guerrilla soldier	No	Yes	from guerrilla team to New Fourth Army propaganda work

121	Xiao Yang 晓阳 (杨艺新)	1929-	Hubei Wuchang	Han	student 2, 5	cultural personnel	No	Yes	persisted in working within the military units
122	Xie Baozhen 谢葆贞	1913- 1947	Shaanxi Xian	Han	H: Yang Hucheng 杨虎城	political officer 17	No	No	CNP's 10th Route Army, died in jail with family
123	Xing Keming 邢克明	1918- 1951	Hebei Anguo	Han		Chief Nurse 9	Yes	Yes	Jizhong Military Zone died of illness
124	Xu Chengshu 许成淑	?- 1939	(Liangning Yanji)	Han	peasant	machine gun operator	Yes	Yes	1st Army of the Allied Army, Yanji guerrilla team, died in combat
125	Xu Ming 徐明	?- 1942	(Anhui)	Han		soldier	Yes	Yes	New Fourth Army soldier, arrested and killed after the "Wannan Incident" by CNP
126	Xu Ren 徐韧	?- 1942	(Anhui)	Han		soldier	Yes	Yes	New Fourth Army soldier, arrested and killed after the "Wannan Incident" by CNP
127	Xu Rumei 许如梅	1918- 1943	Guangdong Wenchang	Han	student	political officer	No	Yes	Qiongyia Independent Service Brigade Chief
128	Xu Weili 徐伟立 (徐梅清)	1918-	Jiangsu Jintan	Han		political officer 9	No	Yes	Jinchaji 4th Military Zone political director
129	Xue Jinguo 薛锦国	(1939)	Guangdong Zhongshan	Han	local influential	leader	No	No	President of Zhongshan War- time Women Asso. Fight against Hengshan landing
130	Yan Rong 严荣	1917-	Sichuan	Han	2, 5	medical 9	No	Yes	red army veteran military medical units
131	Yang Guizhen 杨桂珍	1920- 1938	Heilongjiang Linkou	Han	orphan	squad leader	No	Yes	one of the eight women soldiers committed suicide in CMBT
132	Yang Hanxiu 杨汉秀 (杨俊)	1913- 1949	Sichuan Guangan	Han	Big Warlord's niece	guerrilla soldier	No	No	the Eighth Route Army headquarter arrested & killed

133	Yang Kebing 杨克冰	1909-	Liaoning Haicheng	Han		political officer 4, 10	No	Many	guerrilla warfare 129th Division 11th regiment deputy political director
134	Yang Ruinian 杨瑞年 (杨瑞莲)	1916- 1942	Jiangsu Zhenjiang	Han	city teacher	cadre	No	Yes	cultural teacher, mobilization work, arrested & killed after "Wannan Incident" by CNP
135	Yang Shaozhen 杨少珍	(1942- 1945)	(Guangdong Dongjiang)	Han	worker	transport operator	No	Many	in charge of railway transport from Guangzhou to Jiulong
136	Yang Wei 杨威 (欧阳英)	1919- 1941	Hubei Xiangyang	Han	student	political officer 1	No	Yes	5th Zone propaganda work, 84th army 174th arrested & killed
137	Yang Yicun 杨逸村	(1932)	Sichuan	Han	student	dare-to-die member	Yes	Yes	one of the three women of the Sichuan AJ Volunteers
138	Yang Zhan 杨展	1920- 1941	Hunan Changsha	Han	Mao Zedong's niece	guerrilla soldier	No	Yes	guerrilla warfare in occupied area died in incident
139	Ye Qingxiu 叶清秀	(1937)	Kuala Lumpur	Han	overseas Chinese	guerrilla fighter	No	No	Dongjiang Overseas Chinese Wensen Team, front service
140	Yi Fengying 易凤英	(1937)	(Guangxi)	Han	student	political officer	Yes	No	Guangxi Girl Student Army Party's work
141	Yi Qiping 易齐萍	1915-	Hubei Jingshan	Han	Nurse	medical 9	No	No	delivered many babies in military medical units
142	Yu Sen 于森	1917- 1942	Shandong Wendeng	Han	peasant	front support	No	No	logistic support arrested & killed
143	Yu Jing 于晶	(1938)	(Anhui Jing county)	Han		team leader	Yes	Yes	New Fourth Army Headquarter Training Brigade Women Section
144	Yuan Li 袁立 袁云芝	1917- 1940	Hubei Ercheng	Han	poor worker	guerrilla cadre	No	Yes	logistic support, mobilization arrested and killed
145	Yun Shubi 云曙碧	(1941- 1943)	Inner-Mongolia	Mongol		guerrilla fighter	No	Yes	disguised as man, Daqingshan guerrilla team

146	Zeng Zhi 曾志	1911-	Hunan Yizhang	Han	H: Tao Zhu 陶铸	leader 2, 4, 10	No	Many	creator of Erzhang Base with husband
147	Zhang Gang 张刚 (张植华)	1917-	Jiangsu Yangzhou	Han	educator	leader 9	No	No	CNP's 9th Group Army Women Front Service Brigade Chief
148	Zhang Hongzhi 张鸿志	1918-	Jiangsu Lianshui	Han	rich landlord	guerrilla soldier 9	No	No	Eighth Route Longhai Branch
149	Zhang Jieya 张洁亚 (张根弟)	1922- 1941	Shanghai	Han	city refugee	account	No	Yes	hospital of New Fourth army died in combat
150	Zhang Kaixiu 张开秀	1916-	Hubei Yichang	Han	student	Chief Nurse	No	Yes	first aid on front 8
151	Zhang Luping 张露萍	1921- 1945	Sichuan Chongqing	Han	city	radio operator	Yes	Yes	CCP's spy inside CNP's military intelligence radio, arrested and killed secretly
152	Zhang Qian 张茜	1922- 1974	Hubei Wuhan	Han	H: Chen Yi 陈毅	political officer 9	No	No	propaganda staff, political director
153	Zhang Xiaomei 张晓梅 (张锡珍)	1911- 1968	Hebei Baoding	Han	H: Xu Bing 徐冰	leader 9	No	No	organizer of Beijing Women Front First Aid and Cheering Groups
154	Zhang Yizhi 张漪芝	(1944)	Hong Kong	Han	medical	medical Team Leader	Yes	Yes	Dongjiang Brigade, died when rescuing wounded soldiers
155	Zhao Luyin 赵绿吟	1916- 1939	Hunan Yueyang	Han	student	cadre	No	No	organizer of soldiers' training, buried alive when captured
156	Zhao Yiman 赵一曼 (李坤泰)	?- 1936	Sichuan Yibin	Han		cadet 1, 3, 4	Yes	Many	organizer and leader of AJ guerrilla in Northeast arrested in combat when wounded, killed by Japanese
157	Zheng Liming 郑里明	(1941)	Shanghai	Han	rich student	soldier	No	Yes	arrested but escaped after the Wanan incident
158	Zheng Suyan 郑速燕			Han			Yes	No	Tangchi cadet of Zengzhi, logistic support

159	Zhou Jing 周竞 (周金莲)	1917- 1948	Shanxi Dingxiang	Han	student	intelli- gence officer	No	No	Taiyue Military Zone Taiyuan Information Station CMSR, arrested & killed
160	Zhou Ling 周玲	?- 1942	(Anhui)	Han		soldier	Yes	Yes	New Fourth Army soldier, arrested and killed after the "Wannan Incident" by CNP
161	Zhu Jian 朱坚	(1927)	(Shanxi)	Han	student	cadet	Yes	Yes	Shanxi 11th Women's cmpy, died in combat
162	Zhu Lian 朱琏	?- 1978	Jiangsu Liyang	Han		medical doctor	No	No	129th Division Hygiene Dept. Chief, president of field hospital 9
163	Zhu Shaozhen 祝少珍	(1937)	Kuala Lumpur	Han	overseas Chinese	guerrilla fighter	No	No	Dongjiang Overseas Chinese Wensen Team, front service
164	Zhu Xinyu 朱新玉	(1941-	(Northeast)	Han		bt. CMND	Yes	Yes	one of the three women leaders of the 5th Army of the Allied Army Women Brigade
165	Zuo Xiuan 左岫泉	(1938)	(Henan Hengchuan)	Han	student	political director	Yes	No	5th District AJ Youth Army Group Women Team

Key:

AJ	Anti-Japanese efforts.
AJMPU	Anti-Japanese Military and Political University.
bt.	battalion.
CMND	commander.
CMSR	political officer who has the title of commissar.
com.	company.
CCP	Chinese Communist Party
CNP	Chinese Nationalist Party (Kuomingtang).
J	Japanese.
pol. Dir	political director
POW	prisoner of war.

1. Anti-Japanese Heroine.
2. continued military participation in different historical periods.
3. woman cadet who continued military participation.
4. commanded military operation.
5. joined the armed forces as a teenager.
6. sold as a child-bride at the young age.
7. feet bound in early childhood.
8. remained in the PLA with a rank of major and above.
9. became a civilian cadre after 1949.
10. becomes a national leader.
11. either leader of guerrilla team or woman minister of the local government.
12. member of both CNP and CCP.

Notes:

Shaded cell means the subject participated and is listed in military operations during the following period too.

Shaded series number means the subject participated and is listed in military operations during the previous period too.

SOURCES:

Biographic Dictionary of Famous Women in Hua Xia, [华夏妇女名人词典], composition committee of Hua Xia Fu Nyu Ming Ren Ci Dian, Beijing: Hua Xia Publisher, 1988.

Biographic Dictionary of Famous Women in the World in All Times, [古今中外女名人辞典], compiled by College of Chinese Women Administrative Cadres, Beijing: China Broadcasting and Television Publisher, 1989.

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Women Soldiers of Central Plain, first volume, compiled by Yuer Base Revolutionary History editorary and Hubei Provincial Women Federation, China Women Publisher, 1991.

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Among the known ones, 11 were from rich and influential families, 1 was from an official's family, 3 were from medical doctors' families, 1 was from an artist family, 5 were from intellectual or educator's family, and 1 herself was registered as a nurse. This shows that 21% of the Anti-Japanese women fighters were from middle-and -upper class families. Two were college students with one graduate student, 35 students, and one was from poor family. These students accounted for 38% of the women. Ten were overseas Chinese and one was a Korean immigrant. This group accounted for 11% of the women. As for the group from the lower class, there were 2 from workers' families, 15 from peasants' families, 1 refugee, 1 beggar, 3 orphans, 2 child-brides, 2 child workers, and 1 knight errant. They accounted for 27% of the women. Out of this sample, not selected scientifically, we may see clearly that people from a wide range of family backgrounds took part in the Anti-Japanese war. In particular, more people from rich and upper class families seen to have participated in this nation-wide patriotic movement. Thirteen were from minor nationalities (8%), especially representatives from the Korean nationality. Twenty seven were identified with their husbands (27%). Sixty two had military training (38%). One hundred and six participated in combat (64%), with 55 having either died in combat or having been executed by their enemy (33%). Among the survivors, seven became national leaders (4%), six served in the PLA with a rank of major and above (4%), and thirty seven became civilian officials (22%).

The presentation followed this description is divided into several parts: women combatants in the Northeast China who experienced the fourteen year Anti-Japanese

struggle; women cadets who went through military training before their Anti-Japanese work; women's armed forces and their direct combat experiences; and women's military operation in Anti-Japanese bases.

Women's Participation in the Northeast China Anti-Japanese War

From September 18, 1931 to August 15, 1945, 30 million people in Northeast China were under the suppression of Japanese invaders. For the three northeastern provinces, the Anti-Japanese war was a fourteen year experience in contrast to the eight year struggle of most of the Chinese. Four days after the invasion, on September 22, 1931, the CCP raised the slogan of "organizing Northeast guerrilla warfare to strike Japanese Imperialism directly". Six guerrilla teams were formed in Heilongjiang province. Women participated in all these teams. Roles of women Anti-Japanese guerrilla fighters included direct combat, reconnaissance, logistic and medical support. One characteristic of this participation was that it included many Korean women. For example, among the 392 women martyrs who died in the Yanbian 延边 area during this period, 390 were Korean.

In 1935, based on the Northeast People's Army and various Anti-Japanese guerrilla teams, seven armies of the Anti-Japanese Allied Army (AJAA) were organized. They later developed into eleven armies. Female underground communists, women scholars, girl students and women of all walks participated. By the summer of 1937, the total manpower of the AJAA was 45,000, with 688 women soldiers (2%) at its peak time (All China Women's Federation, 1989). In June 1936, women brigades, women

teams and women squads were formed within the third, fourth, fifth and seventh armies, among which the fifth army had the most with a total of about 300 women soldiers. The so-called Women Brigade was only a battalion with three teams, which were directly subordinated to the headquarters of the army.²⁶ Specialties among the women soldiers included infantry, cavalry, telecommunication, machine-gun operator, and radio operator. In addition, women soldiers were all involved in propaganda and medical work.

Starting in 1936, a uniform factory was established in each army of the AJAA. Most soldiers assigned to these factories were women. They had to build the factories in deep forests before the manufacture of uniforms. Most of the time, women soldiers, carrying their rifles and sewing machines, maneuvered around over the mountain range in daytime to avoid attack from the enemy. In the evenings, they would engage in uniform manufacture in caves, beside bonfires, or under the moonlight. These factories were also hospitals for wounded soldiers. Women soldiers were also responsible for treating, protecting and transporting the wounded.

Women soldiers of AJAA also participated in direct combat. On January 27, 1937, the women brigade of the fifth army was ordered to chase the escaping enemy at a place called Dapandao 大盤道 in Linkou county 林口县. The task was fulfilled successfully with a total of 28 Japanese POWs. In April the same year, this troop was engaged in hand-to-hand combat against the enemy when defending a place called

²⁶ The three women team leaders were Wang Yuhuan 王玉环, Zhu Xinyu 朱新玉, and Pian Lianhe 片莲河. The deputy team leader was Jin Gemuzhai 金戈木窄. The three women political directors were Ge Baoyun 葛宝云, Leng Yu 冷云, and Wang Yizhi 王一知.

Heixiaziyaogou 黑瞎子窑沟. In August, the women squad of the third army was ordered to support the assault launched by its Dagger Platoon. The squad managed to hide in a cornfield, and its sudden attack was successful with many captured materials.

Military Training

Two women cadets were trained at the Staff Training Team of the Eighth Route Army Anti-Japanese University: Chen Muhua 陈慕华 (now the highest ranking woman official in China), and Liu Yan 刘岩, who subsequently directed a program of high technology research for the PLA. About 120 women joined the Eighth Route Army Military Training Brigade, located in Liu Village Town 刘村镇 of Linfen 临汾 County in Shanxi province, in October 1937. These women cadets were headed by Li Bozhao, a Red Army veteran, with Dong Ruqin 董茹琴 as the Deputy Team Leader. Their life, study and training were totally militarized. From the formal opening on November 7 to February 1938, these women experienced a thorough military training. All were sent to the Anti-Japanese front after graduation. About 200 women went through military training from October 1938 to October 1939 at Zhang Village 张村 of Jing county 泾县 in Anhui province. This woman cadet team, headed by Yu Jing 于晶, was subordinated directly to the headquarters of the New Fourth Army. Most of the cadets were students and women workers from Shanghai, Nanjing and other eastern cities. The majority of graduates were assigned to logistic support units subordinate to the headquarters. Some were sent to do political and battlefield service work in the front.

Women military training organizations sponsored by the CNP included the Anti-Japanese Youth Army Group Women Cadet Team in the Fifth Military Zone, and a Women Cadre Training Institute in the Eighth Mass Anti-Japanese Self Defense Brigade in Guangdong province. The Women Cadet Team was formed at Huangchan 潢川 of Henan province in January of 1938 with 300 women cadets. This team was headed by Pei Manna 裴曼纳 with a female communist Zuo Xiuquan 左岫泉 as its political director. This team engaged in active agitation work by performing in southeastern Anhui areas. In the summer of 1939, the team was dismantled and women cadets were sent to various Anti-Japanese bases. Women in Guangdong and Guangxi provinces went through military training at various classes and locations. Women in Shandong and Hebei provinces joined armed uprisings.

Women study teams and training classes were set up in many Anti-Japanese training centers such as the Shandong Military and Political Cadre School, the Shandong Anti-Japanese School of the Third Army, and the Anti-Japanese military and political schools in Qiongya Brigade of Hainan Island. The highest concentration was of course in Yanan, where the women cadets' brigade totaled 654 persons in the Anti-Japanese Military and Political University. Zhang Qinqiu, the heroic Brigade Commander on the Long March, was designated as the brigade leader of this team. Cadets started their study in November 1938. Three hundred young women obtained training at a branch in Shanxi in 1940. China Women's University was established in 1939 at Yanan, proposed by Mao Zedong. By the end of 1940, this university had developed into fourteen classes

with a student body of over a thousand. All these cradles created a whole generation of women cadres for the Anti-Japanese movement, with military training as one of the major ingredients of the education.

Women's Armed Forces and Direct Combat Experiences

The most influential women's armed forces at the beginning of the Anti-Japanese war were the Guangxi Girl Student Army (GGSA) and the Zhejiang Shaoxing Women Battalion (ZSWB). One hundred and thirty girl students joined the GGSA in September 1937. In November, they were trained militarily at Li Family Village 李家村 in the suburb of Guilin 桂林. This team arrived in Eyuwan 鄂豫皖 Anti-Japanese front in February 1938, and engaged in battlefield propaganda work. In February 1939, GGSA arrived in the rear of the occupied district in Anhui province. Being afraid of sudden attack from the CNP, the communists within the team were withdrawn to the New Fourth Army base and the team was discharged between April and May in 1940. Fourty five women members of the ZSWB went through three months' military training starting in May 1938. The Honorable Battalion Commander was Lu Jifang 卢继芳, but the actual heads were Wang Zhuan 王竹安 and Dai Guyin 戴谷音. In November 1938, the ZSWB took part in a night attack on Wangdian 王店, where a branch of the Japanese invaders was stationed. The military objective was not to destroy the enemy, but to show the Anti-Japanese determination of the Chinese people. The ZSWB returned safely to its base after less than an hour's combat. Three newspaper articles were published to maximize the psychological effects of the battle (Jiu Wang Daily,

Guilin edition, May 12, 1939). The ZSWB engaged in other actions to harass the enemy. The troop was dismantled in early summer of 1940 (All China Women's Federation, 1989).

Women's Military Operation in Anti-Japanese Bases

Similar to the women combatants of AJAA in Northeast China, women actively participated in guerrilla warfare at numerous Anti-Japanese bases all over the country. Many of these Anti-Japanese bases were established when the Anti-Japanese coalition was formed between the CCP and the CNP. Red Army revolutionary bases were turned into Anti-Japanese bases. There were altogether nineteen of them. The most important ones were Shanxi Anti-Japanese Base in North China; Jingchaji 晋察冀 Base, which was established by the 115th Division of the Eighth Route Army (ERA) as the first Anti-Japanese base in the rear of the enemy occupied territory; Jinjiluyu 晋冀鲁豫 Base formed by the 129th Division of the ERA; Shanganning 陕甘宁 Base; the Shandong Anti-Japanese Guerrilla Base and the Dongjiang Guerrilla Base in Guangdong. The massive armed forces among women were called Women Self Defense Army 妇女自卫军 (WSDA), a militia organization. One source states that in 1938, 46,000 women joined the WSDA in Shanganning Base. In 1940, 1.58 million women participated in WSDA in Shanganning, Jinchaji, Jinjiluyu and Shandong Bases. The total figure of women militia in Qiongya was 2,000. Another two thousand women militia were active in the Anhui area (History of Chinese Women's Movement, 1989). These women militia's major role in the Anti-Japanese struggle was combat support.

This included all the transportation, guarding, information collection, manufacture of uniforms, medical care, laundry, cooking, etc. In 1938, at the Shanganning Base alone, there were 1,600 medical teams with 8,000 members; 825 uniform teams with 5,700 women; and 800 laundry teams with 4,100 members. Eighty thousand pairs of gloves and socks were made by these women in that year alone, plus 20,000 pairs of shoes. Women in Shandong made 104,900 padded coats in the winter of 1939, and 72,300 pairs of shoes in 1940. All these were free supplies until some compensation was paid for the labor a year later.

In addition to shouldering the major task of production and construction in Anti-Japanese bases, women's destruction work included cutting off electricity wires, damaging roads, and execution of traitors. A major part of the work was to hide all the useful materials so that the enemies' supplies would be stopped. All the struggles in Anti-Japanese bases helped stop Japan's penetration of China after they occupied Wuhan and Guangzhou in October 1938. Since then, the military objectives of Japan were to attack the Anti-Japanese bases and get the CNP to surrender.

In 1941, the Japanese invaders started the "mopping-up" operations against the Anti-Japanese bases with 64% of their main forces and all the traitors' forces. These operations were guided by a famous policy called "three all": burn all, kill all, and rob all. At the same time, the CNP launched the second anti-Communist peak.²⁷ Hu Zongnan's

²⁷ From 1939 to 1943, the CNP launched three anti-communist peaks. The first one was from December 1939 to March 1940; the second was from October 1940 to March 1941. The third was from June 1943 to October the same year. All took the form of sudden attack and massacre of communists.

胡宗南 troops were added to 400,000 to surround the Shanganning Base. On January 6, 1941, 80,000 of the CNP troops ambushed the 9,000 communist New Fourth Army (NFA) at Jing county in Anhui province. After a fierce battle of seven days and nights, the NFA's units had no ammunition left. Only about a thousand soldiers broke out, the Army Commander Ye Ting 叶挺 was wounded and captured, and the Deputy Commander Xiang Ying 项英 was killed. This so-called "Wannan Incident" 皖南事变 pushed the anti-Communist movement to the peak. Attacked by both the Japanese troops and the CNP's troops, the Anti-Japanese bases had severe losses. The total population of all the AJ bases was reduced from 100 million to 50 million; ERA was reduced from 400,000 to 300,000; and NFA was reduced from 135,000 to 110,000.

Women suffered the most in Japanese mopping-up operations since most of them were militia with few and backward weapons, and no transportation facilities. The highest casualty figure came from Qiongya where 1,058 women cadres died. Hebei had a statistics of 680 women martyrs, among whom 135 (21%) died between 1941 to 1942. The figure of women martyrs in Shandong was 277. This simple illustration does not include ordinary women in anonymity. About 30 women out of a total of 500 soldiers of the NFA were captured during the Wannan Incident. They were jailed at Shangrao 上饶 Concentration Camp. Before they were moved away in May 1942, a female NFA confidential secretary named Shi Qi 施奇, who had been gang raped after her capture was buried alive. Two sick women POWs were shot.²⁸ A few NFA POWs escaped on

²⁸ One was named Zhou Ling 周玲, the other was called Wang Yang 汪洋.

the road after an uprising at Chishi 赤石. In order to retaliate and warn against further rebellion, about a hundred POWs were shot on the spot, including seven women soldiers.²⁹

As is mentioned at the beginning of this section, many women of minority ethnic groups took part in the Anti-Japanese struggles too. This is another characteristic of women's military participation in Anti-Japanese war. Wu Lan 乌兰 (1922-1986), Ba Zengxiu 巴增秀 and Yun Shubi 云曙碧 were Mongolian women guerrilla fighters. Wu was trained both at the Anti-Japanese Military and Political University and China Women University in Yanan, while Ba and Yun were trained at Shangan Public School. They were members of the Daqingshan 大青山 Guerrilla Team. All enjoyed legendary status among their own people. Hong Wenguo 洪文国 was from the Man nationality. She sent all her five sons and three daughters to Anti-Japanese guerrilla teams. As the "mother of the guerrilla team", she tried to participate as much as she could, even including riding horses together with young fighters. Another heroic mother named Bai Wenguan 白文冠 was a Muslim, whose son was a famous Anti-Japanese guerrilla leader of the Chinese Muslims. Knowing the enemy would use her to negotiate with her son when captured, she went on a hunger strike and starved to death. These heroic women exemplified the patriotism among Chinese ethnic minorities.

There were 2.2 million Anti-Japanese militia in Shandong province during the eight year war. Some heroines emerged among many women militia there. One was

²⁹ These seven women soldiers were: Chen Yuxia 陈玉霞, Xu Ren 徐韧, Wang Lan 王兰, Lin Hong 林红, Xu Ming 徐明, Lu Ming 吕明, and Yang Ruinian 杨瑞年.

called Sun Yumin 孙玉敏 who killed 17 enemies. Another woman peasant named Chen Guixiang 陈桂香 was famous for her mining skill. Once eight enemy were killed by her self-made mines. The largest group of Anti-Japanese women soldiers was located in Hainan Island. For example, when the total Anti-Japanese force there was expanded to 4,000 in 1942, women comprised 12%. When the troops grew to 7,000 in 1944, the women soldiers accounted for 15%. These women were in charge of all logistic support, including cooking and medical care. Fourty one percent of the total casualties of 991 in these troops were women too. There were over 200 women medical personnel in the Dongjiang Brigade, another Anti-Japanese main force in Guangdong province. In the winter of 1944, a nurse named Li Yuzhen 李玉珍 participated in combat. Once she led soldiers across a river to chase the escaping enemy. There was a women transportation team subsidiary to the Dongjiang Brigade. Women soldiers such as Li Qing 李青 and Yang Shaozhen 杨少珍 had turned the local railways into guerrilla fighters' reliable transportation at nights.

Fighting along with all these new participants were of course many veteran women soldiers such as Chen Shaomin, Qian Ying, Wei Gongzhi, and Zeng Zhi. By the time of the Anti-Japanese war period, they were already well known national leaders.

In sum, in an eight year time span, about 527,000 Japanese invaders were either killed, wounded, captured or surrendered in 125,000 battles. The CCP developed into a party with 1.21 million members, 1.2 million armed forces and 2.2 million militia support in a total area of 130 million population. As had been feared by leaders of the CNP, the

CCP grew rapidly in the nation-wide Anti-Japanese efforts. The common feelings of patriotism had mobilized women of different ethnic groups, different parties, from overseas Chinese, and from different family backgrounds to fight together against the invaders during this trying time. Women suffered the heaviest casualties in this war compared with those in previous ones. Heroines from this period have shown greater diversity in their representation. They participated in direct combat, and their major roles in war time included all forms of logistic support. Another major feature of this participation was that guerrilla fighters participated in operations of the regular forces, while regular soldiers also engaged in guerrilla warfare. Guerrilla forces had different formations too. Most of them were militia organizations. There were specialized guerrilla teams all over the Anti-Japanese bases. Women were seen in all these formations, with a heavier concentrations in guerrilla teams and militia. More military training was given to women participants. Key veteran women soldiers played important roles in organizing and commanding the military operations. Generally speaking, women on the CNP side were engaged mainly in philanthropic activities, logistic support and propaganda work in major cities, although more research is needed before any firm conclusion can be drawn.

Women Soldiers in the Third Civil War (1947-1950)

The pattern of mobilizing women in auxiliary support roles continued through the third civil war period (1945-1949), which is also called the liberation war. During this

war, the Eighth Route Army officially became the People's Liberation Army (PLA). In addition to the women cadres within the PLA, women militia and thousands of women in the Liberated Areas played important roles in combat support. Table 8.8 lists women combatants in this period.

Women's Defense of the Liberated Areas

The third civil war was started in June 1946 when Jiang Jieshi ordered a full scale attack on the liberated areas in the central plain. A nation-wide civil war was quickly spread. Women of the liberated areas were forced to get armed and engaged in self-defense. The mobilization of women reached an unprecedented scale. For example, in Liandong 连东 county of the liberated area in Anhui, 2,000 women militia were organized in two weeks. One single effort in Jinjilu Base recruited 3,000 women soldiers. There were 226,261 women militia and 1,024,724 women self-defense members in Shandong (All China Women's Federation, 1989). As consistent with the pattern described so far, outstanding women warriors emerged out of this large scale anticipation. There was a Yang Keping 杨克冰, a company commander of a women's company in the battlefields of Northeast China. Wu Lan, the Mongolian woman commissar discussed in the Anti-Japanese war period, continued her command of the cavalry unit. Liu Hucheng 刘虎成 was a militia heroine in East China who engaged in numerous small scale battles, leading her allied defense team. Another legendary woman warrior in the region was Li Lanying 李兰英, who was called "red gun woman general"

Table 8.8 Women Combatants in the Third Civil War Period (1946-1950)

#	Name	Date (Battle)	Origin (PRCT place)	Ethnic	SES F:Father H:Husband	Rank	Mil Skil	CMBT Time	Note
1	Chen Ming 陈明	1926-	Jiangsu Suzhou	Han	dancer	political officer	No	No	the Third Field Army Group cultural troops 9
2	Chen Yan 陈炎	(1948)	(East China)	Han		radio operator	Yes	Yes	First Class People's Hero
3	Deng Huizhong 邓惠中	1904-1949	Sichuan Yuechi	Han	peasant	guerrilla leader	Yes	Many	Huayingshan armed uprising in 1948, killed in Chongqing Sino-American Cooperation
4	Ding Zhihui 丁志辉	1918-1980	Jiangsu Wuxi	Han	city	medical doctor 2, 8	Yes	Many	Jingzhou, Shenyang, Tianjin campaigns, five time model
5	Fan Sujing 范素静	(1945-1947)		Han		medical doctor	Yes	Many	First Field Hospital, Central China Military Zone
6	Gan Wenying 甘文英	(1948)		Han		medical doctor	Yes	Many	The Third Field Army 12th Division 1
7	Gu Bin 顾斌	(1947-1948)		Han		guerrilla fighter	No	Yes	guerrilla warfare in enemy's occupied area
8	Guo Junqing 郭俊卿		Inner Mongolia Lindong	Han	poor peasant 5	political officer	No	Many	disguised as a man for five years, 1
9	Hu Fangyu 胡芳玉 (胡芳瑜)	1926-1949	Sichuan Liangping	Han	merchant	guerrilla fighter	No	Many	Hunan February Uprising killed in Chongqing Sino-American cooperation
10	Jiang Nanping 蒋南屏	(1946)		Han		medical personnel	Yes	Many	six battles in one year, first aid on front, wounded, 2
11	Jiang Suyun 江素云	(1946)		Han		medical personnel	Yes	Many	The Third Field Army Group Lunan, Laiwu campaigns

12	Li Landing 李兰丁	1930-	Zhejiang Haining	Han	medical	Medical Team leader	Yes	Many	model nurse, wounded when first aid on the front
13	Li Qun 李群	1930-	Jilin Huinan	Han	peasant	medical	Yes	Yes	Chief Nurse 8
14	Li Yuzhen 李玉珍			Han		company command	Yes	Many	Dongjiang Brigade, independent mil operation for eight months
15	Liang Guihua 梁桂华	1924- 1947	Shandong Wei county	Han	poor peasant	political officer	Yes	Many	5th Division of New Fourth Army, only woman in Jiangnan Guerrilla Brigade, jumped cliff when arrested
16	Liu Hucheng 刘虎成	1918-	Jiangsu Tai county	Han	peasant	militia heroine	Yes	Many	guerrilla warfare, 1
17	Liu Hulan 刘胡兰 刘富兰	1932- 1947	Shanxi Wenshui	Han	poor peasant	front support	No	No	killed by enemy in front of the whole village
18	Ma Xinger 马杏儿	1924- 1947	Shaanxi Hengshan	Han	poor peasant	militia fighter	No	Yes	died in the defense of Yanan
19	Quan Gengjing 全赓靖	1909- 1945	Beijing	Man	Official College Stud	guerrilla	No	Yes	Propaganda work of Fengdu Guerrilla team, arrested and killed
20	Shi Chunying 史春英	1925- 1946	Shandong Xixia	Han	poor peasant	guerrilla fighter	No	Yes	Northeast Liberation area dismembered alive by enemy
21	Su Ru 苏茹	(1948)		Han		cultural worker	No	Yes	propaganda, first aid on front East China Field Army
22	Sun Weishi 孙维世	1921- 1968	Sichuan Nanxi	Han	5	political work	No	Yes	Taiyuan Liberation campaign famous movie director 9
23	Wang Huimin 王惠敏			Han		political officer	No	Many	19th Army Group Propaganda team
24	Wang Tieqin 王铁芹	(1946)		Han		medical personnel	Yes	Many	The Third Field Army Group Lunan, Laiwu campaigns

25	Wei Gongzhi 危拱之	1908- 1973 (1905)	Henan Xinyang	Han	1st genera- tion of women cadet	leader 2, 3, 4,	Yes	Many	Xinyang Brigade CMSR, cultural work 9
26	Wu Lan 乌兰		Inner- Mongolia Zhuosuotu	Mon- gl	college student	political officer	Yes	Many	Mongolian Independent Brigade, CMSR
27	Xia Jinghan 夏静寒	1928-	Liaoning	Han	dancer	political officer	No	No	Northeast Democratic Allied Army Political Dept.
28	Xie Wenqing 解文卿	1929- 1947	Shandong Laixi	Han	poor peasant	leader	No	No	came out of hidden place to rescue villagers, killed
29	Xu Jingwen 徐敬雯	1929-	Jiangsu Yixing	Han	F: Xu Beihong 徐悲鸿	political officer	No	No	Regiment Propaganda staff in the Third Field Army Group
30	Yao Jian 姚坚			Han	medical	medical doctor	No	Many	killed when visiting out-patients in village
31	Yu Yibo 俞一波	(1946)		Han		medical personnel	Yes	Many	The Third Field Army Group Lunan, Laiwu campaigns
32	Zeng Ke 曾克			Han		military reporter	No	Many	Yangshan, Huihai campaigns
33	Zeng Zhi 曾志	1911-	Hunan Yizhang	Han	H: Tao Zhu 陶铸	leader 2, 4, 10	No	Many	Tangchi Training Class Party Secretary where cadets trained
34	Zuo Shaoying 左绍英	1916- 1949	Sichuan Hechuan	Han	peasant H: Wang Pu 王璞	guerrilla soldier	No	Yes	arrested 3 days after husband's death, killed in Chongqing Sino-American Co

Key:

Dept.	department
CMSR	political officer who has the title of commissar.
Co	cooperation
com	company

1. Heroine.
2. continued military participation in more than one war period.
3. woman cadet who continued military participation.
4. commanded military operation.
5. joined the armed forces as a teenager.
6. sold as a child-bride at the young age.
7. feet bound in early childhood.
8. remained in the PLA with a rank of major and above.
9. became a civilian cadre after 1949.
10. became a national leader.
11. either leader of guerrilla team or woman cadre with a rank of woman minister or above.

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by her people. Dong Lisheng 董力生, a woman peasant in Shandong, won a first class medal for her deeds of bearing wounded soldiers back to the rear over long distances.

Behind these heroines were thousands of women who engaged in all kinds of combat support activities: guarding, communication, transportation, construction of roads and bridges, medical care, POW management, and moving villagers around to avoid casualties. As a part of the tradition started in the Anti-Japanese warfare, destruction work included cutting off the railways and roads, cutting electric wires, etc. In addition to combat support work shared with male counterparts, women as a group were particularly specialized in manufacturing uniforms, food preparation, and nursing. Women were particularly appreciated for their efforts to send their husbands, sons, and brothers to join the army.

Due to the mobile nature and large troop maneuvers, few regular women soldiers participated the field armies operations in the front. Liang Guihua 梁桂华 (1924-1948) was one of the three women soldiers who joined the military operations in the central plain area as a regular soldier. Liang joined the fifth division in the summer of 1945, and was assigned the job of cultural instruction since she was the only woman with a college education in the unit. Before the break out campaign in the central plain was started on June 26, 1946, she was asked to disguise and withdraw with other dependents, which she refused. The campaign lasted for 37 days. Liang not only survived the continuous battles and march, but also won respect for her good job in battlefield propaganda. From August 1946 to August 1947, she was sometimes the only woman soldier in the

subsequent mobile warfare. She marched over ten thousand miles. At the end of 1947, she was transferred to participate in guerrilla warfare in the Dabie Mountain Range 大别山区. On April 10, 1948, Liang and her bodyguard were trapped and overpowered by a local landlord's force of thirty strong. On the road to be sent to the nearby CNP's troops, Liang jumped over a cliff. A reservoir in the area was named after her since the liberation.

Women's Roles in the Final Decisive Engagement

From September 1948 to January 1949, the PLA launched three campaigns as part of the strategic offense, which was started on June 30, 1947 when Liu Bocheng 刘伯承 and Deng Xiaoping 邓小平 led the Second Field Army Group 二野 (er ye) onto the central plain. The Liaoshen 辽沈 campaign was fought between the CNP's 480,000 troops in Northeast China, and 700,000 PLA at places in the western parts of Liaoning province near major cities such as Shenyang 沈阳, Jinzhou 锦州, and Changchun 长春. Through fifty two days of battle, the campaign was won with the CNP armies losing 470,000. The Huaihai 淮海 campaign was fought between the CNP's 800,000 troops and the PLA's 600,000 people in eastern and central areas. It lasted 65 days with a total loss of the CNP troops of 550,000. The Pingjin 平津 campaign was fought between the CNP's 600,000 troops and the PLA's one million in the Beijing and Tianjin areas. From December 5, 1948 to the peaceful liberation of Beijing on January 14, 1949, this campaign destroyed 520,000 CNP troops. Through

these three final decisive engagements, the main force of the CNP was defeated, and the CCP's victory was guaranteed.

Following the tradition of combat support provided by people, women's contributions to these military operations also reached a new height. For example, 2 million winter uniforms were made in four months by 50,000 women volunteers in five major cities of Northeast China. A million women in eastern Liaoning participated in stretcher-bearer teams to ship wounded and military supplies. This mobilization even reached many senior women citizens. For example, an old woman peasant named Luo Tianrui 罗天瑞 fainted on the battlefield from the shock of the cannon shells while sending hot water and food to the front. Another old lady named Wei Shulin 卫树林 did not stop sewing uniforms in her cellar when her house was set on fire by cannon shells. Two million women in Jinjilu Base participated in the manufacture of shoes and food. In the Huaihai area alone, 600,000 women participated in direct combat support in the Huaihai campaign. Many women became models of combat support due to their outstanding contribution.

The Cross River Campaign 渡江战役 was another important one in the liberation war when the PLA soldiers had to cross the Yangzi River to liberate Nanjing, the capital of the CNP's government. What is unique in women's combat support was that many boat women shipped the troops while under heavy cannon fire. The youngest girl was only 14 years old.

Women soldiers in the field armies were mainly concentrated in headquarters, medical, radio operation and propaganda work. For example, 30% of front-line medical personnel in the Eastern Field Army Group were women. Most of time, they had to continue working for days and nights to treat the wounded when a major battle was going on. As a medical doctor, Jiang Nanping 蒋南屏 participated in six battles in one year. Once she was wounded but continued working to rescue two wounded soldiers from the burning clinic. In order to move wounded soldiers to safer places in stormy weather, Li Landing 李兰丁, another female doctor, tried so hard that two of her ribs were broken. In order to be as close to the front as possible, these women medical personnel once broke the record by covering 50 miles per day on foot to catch up. As the woman president of a field hospital, Ding Zhihui 丁志辉 participated in many battles such as the Jinzhou, Shenyang, and Tianjin campaigns. Five times she became an "Army Model" and her hospital kept the record of best treatment in the whole army.

Many women radio operators continued working day and night. Some of them fainted while on the air. There were 398 women soldiers in the forty first army of the Northeast Field Army Group, 140 of whom won battle medals for their outstanding deeds (35%). Guo Junqing 郭俊卿 was another modern "Hua Mulan", who disguised herself as a boy and joined the army at age of 14. From messenger and bodyguard, to squad leader and company political instructor, she fought all the way from Northeast China to the Shanghai area in the east, and won many medals. For five years in the unit,

nobody knew she was a woman. It was not until May 1950, when her dysmenorrhoea badly needed treatment that she decided to reveal her real gender (Chen, 1991).

Women in propaganda work often functioned in three roles: propaganda work on march, nursing when the unit was in combat, and sometimes direct participation in combat. Outstanding ones among this group were Su Ru 苏茹 and Wang Huimin 王惠敏. They were often called "actress, nurse, and combatant in one person". This kind of assignment did not lead to quick promotion, but their comrades-in-arms would never forget to ask medals for their deeds.

In sum, unlike the unconventional participation in guerrilla warfare, women were less seen in commanding and direct combat, but more in combat support and conventional roles in regular armies. Most veteran women soldiers were transferred to do mobilization and combat support work in the civilian sector. Only a few medical doctors had continued their participation from Anti-Japanese war to this third civil war period, such as the cases of Dong Zhihui and Li Landing. The nature, form, and scale of warfare in this two and half years were different from the previous ones, and so was the women's military involvement.

Patterns of Chinese Women's Military Participation in This Period

The one hundred and ten years from 1840 to 1949 saw a variety of women warriors: from arsonists, assassins, bomb makers, uprising leaders in revolutions, to homeland defenders and guerrilla soldiers in anti-imperialist wars, to guerrilla fighters,

women militia, and regular soldiers in civil wars. The age range of these women warriors was from nine to over sixty. Most of them were of the Han nationality with diversified family backgrounds. Most uprising leaders and guerrilla fighters were from poor families, including child-brides and child workers. This repeats and details the pattern described in Chapter VI. It may be temporarily concluded that all kinds of Chinese women, young or old, with or without military training, rich or poor, educated or not educated, from majority or minority ethnic groups, may turn into warriors if they feel the need to respond to the call.

The strongest calling to Chinese women is patriotism, which particularly will have a stronger appeal when the homeland is invaded or threatened. The second popular calling is a revolutionary cause, when injustice is widely felt by the population. These two reasons for military participation have been repeated by numerous memoirs and records of oral histories of the women veterans. Chinese women tend to volunteer for service in armed forces when they respond to the calling. As the role model to follow, previous women warriors' glorious deed will be recalled.

Similar to ancient organization, Chinese women warriors have been put in gender segregated units, whether it is a regular formation or not. Their most common military roles are all kinds of combat support. These roles included the gender special tasks of nursing, cooking, and uniform manufacture, in addition to other logistic support. Women's direct combat participation has been a pattern too, although frequently this has not been preferred by military leaders.

Male commanders have tried to keep women out of regular combat units whenever it is possible. They also tend to subordinate the segregated women units directly to the headquarters. On the other hand, when the troops are facing the risk of a total loss, they will not hesitate to assign women units the job of blocking and covering, so that the main force will be preserved for better chance of group survival. Normally the units for blocking and covering tasks suffer heavier casualties. Women engaged in guerrilla warfare face higher risk of casualties than those in regular units as is discussed in previous sections. This shows that in the Chinese case, keeping women out of the regular combat units was not to avoid women's heavier casualties, but was due mainly to consideration of convenience and mobility of the main force. Women were also assigned dirty and heavy logistic support jobs within the armed forces. This kind of arrangement can certainly be observed as a pattern in the Chinese case.

The degree, scale, frequency and duration of Chinese women's military participation also differ from group to group, and from individual to individual. Somebody's military involvement could be a two decade commitment, such as the cases of Wei Gongzhi, Zhao Yiman, and Wang Yixia. Some participated in only one battle, such as those who joined the campaign at Nanjing in 1911 revolution. This diversified military involvement repeated the pattern which reflects Chinese women's military participation in ancient China over a time span of four thousand years (see Chapter VI).

Finally, in the Chinese case, gender should be observed as a factor affecting the enemy's fighting spirits either positively or negatively. In the Taiping rebellion, women

units were deployed on the front since the inexperienced Qing soldiers would reduce their fighting spirits at the sight of colorful women. In the case of women Red Army soldiers, the effect was the opposite. Women soldiers tried not to reveal their gender since that would arouse their enemies to fight with stronger determination to capture these women alive and force sexual slavery upon them. Gender has been a positive factor in regard to morale boosting in the revolutionary forces. Women's presence in the Red Army has been appreciated as a positive morale booster, especially since most women soldiers had engaged in propaganda work. As for the issue of men being commanded by a woman, it seems to the author that this had never been a problem, particularly if the woman commander was competent in military skills, had education, and had seniority.

Different from the pattern of ancient Chinese women warriors, fewer women in this period were recognized because of the status of their husbands, or participated together with their male relatives, although it can not be concluded that women's military participation is not related to their male relatives.

As for the question of whether women's military participation has gone through a cycle of expansion and contraction, this author finds out that in the Chinese case, the cycling changes are more related to the size of women's participation as a group, and the situational factors. More women participated in military operations during revolutionary peak time or when the population were facing more fatal threat. It is less relevant to the degree, duration, and frequency of the participation which are affected by social, cultural factors as well.

Chapter IX Modern China

Overview

Today's China is a Communist party-led state with a population of 1.172 billion (1992 census), in a total area of 9.6 million square kilometers (slightly larger than that of U.S.).¹ The population tripled in the past 45 years, even with the implementation of a "one-child" family control policy in late 1970s. Its 1993 infant mortality rate was 33 deaths per 1,000 live births. The life expectancy in the same year was 68 years for males, and 72 for females.² This fast growing and young population has a literacy rate of 73% (male 84%, female 62%), with 9 years of compulsory education, which has 80% attendance (Statistical Yearbook of China, 1994).

The CCP had 50 million members in 1990, with 8 minor parties under its supervision. Considering Taiwan to be the state's 23rd province, the administrative divisions are: 23 provinces, 5 minority autonomous regions (including Tibet), and 3 municipalities directly under the leadership of the State Council. The unicameral National People's Congress and the Supreme People's Court form the legislative and the judicial branches respectively. However, modern China was ruled by Mao Zedong before 1976, and by Deng Xiaoping since then.

¹ The real total area of China has been debated among scholars. This cited figure has been used officially by both the Chinese and the U.S. governments.

² The increases in life expectancy and lowered rates of epidemic disease attained the levels of other Asian countries that had much higher average income (Banister, 1987; Eberstadt, 1988).

Economically, China had an annual real growth rate of 13% during the past 10 years, with a \$410 billion estimated GNP in 1993 (\$325 per capita).³ Its annual average growth rate was 7% from 1953 to 1990, slower than that of Singapore (8.4%) and South Korea (8.1%) for the same period, but faster than Japan (6.9%) and Thailand (6.9%).

In 1993, the inflation rate was 18% and the unemployment rate 2.6%. Exports reached \$99.5 billion, and imports \$99 billion. The industrial growth rate for last year was 25%, accounting for 60% of GNP. China is one of the world's largest producers of major agricultural products such as rice, potatoes, sorghum, peanuts, tea, millet, barley, and pork. Agriculture production accounts for 26% of GNP. Generally speaking, industrial and agricultural output achieved a 13 fold increase from 1952 to 1990, with output of coal, cement, cotton, cereal, rapeseed and meat ranking the first in the world. These achievements were mainly obtained because of the CCP's economic reforms and open policies since late 1970s (The Bureau of East Asian and Pacific Affairs, 1993).

According to the estimate of the Food & Agriculture Organization of the United Nations, Chinese daily nutritional absorption is 2,634 kilocalories, above the average 2,474 kilocalories of developing countries. The daily absorption of protein is 62.8 grams, above the average 59.9 grams for developing countries, with the fat absorption of 45.5 grams, lower than the 47.6 grams average.

In sum, modern China is a fast developing country with one fifth of the population on the planet. Since 1978, the number of poor in China declined by more than 60%, which means about 170 million people were lifted out of poverty. On the

³ China's per capita income ranks 96th in the world, far below the \$4,200 US figure.

other hand, 520 counties out of a total of 1,903 (27%) still require state financial backing,⁴ and the annual income of 80 million people is still below the Chinese poverty line of \$35.29 (300 Yuan, calculated by a 1994 mid-summer exchange rate of \$1=Y8.5).

Modern Chinese Society

Chinese society has experienced various social transformations and all forms of turbulence in the 46-year history of the PRC. The only thing absent in this period was a national civil war. These social changes have been observed and studied carefully by Chinese and foreign scholars.⁵ Major findings are concentrated in the fields of social stratification, mobility, and community organization (Walder, 1989). I will continue using the theoretical framework developed for this research to review structural, cultural, and institutional factors which are relevant to women's military participation.

The first decade of the PRC was marked by the PLA's participation in the Korean War,⁶ the confiscation of CNP officials' capital,⁷ a nationwide Land Reform movement in

⁴ According to a telephone interview with a Chinese diplomat in Washington, D.C., conducted in May 1994, by the end of 1991, there were 2,183 counties in China. One third of these counties need state financial backing.

⁵ The disciplined study of China's social changes has gone through fundamental changes in the mid-1980s. More than 10 active sociologists specialize in China research now. Publications multiplied quickly, and Chinese governmental agencies began to collect and release comprehensive social statistics.

⁶ China intervened in the Korean war in October 1950 as UN troops reached the Sino-Korean border. By mid-1951, China had pushed the UN forces back to a line near the thirty-eighth Parallel. The conflict led the American government to deploy the US 7th Fleet in the Taiwan Straits in defense of Taiwan, effectively committing both countries into postures of mutual hostility that would persist for two decades.

⁷ This refers to two thirds of the industrial capital and 80% of the fixed assets before the liberation in 1949. After the confiscation, 291 enterprises, 90% of the steel industry, 33% of the coal industry, 67% of the power industry, all petroleum and nonferrous metal industry, which used to be under direct control of the Resources Committee of the CNP, were turned into socialist state-owned enterprises.

the countryside,⁸ followed by a rural collectivization,⁹ a transformation of the industrial and commercial sectors,¹⁰ and a major success of the government's first Five Year Plan. The country also experienced an open public debate called the "Hundred Flowers Movement" 大鸣大放, followed by the "Anti-Rightist Campaign" 反右斗争 from 1957 to 1958,¹¹ disastrous social experiments in the Great Leap Forward movement 大跃进 and people's commune system 人民公社, designed and orchestrated by Mao in 1958;¹² a revolt in Tibet in 1959,¹³ and a top level power struggle between Mao and Peng Dehuai at Lushan 庐山 in 1959.¹⁴

⁸ This is a process begun in the years 1945 to 1949 in liberated areas under the CCP. From 1950 to 1953, 40% of China's cultivated land was redistributed to the peasants. Landlords as a class were eliminated and the holdings of rich peasants were greatly reduced.

⁹ By 1956, more than 90% of all rural families had been organized into about 700,000 higher-level agricultural producer cooperatives (APCs). Retaining only houses and small private plots for vegetables or husbandry, peasants turned over their land and tools to the collective, receiving pay in the form of work points.

¹⁰ Privately owned urban factories, restaurants and shops were converted first into joint state-private ventures, then in 1955 into state-owned enterprises (in most cases, former owners were compensated).

¹¹ The full citation of the slogan is "let a hundred flowers blossom and a hundred schools of thought contend". It is a description of the free climate during the Spring and Autumn and Warring States Periods, 770-221 BC. Mao used this phase to name his policy for promoting the progress of the arts and the sciences. The movement quickly went out of control when university students, journalists and some officials directly attacked the Party and its monopoly of political power. Stung, the CCP moved to re-impose limits on debate and conducted a purge of liberal intellectuals. About half a million people were stigmatized during the "Anti-Rightist Campaign," many banished to labor camps in remote areas of China.

¹² Mao abandoned the Eighth Party Congress program of a Soviet-style economic development, which was passed in September 1956, and decided that China could rapidly develop both industry and agriculture through more extensive and military-like rural collectivization and de-centralized economic decision-making. By the end of 1958, almost all of the rural populace had been incorporated into people's communes. The communes were intended to swiftly increase agricultural output, fulfill many labor intensive projects such as dams and irrigation systems, and establish small "backyard" factories to produce steel and other industrial products. The results were disastrous. Normal market mechanisms were disrupted, and Chinese people exhausted themselves producing what turned out to be shoddy, unsuitable goods. Mao never admitted and recovered from the failure of this personally initiated social experiment, which was based on a combination of his "nativistic revolutionary romanticism" (Tu, 1993), his experiences of revolutionary war in the wilderness, influence from Lenin and Stalin, the view of quantitative economic growth as a central and dynamic factor in revolutionary change, and his belief in the power of subjective forces inspired by a utopian vision (Schram, 1994).

When Mao proclaimed the PRC in Beijing on October 1, 1949, the 400 million Chinese people were exhausted by a hundred-year history of foreign invasions, two generations of wars and social conflict, and an economy ravaged by high inflation and disrupted transportation links. Generally speaking, the massive economic and social reconstruction in the early 1950s was a success, because the new leaders obtained popular support by curbing inflation, restoring the economy, and rebuilding many war damaged industrial plants. This support allowed the CCP's authority to reach into almost every phase of Chinese life. Social control was documented as a pattern of community organization characterized by limited mobility, broad dependence on workplaces for distribution of goods and services, and extensive networks of personal loyalty, obligation, and mutual assistance (Walder, 1989). Party control was also assured by large, politically loyal security and military forces, a government apparatus responsive to the CCP's direction, and millions of the Party's members in labor, women's and other mass organizations. In short, compared with other poor developing countries, the new

¹³ Resistance to China's reimposition of its dominance over Tibet (1950-51), headed by the Dalai Lama, one of Tibet's religious and secular leader, led to reinforced military presence and an open rebellion in March 1959. After the suppression of the mass demonstration, Dalai Lama escaped to India.

¹⁴ Peng Dehuai toured his homeland and other rural areas, and witnessed the disastrous situation in the countryside early 1959. Even people in Mao's homeland begged him to talk with Mao and correct the mistake. Peng was deeply disturbed but did not take any action. He was asked by Mao to attend the enlarged politburo session at Lushan in the summer of 1959, with the expectation that he would render his support to Mao as always happened before. Instead, Peng spent the first night on Lushan by writing a long letter to Mao, addressing the severe situation in the countryside. Mao responded by threatening to return to the countryside and lead the peasants in a new round of guerrilla warfare if necessary. Unwilling to decisively overturn Mao's leadership, the politburo acquiesced in the purge of Peng and other prominent critics of Mao as members of an "anti-Party clique". Peng was assigned the job of commanding the construction of the strategic rear lines in southwestern China. At the same time, Mao accepted the major adjustment to the people's communes, and withdrew from the role of daily decision-making for the national administration. The responsibility was passed to Liu Shaoqi and Deng Xiaoping.

government had unusual organizational capacities and a clear political will to implement ambitious development programs at the grass roots. The new political and economic order was quickly installed, and survived the large scale social transformations and political and military crises listed above.

The second decade of the PRC experienced the Sino-Soviet Split in 1960; the "three hard years" from 1960 to 1962,¹⁵ a Sino-India border conflict in late 1962; the "Socialist Education Movement" 社会主义教育运动 (also called the "Four Clean-ups" movement 四清) from 1962 to 1965¹⁶; and the first stage of the 10-year Cultural Revolution 文化大革命 from 1966 to 1969.¹⁷ This decade can be simply summarized

¹⁵ Extensive drought in 1960-61 and other natural disasters exacerbated the agricultural disasters. Grain production plummeted from the 1958 record of 200 million tons to only 143.5 million tons. At least 10 million people died in the famine in the period of 1960 to 1962. The whole country went through the three years with low level nutrition. Industrial production also suffered from the dislocation of the Great Leap, the withdrawal of Soviet experts and technicians in 1960, a major shortage of raw materials, and lack of sufficient food for urban workers.

¹⁶ In the early 1960s, State President Liu Shaoqi and Party General Secretary Deng Xiaoping took over the direction of the CCP and adopted pragmatic economic policies at odds with Mao's revolutionary vision. A major part of the new policy was a certain degree of de-collectivization in the countryside by allowing peasants to obtain profits out of their private plots. Dissatisfied with China's new direction and his own reduced authority, Mao proposed the socialist education movement and re-emphasized that the class struggle should be the principle line of the Party at the 10th Plenary Session of the Eighth Party Congress in September 1962. The original "four clean-ups" in the countryside was a large scale audit movement, including checking on work points—a daily measure how much an individual farmer works, accounts, finance and storage. This movement was paralleled by an anti-bureaucracy and anti-corruption movement in the cities. Mao turned the movement into a political campaign in which many grass roots cadres in the countryside were personally humiliated and repudiated. The movement ended when the Cultural Revolution began in 1966.

¹⁷ From May 1966 to October 1976, China experienced the 10-year tragedy of the "Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution" launched by Mao to politically attack Liu and Deng as the "capitalist authority within the Party". This was unprecedented in communist history. The first stage ended in April 1969, during which almost all Party and administrative agencies changed hands, thousands of cadres were beaten, jailed, or sent to labor camps. The country's intellectuals had similar fates. Many committed suicide. The second stage ended in August 1973, during which Lin Biao, Mao's first designated successor, died in an airplane crash in Mongolia on September 13, 1970, and the Gang of Four headed by Mao's third wife Jiang Qing 江青 obtained the national leadership, with the only exception that the daily administration of the country was still in the hands of premier Zhou. In the third stage, the Gang of Four attacked premier Zhou Enlai in early 1974. Zhou managed to fight back by proposing Deng Xiaoping assume the daily administration of the country when he himself no longer was able to work

as the prevalence of radicalism, which finally plunged the country into the chaos of the Cultural Revolution. It shows how the advantage of a strong government with a charismatic leader could eventually turn into a disability as misguided policies held sway. A strict system of household registration and food rationing tied peasants to their villages and urban residents to their neighborhoods. This system effectively restricted migration to cities and allowed the authorities to relocate millions of people to rural areas. Viewed as a variant of Stalinist forced-draft heavy industrialization, Maoist development strategy widened the gap in income and food consumption between city and country, while urban residents also suffered from a characteristic neglect of wage increases, consumption, and housing in favor of industrial investment. The development of China's industry in this period was also observed as a failure because of over-centralized management, national investment decisions by bureaucrats, and poor labor motivation. All these were compounded by a UN trade embargo since China participated the Korean War, the Soviet withdrawal of all assistance and technicians in August 1960, and the Chinese government's self-imposed determination of "self-reliance". However, despite major disruptions from political turmoil and poor economic planning, China's economy averaged a growth rate of 6% in this period, and a large science and industry base was

due to his cancer. Mao supported Zhou first, but launched another "anti-Deng" movement in the later part of 1975, when he found out that Deng had started to change the country's direction again. Zhou's death in January 1976 led to a mass protest at Tiananmen Square in April, in which Chinese people expressed support of Deng by mourning Zhou openly. The Gang of Four suppressed the movement by deploying troops of workers' militia. One month after Mao's death on September 9, 1976, Hua Guofeng 华国锋, a second designated successor of Mao, moved to arrest the Gang of Four by enjoying full support from the veteran Party leaders and the PLA. The CCP officially declared the end of the Cultural Revolution at this point.

built for further development, if the country was allowed to follow the modernization path.

Seven years of the third decade were spent in the second and third stages of the Cultural Revolution, during which Lin Biao, Mao's first designated successor, died in September 1971; border clashes against the Soviet military along the Ussuri river in 1969; and rapprochement with the United States between 1971 and 1972. There was a massive anti-radical demonstration in Tiananmen 天安门 in April 1976, following Zhou Enlai's death, and the palace arrest of the Gang of Four 四人帮 after Mao's death in September the same year; a major Party policy shift accomplished at the Third Plenary Session of the Eleventh Central Committee in December 1978; the "Democracy Wall" movement 民主墙 in 1978-79,¹⁸ and the Sino-Vietnam border conflict in 1979.

This decade was a critical transition period for China, during which the Maoist era ended with his death and the end of the Cultural Revolution, all in 1976. Deng's era started with the economic reform program, accompanied by the suppression of the Democracy Wall movement and the border conflict against Vietnam. The last two were launched by the leadership to guarantee a stable environment for vital economic recovery and reforms.

¹⁸ The successful reversal of the 1976 Tiananmen Square verdict encouraged new and more radical movement for political liberalization and democracy. Activists presented critical ideas in wall posters at Xidan 西单, a major shopping center in Beijing and other cities, as well as establishing new unofficial magazines. Deng emphasized the Four Basic Principles at a politburo meeting in March 1979 to enforce limits to political reform. The Democracy Wall was closed and Wei Jingshen 魏京生, the leader of this movement, was sentenced with 15 years in jail together with other democratic activists.

The fourth decade of the PRC was a 10-year period of opening up to the international community and economic reforms, starting with the de-collectivization pioneered in the countryside of Sichuan and Anhui provinces. The Party's Twelfth Congress in September 1982 formally adopted the economic reform policies. The difficult reform process was marked with the downfall of Hu Yaobang 胡耀邦 and the campaign against "bourgeois liberalization" 反资产阶级自由化 in 1987. Finally, the decade ended with massive protests for democratic reforms in Beijing and other major cities in spring 1989, and the Tienanmen Event on June 4 the same year, when PLA troops were used to suppress the demonstrating mass by force.

Deng's model is different from the Maoist one in the return to family farming, the adoption of material incentives, management reforms, and petty capitalism in the cities. The key change was to give the initial right back to Chinese peasants, and let them do the farming, marketing, and all the relevant organizational work by themselves. Economic improvement was almost an immediate phenomenon and has been striking in the past decade. The establishment of a market economy in China was a gradual and painful process, but has changed the whole society tremendously in a decade.

Encouraged by the Party's new policy, both the elite and the people have started another round of struggles for political liberation and democracy, an 84 year long crusade started by the 1911 revolution, the 1915 New Culture Movement, and the 1919 May Fourth Movement (see Chapter VII).¹⁹ Capitalism was strangled twice in China,

¹⁹ Like the emperors who had come before, and the new leaders who would follow, all Chinese rulers, some of them being revolutionaries and rebels themselves, have been and will be obsessed with maintaining centralized control and stability, no matter what price they would pay. This was caused by

first by imperialism, then by revolutions. Now the CCP wants to give it a chance to grow but under the condition that the Party remains in full control. Science and technology from abroad are needed and welcomed, but not democracy. It is said that modernization needs a stable environment to develop.

Since then, China has experienced a 5-year development without major political disturbance. The CCP has, once again, survived the worldwide condemnation of its despotism and monopoly of power, as well as the collapse of the former Soviet Union and the Eastern European Block. Foreign capital has been flowing in on a constant basis with the country recently having further opened up its infrastructure construction and inner land investment to foreign business. The overheated economy has been kept at a 9% growth rate since the beginning of 1994, while uncertainty exists concerning China's future when the 90-year old Deng Xiaoping passes away.

In sum, politically, the CCP remains in power, surviving a four decade struggle between different lines and among top leaders. Other major political challenges included a half year of highly intensified regional armed conflicts between factions in early 1967; one failed coup in 1970 (if the Lin Biao Incident was what it is said to be); one palace arrest of the Gang of Four in 1976; a peaceful ousting of Hua Guofeng, the second designated successor of Mao in 1978; and two protests of several million people in Tienanmen Square in 1976 and 1989. In between, there were various political

China's thousands of years of history, its social structure and culture. Definitely it will take more time for Mr. Science and Mr. Democracy to win the battle in China.

campaigns and national movements launched by the CCP itself. Just as Mao once predicted, every seven or eight years, there would be a turmoil period in China.

These turbulent events involved millions of Chinese people. Sometimes they were accompanied by massive migrations, such as millions of workers sent to settle in the countryside in the late 1950s; 16 million urban middle and high school students relocated to the countryside in the late 1960s; and their return back to cities in the late 1970s. This urban-rural large group migration was contrasted with a prolonged lack of residential and job mobility for the majority populace. Nowadays, there has been another constant migrating flow of about 30 million rural youths into major coastal cities for fast cash by selling their cheap labor. Millions of them were turned into low-level skilled workers, and many of them found employment at the emerging township enterprises and factories. At the same time, this wandering population, labeled as the "blind flow" 盲流, has been regarded as one of the major unstable factors in China's future. This phenomenon has been linked to the increase of urban crime, small scale community feud, and even armed conflicts which have occurred recently in major Chinese cities.

China has grown from its status of the "poor man of Asia" into the fastest growing economy in the world. Real income has increased by more than 65% in cities and has more than doubled in the villages. Consumption of basic and even luxury consumer goods have multiplied several-fold. From 1978 to 1986, urban housing construction matched figures for the first 30 years after 1949, and rural housing was built at even higher rates (Walder, 1989). Nevertheless, the substantial needs of more than a

billion people remain a major challenge to the leadership. The general educational level has been improved. But the illiterate population aged 15 and older remains as large as 150 million (13%) (Statistical Yearbook of China, 1994). Millions of Chinese people's main concern is still their daily survival.

Culturally, Chinese society has gone through profound changes too: a constant repudiation of feudal and bourgeois ideas and values in the first three decades, followed by a sudden discovery of the outside world, and a crush of Western culture and life styles in the 1980s. The urban culture of Hong Kong and Japan become a constant appeal to Chinese young people, particularly to those in coastal cities.

A short-lived nationwide socialist enthusiasm was followed by a comparatively prolonged national zeal of Maoist revolutionary romanticism. Then, the society was plunged into a widely shared cynicism, an ideology void, a nationwide anomie, a fast growing fetishism, and a variety of crazes: "join the army craze", "study abroad craze", "entrepreneur craze", and the recent "Mao Zedong craze". Above all, for the first time, there are promising elements of individualism spread wide and deep in the country, challenging the Chinese traditions and collectivism. The individual as a worthy, independent human being, starts to recognize him or herself, and at the same time, tries to be publicly recognized.

The culture remains mainly an atheist one, no matter how fast the population of believers in Christianity and Buddhism has grown in the past decade. The only God-like figure to the majority of Chinese is currently Mao Zedong, who was deified by a

personal cult before his death, pulled down from the shrine when the country started the reforms, and then recreated as a secularized God by the populace when the country suffered a total disillusion of the CCP after the 1989 Tienanmen Event (Schram, 1994).

Historically, China has never seen herself in such an agitated state. Even the senior citizens, the most conservative group in any society, complain about the lack of a fashion industry specialized for them, and organize all kinds of clubs, including open-door Western style ballroom dances. This phenomenon is accompanied by the emergence of thousands of bands and choruses, as well as karaoke saloons.

Fang Lizhi 方励之, the leading Chinese dissident scientist who became an international hero during the 1989 Tienanmen event, has labeled this phenomenon as the "Chinese amnesia". Fang is probably talking about the ten million deaths from starvation and malnutrition from 1959 to 1960 (Hu Sheng, 1991; this was the official figure, another estimate was 30 million); and another one million people's unnatural deaths in the 10-year Cultural Revolution period from 1966 to 1976. The waste of human and material resources was on a mammoth scale caused by Mao's utopian vision and implementation of the Great Leap Forward in 1958, and many other campaigns and mass movements. China's growth is at high cost. However, I believe that a people's strength lays in its capability to always looking forward. Amnesia is a healthy habit for a culture which has a history of five thousand years. After several decades of pacing up and downs, China has moved rapidly from isolationism towards mercantilism. Although the June 4 Event has impeded the momentum of political reform, the relationship between

state and society has been significantly altered. The political reform, which includes decentralization and liberalization, will continue its twisting and turning but progressive journey.

Status of Women

The population of Chinese women increased from 260 million in 1949 to 562 million in 1989 (Statistics of Chinese Women, 1991).²⁰ Generally speaking, the improvement of Chinese women's social status has been a visible but unbalanced development. Both the positive and the negative aspects will be described briefly in this section.

In the Chinese case, the improvement of women's social status is normally measured against several indicators: 1) scale of labor force participation; 2) level of education; 3) degree of suffrage; 4) decision power in marriage and family; 5) welfare and health care; and 6) self and social recognition. China has made progress in women's general education and labor participation, as well as self determination in marriage, joint family decision making, better health care, and better self recognition. The remaining problems are: low rate of participation in politics, high percentage of women in poverty, low education level of poor women, discrimination against women who gave birth to girls in the countryside, and the existence of violence against women, including a recent re-emergence of abduction and sale of women.

²⁰ The percentage of women of the population remains in the 48 percent range for the whole period.

The first feature of the improvement is the large rate of labor force participation by Chinese women.²¹ According to the State Report of the PRC on Implementation of The Nairobi Forward-Looking Strategies on Advancement of Women, which was submitted to the UN in March 1994, 43.69% of employed people (including those in rural areas) were women in 1982, while the statistics from the 1990 census increased to 44.96%. At the end of 1992, there were altogether 56 million female staff and workers (paid in salaries or wages), 38% of the total labor force. This meant a 24.1% increase from the figure of 45 million in 1985. Most rural women work in China while the employed women in cities have increased.

The annual average increase rate was 4.9% for urban women's employment, 1.27% higher than the annual average increase rate for national employment. Forty million of these female employees work in township enterprises, and are mainly engaged in food, clothes, toys, electronics, craft industries and services. Another feature is that one third of the 14 million entrepreneurs in the countryside are women. In some coastal areas, half of the peasant-merchants are women. China has never seen so many business women in its rural population.

Another relevant indicator is the increase of women professionals and technicians. The State Report points out a 5.44 million increase in women professionals from 1982 to 1990. The increase in male professionals for the same period was 2.5 million. The total number of Chinese women scientists and technicians is 8 million

²¹ According to the 1982 census, 82% of the Chinese women aged 16 to 54 had a job with an independent income (Statistics on Chinese Women, 1991, women military personnel were not included). The figure for these employed women was 19.51 million, 43.6% of the total.

(35%), among whom there are 152 nationally recognized women scientists. In hard science, 47.3% of chief scientists in charge of the 112 key research projects in 1990 were women. In social science, the total number of women researchers was 196 in 1992, 17.16% of the total.

On the negative side, the number of unemployed women is higher than that of men. In 1992, 56.7% of the unemployed urban youth were young women. Many recruiters of private enterprises prefer hiring men rather than women because of the gender difference (urban women have a 60 days mandatory maternity leave with pay, they spend more time on family chores and child care, etc.). Another important factor is that women's educational level, as a whole, is lower than that of men.

When the PRC was established in 1949, 90% of the 260 million women were illiterate. The figure for illiterate women from the 1990 census was 32%. On the other hand, according to the 10% sampling of the 1990 census, there were still 180 million illiterate Chinese (aged 15 and older). Seventy point one percent of this illiterate population were female.

The same census shows that 4.8 million Chinese women had college education, 34.96 million were of high school level (including vocational education which equals 4 year secondary schooling in China), 96.71 million had middle school education, and 135 million had only elementary schooling. Women college students were 33.7% of the total 47.7 million college students in 1992. This was a 3.7% increase over that in 1985. Women graduate students were 24.8% of the 91,000 total in the same year. The

percentages of female faculty members in the same year were: 29.9% college faculty members (2,000 women college professors); 40.4% vocational school teachers, 33.3% high school, and 44.5% elementary school teachers.

In addition to the constitutions and laws, the Chinese government issued a series of regulations and rules in the past decade to protect women and children. The most recent legal measure was the Women's Rights Protection Law of the PRC passed in 1992. A large scale education campaign was launched nationwide to popularize these laws and regulations. All these legal and administrative efforts have shown that the Chinese government has committed itself to protecting women's right.

On the other hand, prostitution, pornography, abduction and sale of women, violence against women, etc., not only re-emerged after a short absence in the 1950s and 1960s, but also spread to almost all provinces (Zhuang, 1991). In 1991 and 1992, about 70,000 criminals were arrested for selling over 40,000 women and children. Most buyers of these uneducated village women were poor peasants themselves.

Chinese women's suffrage is lower than that of many other developing countries. There are only 1 woman state councilor (Vice Premier level), 17 women ministers (6.6%), 17 women governors (12.26%), and 308 women mayors. There are 626 women representatives in the People's Congress (21.03%), and 19 female members on the Standing Committee (12.26%). There is no woman member in the Politburo of the CCP.

As for women's status in the family, again, there is progress as well as problems. Closely related to women's labor participation, major family financial decisions are made

together by couples because of women's independent income. According to the State Report, the average rate of joint decision making between couples has reached 58.1%; 68.2% for urban couples, 55.9% for rural couples. In both cases, more couples are making financial decisions together. More Chinese married men help in family chores, and they no longer feel ashamed of it. But on average, men have higher incomes than women. The average monthly income for an urban man was 193.15 Yuan, while an urban woman only made 149.60 Yuan per month (100: 77). The average annual income for rural man was 1518 Yuan, while a woman made 1235 Yuan in the same year.

In sum, compared with their mothers' generations, Chinese women today have made progress in labor force participation, education, equal decision power at home, and improved social status. The latter two improvements are closely related to their education level and independent income. The Party and the government have been comparatively consistent in the indoctrination of women's equal rights and status. China's women organizations such as the All China Women's Federation have strong organizational capacities and grass root networks. These women's organizations have a loud voice and a strong system to support women. Outstanding Chinese women scientists as well as women athletes have projected a self-confident image in the world.

On the other hand, 70% of the illiterate population and 60% of the poor Chinese are women. Most of these women live in remote, poor, and even inhospitable areas without adequate transportation and resources. Some of those areas even lack water. The focus of women's work has been placed on lifting these women out of poverty.

Education, vocational training, as well as various favorable policies (low interest loans to women entrepreneurs in poverty areas) are said to be the recipes. But there are few national resources for implementing the training and education programs. Now the indoctrinated slogan for women is the "4-selves": self-respect, self-confidence, self-reliance, and self-improvement.

The PLA

The PLA has been recognized as an important institution in Chinese politics, economics and social transformations. It has played the key roles of safeguarding national security as well as the CCP's political power. For short periods from 1949 to 1952, and from 1967 to 1973, this military institution was actually administering the country. Indeed, the first generation of China's post-1949 politicians were pre-1949 revolutionaries, from the new premier to thousands of new administrators at all levels of the government. When the governmental apparatus was broken by Mao himself in the Cultural Revolution, again, the military troops were called in as the last resort to keep the country from total anarchy. This is derivable from the old tradition that governing in China means coercion and persuasion from above.

In addition to utilizing the military troops and the officer corps for political and administrative reasons, the PLA has been used in economic construction and social transformations as well. It has been a school for literacy as well as Mao Zedong's Thought, a training center for cadres as well as skilled workers. It has been a work and propaganda team since its early gestation stage on the Jinggangshan range in the late

1920s. The PLA's multiple missions in the Chinese economy, politics and society after the establishment of the PRC have been a natural continuity from its roles in the revolutionary movements, and anti-imperialist and civil wars, described in Chapter VII.

Civil-military Relationships

David Shambaugh once described the civil-military relationship in modern China as a "symbiosis" of the armed forces with the Party/state (Shambaugh, 1991). Through symbiosis in revolutionary times, this military institution has been politicized by Party control and ideo-political work within the system. The PLA's identity has been intertwined with the Party. The Chinese revolutionary soldier is different from the professional soldier and the praetorian soldier. No existing theories of Party-military relationship in socialist countries could thoroughly explain this phenomenon since few have captured the symbiosis feature and scrutinized the political work within the PLA.

Today's PLA is no longer a revolutionary force. As a complex institution aimed at its own modernization and striving to become a major world power in the next century, its relationship with the Party and the state has become more complicated. The PLA will certainly continue its role as the guarantor of national security. Whether it will continue to sustain the CCP's monopoly control is questionable. The PLA may still have an identity problem, but whatever it has now is certainly no longer intertwined with the Party. Both tradition and modernization function as the driving forces to change this institution. It is no longer a Maoist revolutionary army, but it will not be automatically developed into a western style armed force just because it is being occupationalized.

The development of civil-military relationships within the Chinese context will decide the nature and direction of its modernization.

Military leaders of the PLA have played monumental roles in Chinese elite politics since the early 1950s. In addition to Marshal Peng Dehuai's showdown with Mao at Lushan in 1959 and Marshal Lin Biao's alleged coup d'etat in 1971, discussed in the previous section, there were the Gao Gang 高岗 and Rao Shushi 饶漱石 affair in 1953;²² and Marshal Yie Jianying 叶剑英 and the PLA's guard unit's key roles in the arrest of the Gang of Four in 1976. Less noticed were key functions rendered by General Wang Zhen 王震 and General Yang Shangkun 杨尚昆 in propelling Deng Xiaoping back to power in 1978. The PLA has played key roles directly or indirectly in almost all critical junctures in China's modern history.

Almost all these exercises of personal influence by military leaders were rendered over a national agenda rather than representing the institutional interests of the military. In other words, these military leaders had the seniority and prestige to affect national decision making because of the historical symbiosis of the military with the CCP. Mao and Deng put on their military hats to command the troops whenever it was necessary. Military leaders also put on their civilian hats occasionally if it was deemed necessary.

²² Gao Gang was alleged to have divided the Party as the "Party in occupied territory" and the "Party in the revolutionary base and the army". As the representative of the Party in the base and the army, he formed an "Independent Kingdom" in Northeast China. He was criticized as forming an "anti-Party clique" with Rao Shushi after being transferred to work in the central government as the chairman of the Planning Commission in 1953. They were repudiated at the Fourth Plenary Session of the Seventh Central Committee of the CCP in February 1954. Gao committed suicide afterward. They were formally expelled from the CCP in the following year.

The revolutionary symbiosis legitimized the shifting between civilian and military roles among top veteran revolutionaries.

The current national leadership of China, headed by Jiang Zemin 江泽民, does not have the privileges enjoyed by his predecessors. The only things left are the organizational devices within the military that facilitate the Party's penetration (see chapter VII). The ideo-political work system within the military has been reinforced by the Chinese tradition of civilian supremacy over the military (see Chapter V). However, the tradition of civilian supremacy functions only if the civilians have the legitimacy to rule. If the modern version of "mandate of Heaven" is taken away from the leadership, the only thing left will be the organizational control mechanism and the ideo-political work system within the military. Whoever is in control of this organizational control mechanism and the political system will be the king maker in the future, given the condition that the old generation of king makers is no longer politically influential.

Zhang Chunqiao 张春桥 tried to take over control by heading the General Political Work Department of the PLA during the peak time of the Gang of Four. He failed because the veteran revolutionary generation was still active and powerful. This is why a modern version of warlordism is still a possibility in China and will remain the worst scenario to Chinese leadership. Not only will political work within the military be enforced repeatedly by the CCP, but also the military leaders will be rotated on a regular base, so that the risk of development of warlordism will be reduced to a minimum. These organizational measures, successfully initiated by Mao and Deng in the past, will

be continued by China's new generation of leaders. The new leaders will also try hard to win support from the old king makers if they are still politically alive.

Another possibility, which is new to the Chinese case, is the development of the apolitical mentality among professional officers during the modernization process. On the state side, new leaders may be identified as "technocrats" to top Party positions (Li & White, 1993). The new breed of Chinese top brass may adopt the apolitical attitude so popular among their western counterparts. The overall rationalization process accompanying the modernization may produce a new kind of civil-military relationship between the leading technocrats and the guarding professional soldiers.

This author does not believe this will happen for several reasons: 1) China's modernization process has too short a history but the primordial relationship between the soldier and the state has a long one; 2) China does not have a democratic political system to keep the legitimacy of the national leadership; 3) it will take the PLA a long time to be modernized, particularly with its much politicized officer corps.

In sum, how to maintain the gun under the Party's command is the most important question to China's future sovereignty and stability.

Technology and Defense Modernization

The modernization process of the 3.2 million-member PLA may be seen as a balance between the needs of modern warfare and the slow quest of military technology. The PLA has always fought against superior forces with inferior weapon systems by relying on "human elements" such as fighting spirit, cohesion, large scale mobilization of

people's support, flexible forms of operations and various tactics. During the Korean War, Chinese military leaders first experienced a modern war and witnessed the speed and lethality of modern war machines. "Millet plus rifles" won't work in future warfare. This is not a difficult consensus to reach. Yet the PLA cannot update its arsenal overnight since defense modernization is really a function of national strength. That is why as early as in 1955, Chinese leaders decided to develop a limited and second counterattack nuclear weapon system, and at the same time, regularize the army. The nuclear weapon was developed for self confidence and counter deterrence. China's first generation of nuclear weapons and delivery systems was deployed in the 1970s and 1980s. Now the focus is on improving the mobility, reliability and overall survivability of the nuclear system and to make the modest deterrent force credible into the next century.²³

Regularization was the first step in China's defense modernization. Changes from a guerrilla mentality and peasant egalitarianism were doomed to meet strong resistance within the military. Even the system of military ranks faced strong counterattacks and was abandoned after several years' experiments. Designated generals were ordered to go back to their units and shared hardship with soldiers in 1958. It was not until the late 1980s that the PLA finally adopted the system of military ranks.

The visible achievements of the PLA's first attempt at regularization was the establishment of many military schools for education and training, and research &

²³ By comparison, the nuclear inventories of Russia and the United States are each 20 times as large as China's. But the total explosive power of China's 300 to 400 weapons makes it the third-largest nuclear weapons state by most estimates.

development bases for development of military technology by the end of the 1950s. Due to the Maoist radical line and the CCP's political agenda, the following two decades witnessed uneven advances in the technology of warfare and a continued commitment to the traditional principles of people's war by the PLA leadership. By the end of the 1970s, the PLA was still not ready to fight a modern war, not only because of backward weaponry, but also due to out of date concepts of strategy and tactics. In addition, the armed forces were "bloating, laxity, conceit, extravagance and inertia" (Deng, 1984). Technology did play an important role in defining the weaknesses of the PLA, but its resolution was to be integrated into the total reform of the defense establishment. Thus, issues of military doctrine, strategy and operations were put at the forefront of China's quest for a modern defense capacity (Godwin, 1987).

The current defense modernization programs have been an all out effort at balancing technological improvements with organizational, professional and doctrinal changes. All these modifications and changes were time consuming and expensive.²⁴ However, comparatively speaking, the restructuring of the armed forces and the improvement of personnel quality were more feasible and more essential, since technological progress had to be keyed to the overall advancement of China's economy, science, and technology.

The first achievement in this new round of modernization was to place Mao's military thought as eternally valid principles, to be applied with flexibility and creativity

²⁴ For example, it took almost a decade to raise the general educational level of the PLA's officer corps and make it a younger one. All retiring lieutenant generals were assigned a Mercedes Benz to make sure their retirement would not be too depressing.

into the future analytical context. Mao's principles of war have been regarded as uniquely grounded in China's military heritage and will remain a source for military thinking. This has been a logical, important, but uneasy step in China's defense modernization programs.

The second important step was to reach a doctrinal consensus on the nature and probability of future wars. For the first time, it was perceived possible by the Chinese military leaders that a major war against a superior enemy might not be imminent. It might even be absent for at least a decade. China's previous preparations had prevented a major war and had minimized the potential scale of such a war had it broken out. It is also agreed that nuclear war remains a definite possibility for the future. But the advent of long-range nuclear weapons made the initiation of large-scale war to achieve political objectives impossible. China should prepare to apply high technology to local (limited) wars. Closely related to these formulation was that the future battlefields would be swiftly moving and three-dimensional as an integration of space, air, land, and the oceans. In short, the PLA should prepare for the entire spectrum of war, and the current world situation required greater preparation for limited war and unanticipated low intensity conflicts.

This unified perception was achieved in 1985, and its development has been parallel to the reduction of troops and the restructuring of the 36 army corps of the main force ground units into army groups, as well as the rebuilding of the senior officer corps with younger and more professionally competent men; and the training for "unified air-

ground operations" and "massive three-dimensional operations". Lessons learned from the border clashes against Vietnam were brought into the thinking and training too. Finally, through all these "modernizing" contemplation and mental exercises, technology and training are permanently linked to combat efficiency and victory in war.

Through all these internal changes, reforms, combined arms operation and training, the importance of technology escalated, but the dilemma caused by the difference between the objective needs of modern warfare and the low level of the PLA's modernization remains unsolved. Chinese military leaders still need to deal with the old problem of how to fight against a superior enemy with inferior equipment and weaponry. This contradiction has led dialectically to the PLA's decade's long efforts in slimming and conversion of military industry to civilian production.

Conversion of Military Industry to Civilian Production

As is discussed in Chapter V, the Chinese military has a tradition of economic self-reliance on various forms of military production and bases within the system. The modern conversion of military industry to civilian production has three purposes: one is to bring military-industrial technologies, facilities and skilled labor into the overall reforms. Second is to streamline military-industrial organization and implement the force reduction strategy. The third purpose is to self finance defense modernization, which is ranked last on the priority list. The conversion also has an unintended impetus to the

PLA's entrepreneurial activities.²⁵ What needs to be emphasized briefly here is that this conversion is reversible, and has a dual function.

Accompanying the conversion has been large scale skill training for "civil-military dual usage" 军地两用 of military personnel. From hairdressing, tooling, and car driving to store managing, thousands of enlisted soldiers as well as officers below the rank of brigade commanders obtained free training before discharged from the military.²⁶

Ideo-political Work

Ideo-political work and organizational control within the military remained the same for the past 45 years. The Party's policy of setting up Party branches at the company level, adopted first at the "Sanwan Redesignation" at Jinggangshan range in 1927, has become the decisive policy which guaranteed the legitimacy of the Party's control over the military. Guided by the "Resolution of the Gutian Conference", the programmatic document of Chinese ideo-political work within the military that was formulated in 1929, the political work system remains intact and has kept the armed forces loyal to the Party and stable through the politically turbulent years.

The only thing changed in the past 45 years was that the modernizing PLA has moved away gradually from its old revolutionary identity in war time which had been intertwined with the Party. In other words, it is hard for the new cohort of military leaders to put on civilian hats to affect national decision making. On one hand, this is

²⁵ One source states that 10% of PLA soldiers are involved in commercial activities, using military equipment and facilities (*Inside China Monthly*, 1990).

²⁶ The first cohort of taxi drivers in Beijing was discharged enlisted soldiers from the PLA. Most of them were from the countryside who otherwise would have no opportunity to find a job in the capital.

because new military leaders do not have the seniority and prestige within the Party to render such influence. On the other hand, as an institution, the PLA has no longer a legitimized role in political and economic decision making. As long as the military is under a unified leadership, and as long as this leadership is cooperating with the national leaders, the country will be stable and the emergence of a modern version of warlordism will be avoided. The new cohort of national leaders has been relying on ideo-political work to strengthen the CCP's relationship with the PLA. It is not difficult for foreign observers to see that political work within the military functions to keep the Party's control. What tends to be ignored is the fact that the Party branch also functions as the nucleus of organizational cohesion building. All aspects of political work are oriented to stabilize the troops with high morale. The continuity of these social and psychological fabrics of the military institution plays a major role in keeping the armed forces viable through political turmoil, social transformations and changes, particularly counterbalancing the de-moralizing factor of low personal income.²⁷

In sum, the PLA is a massive armed force with 68 years of Party control and ideo-political work within the system. The quest for technology and combat efficiency is the major goal of defense modernization. The PLA's multiple missions include the conversion of military industry to civilian production. The professionalization process is mainly manifested by and composed of upgrading the educational level of the officer corps and military training in integrated operations. A PLA soldier still looks very

²⁷ As is known to outsiders, a PLA soldier makes only 4 dollars a month. A colonel's monthly salary after 25 years service is only \$120.

different from professional soldiers in the West, and from praetorian soldiers in some developing countries.

Chapter X Women in the PLA

Within the context of a modernizing China and her military forces described in the previous chapter, the functions, status, and lives of modern Chinese women in the PLA are dealt with in this chapter. The chapter combines analysis of the 1992 survey data, findings from the focus group interviews and personal observations, and a synthesis of secondary information from the existing literature. The discussion is integrated by the presentation and discussion of the 1992 data. In other words, this chapter is focused on the 230 women who responded to the questionnaire. A detailed discussion of the survey is provided in Chapter III. The discussion is divided into 5 categories: basic information, wartime and peacetime operations, military life, career predictions, and evaluations of military life.

The age groups are categorized as the following 3 after several tests: 1) young, 20 years old and younger; 2) middle, 21 to 35 years old; 3) oldest, 36 years old and older. In order to provide a better picture of the trend, occasionally the subjects are grouped into five age categories: 1) up to 20 years old; 2) 21 to 30 years old; 3) 31 to 40 years old; 4) 41 to 50 years old; 5) 51 and older.

The rank groups are defined as 4 after several trials:

- 1) cadet: this group includes young cadets (m1) at the Military Art College of the PLA;
- 2) enlisted: this includes Private (m2), Corporal (m3), and Sergeant (m4).

- 3) junior officer: this group includes civilian ranks c11 to c13 (see the following section for details) and active duty officer ranks Second Lieutenant (m5) to Captain (m7) ;
- 4) senior officer: this group includes senior civilian ranks c5 to c7 who served more than 30 years in the PLA; civilian ranks c10 to c8 ¹, which are equal to Major (m8) to Colonel (m10); and active duty officer ranks m8 to m10.

The Code-book for the statistical analysis is included in Appendix III.

In contrast to the women warriors in the time span of ancient China and the 100 year post-Opium-War periods, military women in modern China serve mainly in peacetime and regular military formations. However, occasionally, some of these women participated in military operations. Some of them have been assigned to combat zones.

Basic Information on PLA Women

Total Number of PLA Women

Since the founding of the PRC in 1949, the pattern of utilization of women in the Chinese military has remained stable. The State Report (1994) indicates that there are 240,000 women serving in the PLA, 8% of the total military personnel if the figure of 3.2 million is correct (Shambaugh, 1991). Another source notes that 136,000 women worked in the PLA at the end of 1987 (Organization Division, 1990). Among these, 104,000 were officers (76.5% of total military women), and 32,000 were enlisted

¹ In this document, military personnel's ranks are presented as similar to the US rank categories while the civilians are listed in the Chinese conventional way: the smallest number represents the highest rank.

women(23.5%).² From this source, it is clear that there are more women officers than female enlisted personnel in the PLA. This has been supported by my personal observations and focus group interviews.

As for the discrepancy between the two cited total numbers, at this moment, this author cannot offer an informed explanation except that it might be caused by the fact that when staff of the General Political Department of the PLA collected the data at the end of 1987, occupational specialists were not regarded as military personnel due to the civilian system newly adopted in that year (see the following section). This means the 136,000 figure might reflect the total strength of military women without civilians in 1987, while the 240,000 cited by the State Report may have included civilians in 1994.

Civil Official System Within the PLA

In 1987, the PLA adopted a system called "civil" or "civilian" service 文职 in order to evolve gradually into a system similar to the American tradition of hiring civilians to work within the military institution. The main goal of this adaptation is to keep professionals working in the military for longer terms, and, at the same time, to maintain age ceilings for military ranks in order to have a younger officer corps.

² In proportion to the total of 56 million female staff and workers (not including female labor in rural areas) at the end of 1992 (see previous chapter), military women account for only 0.4 percent of total female state employees. But, compared with a total of 8.7 million women officials in the state, women officers account for 1.2%, even using the 1987 women officers' figure. From these simple statistics alone, it is clear that military women, especially women officers, are a small group of elite among the 562 million Chinese women.

The officers-turned-civilians are actually "occupational specialists", who enjoy similar payment and status to their officer counterparts. There is no obvious age ceiling for job assignment to these specialists, but the promotion pace is slower than for active-duty officers. Many medical personnel, scientists, engineers, and logistic staff have been switched from active duty positions to civilian status. To accommodate any complaint caused by this change, new regulations allow them salary and status equal to their active duty counterparts' with the same seniority and rank as before the reform. Furthermore, civilians began to wear special uniforms in May 1992. Since most Chinese military women serve in administrative, communications, research, medical, and logistic support units where most of the specialists work, it can be hypothesized that there is a higher proportion of women among civilians than among active duty personnel.

Senior Civilian ranks c07 to c05 have served in the PLA for more than thirty years. Civilian ranks c10 to c8 equal the military ranks of major (m08) to colonel (m10). These are called senior officers in this study. Civilian ranks c13 to c11 equal second lieutenant (m05) to captain (m07). These are junior officers. These rank equivalencies are shown in Table 10.1 on the following page.

Rank Distribution

Among the 230 women who responded to my 1992 survey, 83 (36.1%) were senior officers, 66 (28.7%) were junior officers, and 81 (35.3%) were enlisted personnel, of whom 23 (10%) were cadets, and 58 (25.2%) were soldiers, as detailed in Table 10.1.

In the following descriptions, senior civilians are grouped with senior officers most of the time due to their small number.

Table 10.1 Rank Distribution of the PLA Women
1992 Survey (N=230)

Rank	Sub-category		Frequency		Percentage	
Senior Civilian (Occupational Specialist)	C5		1		0.4	
	C6		2		0.9	
	C7		10		4.3	
subtotal			13		5.6	
Senior Officer	Colonel	C8	13	9	5.7	3.9
	Lt. Col.	C9	13	17	5.7	7.4
	Major	C10	2	16	0.9	7.0
subtotal			28	42	12.3	18.3
Junior Officer	Captain	C11	10	12	4.3	5.2
	First Lt.	C12	16	11	7.0	4.8
	Sec. Lt.	C13	6	11	2.6	4.8
subtotal			32	34	13.9	14.8
Enlisted Personnel	Sergeant		5		2.2	
	Corporal		13		5.7	
	Private		40		17.4	
	Cadet		23		10.0	
subtotal			81		35.3	
Total			230		100.0	

Key:

1. Lt. Col.: Lieutenant Colonel.
2. First Lt.: First Lieutenant.
3. Sec. Lt.: Second Lieutenant.

Service Distribution

The result of this survey is similar to the findings of focus group interviews and my personal observations that there are higher concentrations of PLA women soldiers in the Army (34.3%) and the headquarters of the PLA (the three general departments: 43.9%), even though the sample was not drawn in a way that would guarantee representativeness. Table 10.2 on the following page presents the service distribution of this sample.

Table 10.2 Service Distribution of the PLA Women

1992 Survey (N=230)

Service	Frequency	Percent
Army	79	34.3
Air Force	19	8.3
Navy	31	13.5
General Staff Department	85	37.0
General Political Department	10	4.3
General Logistics Department	6	2.6
Total	230	100.0

Service Length

Women soldiers have the same minimum length of service as their male counterparts: four years for the Navy, three years for the Air Force, and two years for the Army. There are a few career women soldiers who serve longer terms among Chinese enlisted. Female cadets and women officers in this sample served much longer than enlisted personnel. Figure 10.1 shows the distribution of the service length of the PLA women in my 1992 survey.

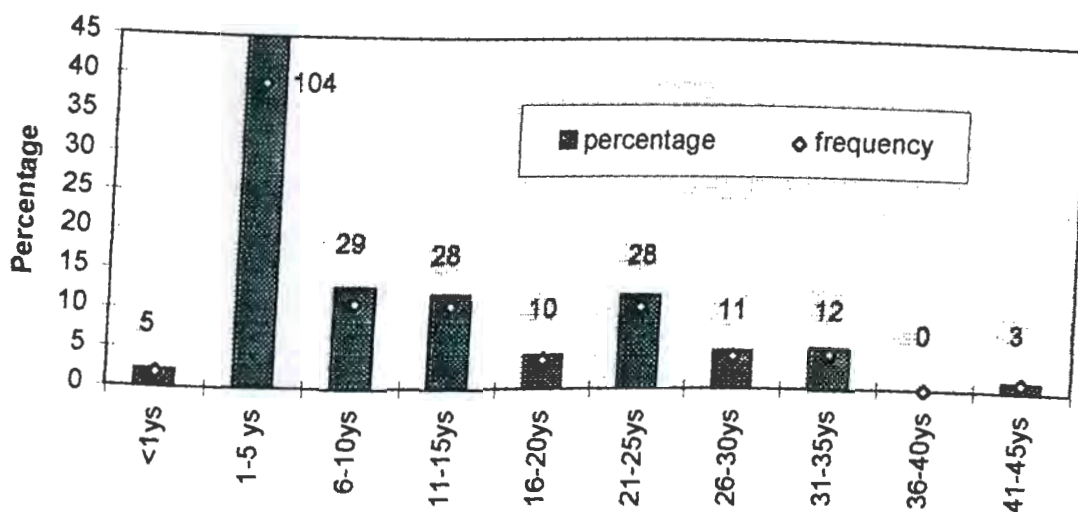


Figure 10.1 Service Length of the PLA Women 1992 Survey (N=230)

Fifteen (6.5%) of these women served more than 30 years. One hundred and six (46.1%) women served between 6 to 30 years. One hundred and four (45.2%) served between 1 and 5 years, while 5 (2.2%) served less than 1 year at the time of the survey.

Nobody in this sample served for the range of 36 to 40 years. This is probably due to the fact that many women soldiers were discharged during the 1952 to 1956 period when the PLA implemented the regularization program after the Korean War.³ There was probably no recruitment of women soldiers for that period. In addition, according to one official source (Organization Division, 1990), the PLA started to draft women in the winter of 1967 with the first cohort of 7500 recruits. This means that before the year 1967, there was no formal recruitment of women nationwide.

³ The author's mother was discharged against her will in this period together with many veteran women officers, for which the whole generation of Anti-Japanese women soldiers has a resentful feeling. They feel that their contributions in the wartime are not appreciated. Their promotion in the civilian sector were slowed down by the change too. Only a few female professionals such as medical personnel, actresses, etc., remained in the military. A few wives of high ranking officers managed to remain too.

Six Traditional Occupational Categories

Most Chinese military women serve in traditional female roles, as medical workers, administrative personnel, communications specialists, logistic support staff, political and propaganda workers, scientific researchers and technicians.

Enlisted women are mostly concentrated in telephone companies as switchboard operators at and above the army level. Some are assigned to intelligence units and work as map makers, or data entry personnel. A few enlisted women begin their service as typists and are then organized into either squads or platoons, depending on the size of the headquarters to which they are assigned. Most women career soldiers work as nurses in medical facilities, together with senior nurses who have already been promoted to officer's rank if they have remained in the service long enough. According to statistics provided by the General Logistics Department, 70.6% of all Chinese military women worked at medical facilities in 1990 (Organization Division, 1990).

Until the end of 1992, the Chinese Air Force had trained 290 women pilots in seven cohorts; the first cohort of 55 graduated in 1952 (The State Report, 1994). None of them has been assigned to combat, although a few have become test pilots. Most are working either in transportation units or in flight training schools. Some of them became backbones of new regional commercial airlines after their retirements from the military. There are no women on military ships in the Chinese Navy, with the exception of a few

assigned to two medical ships last year.⁴ Women in the Navy usually serve as scientists, instructors, engineers, technicians, and medical personnel.

The 1992 sample indicates a wider job distribution among these women (see Table 10.3 on page 353). Among the 213 women who reported their job titles, 23 (10.8%) were commanders and administrative officers, 74 (34.7%) worked as scientific researchers and technicians, 29 (13.6%) worked as medical personnel, and 6 (2.8%) were actresses. The 23 (10.8%) cadets were also cultural workers since they were future actresses under training, and occasionally, they performed for the troops. This led to the calculation that 13.6% of the women in this sample were cultural workers, similar to the percentage of medical personnel. As for the other 58 enlisted personnel, some of them were communication specialists, some of them belonged to the category of logistic support.

In this sample, there were also 2 women reporters, 1 assistant attorney, 5 translators and 2 assistant translators, who were grouped under the category of research and education. The 4 administrative officers (2 section directors, 2 deputy directors) were senior civilians (c7 to c5), whose rank equals the brigade commander's level.

Among the 17 women who did not tell their job titles, 13 were civilians, 1 was a lieutenant colonel, and 3 were soldiers.

⁴ A Chinese military ship brought a group of women military artists to visit US military seaports for the first time in the late 1980s.

**Table 10.3 Job Distribution of the PLA Women
1992 SURVEY (N=230)**

Variables (Title)	Frequency	Percent
Command	8	3.5
Battalion Commander	1	0.4
Deputy Battalion Commander	1	0.4
Company Commander	1	0.4
Deputy Company Commander	4	1.7
Platoon Leader	1	0.4
Administrative	15	6.5
Section Director	2	0.9
Deputy Director	2	0.9
Assistant Accountant	1	0.4
Staff	10	4.3
Research & Education	37	16.1
Researcher	2	0.9
Associate Researcher	1	0.4
Assistant Researcher	8	3.5
Research Intern	11	4.8
Translator	5	2.2
Assistant Translator	2	0.9
Instructor	4	1.7
Assistant Instructor	1	0.4
Assistant Attorney	1	0.4
Reporter	2	0.9
Engineering and Technology	37	16.1
Engineer	20	8.7
Assistant Engineer	13	5.7
Technician in Charge	1	0.4
Technician	3	1.3
Medical Personnel	29	12.6
Deputy Director Doctor	3	1.3
Doctor in Charge	11	4.8
Doctor	2	0.9
Chief Nurse	4	1.7
Nurse	9	3.9
Cultural Worker	6	2.6
Actress	6	2.6
Enlisted Personnel	81	35.2
Squad Leader	7	3.0
Corporal	8	3.5
Telephone Operator	3	1.3
Soldier	40	17.4
Cadet	23	10.0
No Information	17	7.4
Total	230	100.0

Age Distribution

Figure 10.2 shows the age distribution of 200 women in the sample, while 30 women chose not to tell their ages. These quantitative results are consistent with the findings from focus group interviews, that most Chinese military women are young or middle-aged. In this sample, the youngest was 11 and the oldest was 59 years old in 1992.

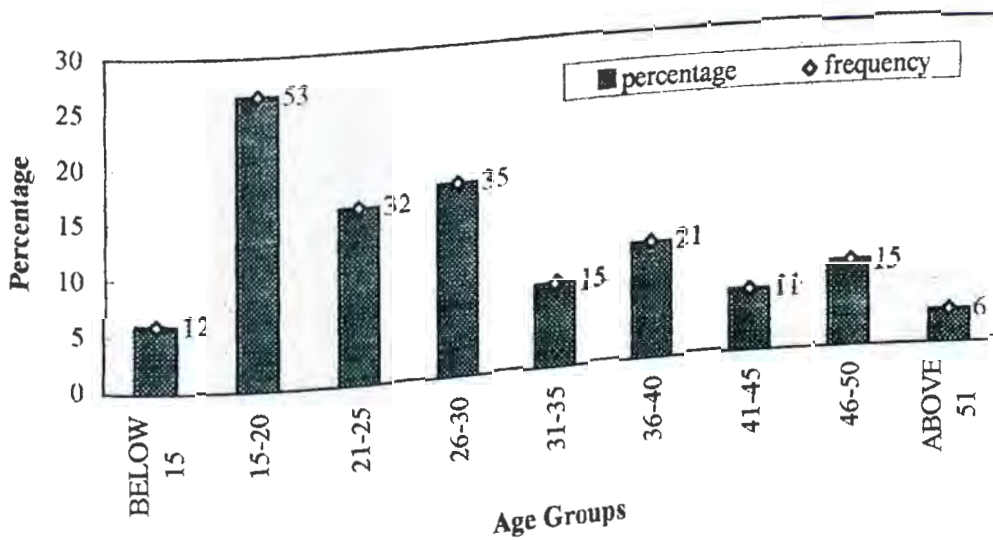


Figure 10.2 Age Distribution of the PLA Women
1992 Survey (N=200)

Geographic & Ethnic Origins

Most women in this sample originally came from city areas (94.4%) (see Table 10.4 on the following page).

This is different from most periods of the post Opium-War time span except the 1911 revolution: most women participants in wartime and revolutions were from the

**Table 10.4 Geographic & Ethnic Origin of the PLA Women
1992 Survey (N=230)**

Origin	Frequency	Percentage
From City	217	94.3
From Countryside	10	4.3
Unknown	3	1.3
Total	230	99.9

countryside, except the 1911 revolution when most of the participants were intellectual women from cities. Comparison with the 40 ancient women warriors is difficult: 1) only 1 of the 9 women commanders was from the countryside; 2) however, 6 of the 7 women uprising leaders were from the countryside; 3) as for the 24 defenders, only 1 was defending her estate in the countryside, all others were city defenders, but there is no information about their geographic origin.

In terms of ethnic background, 98% of the women in the PLA sample were Han.

Family Background

One hundred and ninety women in my 1992 survey reported their fathers' jobs, among whom 42 (22.1%) were military officers, and 63 (33.2%) were governmental officials. More than half of these military women were from officers' or officials' families. This shows a similar pattern to the 40 ancient women warriors. However, only a small proportion of the 677 women identified for the post Opium-War period had information about their family background--either due to the inherent nature of data

collected for the time periods of wars and revolutions, or due to other factors, for example, the existence of a national emergency that brought women from all kinds of family background into military operations. This makes the comparison between these two periods difficult. If the 100 year post Opium-War period is considered an unusual time span compared with the 3000 year history of China, it may be observed that Chinese officers and officials' daughters are more likely to serve in the military, particularly in regular formations and during peacetime, given the higher percentage of military women from officers and officials' families both in ancient and modern times.

Education

Like their male counterparts, many military women are educated at military colleges and schools. Prior to 1979, the best soldiers were selected for further training and education before their promotion to officer, although college education was not required for promotion. At the same time, most Chinese military colleges and schools recruit women cadets directly from society, which has been a regular practice since the beginning of the 1980s. High school graduates in both the cities and the country are, officially, given the same opportunity to apply. Cadets in military schools are categorized as "enlisted," while the military colleges train junior officers. Women military technical officers are either trained at military colleges or commissioned after graduation from civilian colleges.

The rationale for recruiting women cadets for medical, foreign language, and military arts college is obvious: traditionally and conventionally, women are regarded as

suitable for working as medical personnel, interpreters and translators, and cultural workers within the military. For the missile and technical intelligence colleges, there is another, un-stated purpose: most graduates of these colleges will be assigned to remote areas for long-time service, and finding marital partners has been a problem for many future officers.⁵ Thus military leaders in charge of these educational facilities have a policy of regularly recruiting a certain proportion of women cadets.⁶

Most Chinese military doctors are trained by military medical colleges, in which normal training takes four years. This means that a typical Chinese military medical doctor, like medical doctors in the civilian sector, has four years of college or quasi-college training, although some doctors have been promoted from a nurse's position because of their seniority and contributions in the service. In contrast, during the two decades surrounding the period of the cultural revolution, so-called "Bare Foot Doctors" 赤脚医生, with little if any formal medical training, practiced in rural areas and local communities. Even today, compared with their civilian counterparts, Chinese military medical doctors generally have more stable patterns of formal training.

Postgraduate education has been provided nationwide at key universities since 1977, and the military medical colleges have followed suit. Ph.D. and Master's degrees were obtained by 589 military women at these military institutions from 1978 to 1987. Continuous training in medicine has resulted in 55 percent of Chinese women military

⁵ Given the constant 48% of female gender in the past four decades, and the bigger proportion of senior female citizens, a conservative prediction is that in the coming two decades, about 40 million Chinese men will not have marital partners (Zhuang, 1991). This is certainly another unstable factor in Chinese society.

⁶ Information obtained through focus group interviews.

doctors having at least a Bachelor's degree, and 616 women had earned the title of associate professor or associate researcher by the end of 1987 (Organization Division, 1990).

The 1992 data on education level at entrance into service of the 230 women in my sample shows that 17% of them were college graduates, 38% were high school graduates, while 11% were high school students. This means 66% of these women had obtained education of high school and above when they were recruited. Another 14% graduated from middle school before participating, and 8% were middle school students. Only 7% were elementary school graduates, who were mainly recruited as cadets to be trained in the military art college.

The relationship between age and current education of these PLA women is positive and statistically significant (Chi -square=94.747, $p < 0.001$): the older the PLA women, the higher education level they achieved.

Table 10.5 on the following page provides a more detailed picture: the age group of 21 to 30 was the largest subgroup. It also had more graduate students. The other middle aged subgroups had similar percentage of college educated women while the highest percentage was recorded for the oldest age group.

Table 10.6 presents the cross-tabulation of these women's service duration by current education. The relationship between the service duration and current education of these PLA women is positive and statistically significant (Chi -square=43.888, $p < 0.001$): the longer the PLA women served, the higher education level they achieved.

**Table 10.5 The PLA Women's Age By Current Education
1992 Survey (N=198)**

Frequency	Up to	21-30	31-40	41-50	51 & older	Total
Col Pct	20					
Secondary	58 92.1	13 19.4	8 22.2	5 19.2	1 16.7	85 43
College	3 4.8	44 65.7	25 69.4	18 69.2	5 83.3	95 48
Graduate	2 3.2	10 14.9	3 8.3	3 11.5	0	18 9
Total	63	67	36	26	6	198
Col Pct	100.1	100	99.9	99.9	100	100
Row Pct	31.8	33.8	18.2	13.1	3	

**Table 10.6 The PLA Women's Service Duration By Current Education
1992 Survey (N=226)**

Service Duration	Current Education			Total
	Secondary	College	Graduate	
Frequency				
Row Pct				
Up to 4 Years	57 69.5	15 18.3	10 12.2	82
5 to 10 Years	23 45.1	25 49.0	3 5.9	51
11 to 20 Years	9 25.7	25 71.4	1 2.9	35
21 to 30 Years	7 17.5	30 75.0	3 7.5	40
More than 30 Y.	4 22.2	12 66.7	2 11.1	18
Total	100 44.2	107 47.3	19 8.4	226 100.0

However, an interesting result of this cross tabulation is that 10 (12.2%) women who served only 4 years or less had Master degrees in 1992. In other words, more than half of the 19 women who achieved the graduate study level belonged to the shortest service

duration category. It may reflect a recent tendency that the PLA has tried to commission higher educated women during its modernization process. More research is needed to obtain more conclusive results. This cross tabulation shows that women who served between 21 and 30 years having the highest percentage of college education, while women who served 4 years or less were in the lowest education category. Seventy one percent of women who served between 11 and 20 years had college education, while 67% of women who had served more than 30 years achieved the same educational level.

Table 10.7 is a further cross-tabulation of these PLA women's rank by current education. Again, the relationship between rank and current education is positive and statistically significant (Chi-square=118.405, $p < 0.001$). The data indicate that the higher these women's ranks, the higher the education level they achieved. There was a positive relationship between these women's rank and their education level. In addition, junior officers in this sample had the highest percentage of graduate students, who corresponded with the age group of 21 to 30. This is probably due to the fact that individual's age has been an important factor in considering post college education. The age limit for application for graduate studies was set at 45 in the late 1970s when the country resumed its post college education programs.

The survey data indicate that one woman obtained a Ph.D. degree after joining the military and 15 obtained Master's Degrees (7%), while 2 were studying in doctoral programs and 1 in a Master's program when the questionnaire was administrated. It is

more important to note that the percentage of college graduates increased to 41% from the 17% entrance data, while 6% were studying in colleges. All these produce a picture that women's education achievements can be positively related to their military service, and the relationship is significant. Further observations will be offered in the conclusion chapter.

**Table 10.7 The PLA Women's Rank By Current Education
1992 Survey (N=226)**

Rank	Current Education			Total
	Secondary	College	Graduate	
Frequency				
Row Pct				
Senior Officer	16.0	58.0	8.0	82.0
	19.5	70.7	9.8	100.0
Junior Officer	10.0	45.0	9.0	64.0
	15.6	70.3	14.1	100.0
Cadet	21.0	1.0	0.0	22.0
	95.5	4.5	0.0	100.0
Enlisted	53.0	3.0	2.0	58.0
	91.4	5.2	3.4	100.0
Total	100.0	107.0	19.0	226.0
	44.2	47.3	8.4	99.9

Participation in Wartime and Peacetime Operations

Military Operations

Since 1949, military women have not been formally assigned to combat roles, either in the Korean War or in the four border military conflicts,¹ although a small proportion participated in these military operations as medical doctors, nurses, telephone

¹ These border conflict are: Sino-India border conflict in 1962; Sino-Soviet border conflict in 1969; South China Sea Sino-Vietnam conflict in 1974; and Sino-Vietnam border conflict in 1979.

operators, reporters, and cultural workers.

Forty years after the Korean War, it is still difficult to locate any historical documents about Chinese women's participation in that war. One of my personal acquaintances broadcast on the radio in English to American soldiers at the front during the Korean War. As an active duty officer, her service was a part of the psychological warfare launched by the Chinese Volunteer Army (CVA). Most women served as medical personnel in that war, while some enlisted actresses as well as civilian artists performed at the front for the CVA soldiers. There are some reports of Chinese women POWs who were humiliated and raped by their captors. Most of these women have been ostracized, as have most returned Chinese POWs. This makes investigation more difficult (Feng, 1990; Yie, 1990). On the other hand, military women were among other decorated heroes who crossed the Yalu River and came back in triumph.

In the Sino-Vietnam border conflict of 1979, women's participation was on a larger scale. There were "March 8th Rescue Teams," "March 8th Service Teams," and "March 8th Propaganda Teams."² Women's telecommunication units were located inside the fire zones and kept the lines open at all times. Women doctors and nurses not only treated the wounded soldiers at the medical clinic, but also went to the front to carry them back. Some of them went to the front against orders after their requests were

² There is a tendency in China to name women's organizations "March 8th . . ." (The International Labor Women's Day), because on that day most of the model women workers were publicized. The All-China Federation of Women has had an ongoing campaign for "March 8th Red Banners" since the 1950s. To be a "March 8th Red Banner" means that the individual is officially recognized nationwide for her outstanding status and achievement.

denied repeatedly by the commanders.³ Some military women were assigned to guard Vietnamese POWs. Cultural workers were frequently sent to the front to perform for the combatants. One of the major functions of military women in the battlefield was cohesion building and morale boosting. The mere presence of these military women was such a major boost to morale for the entire force that they were called "battlefield goddesses," "entrenchment angels," or "foxhole larks."

Ten (4%) out of the total 230 PLA women in the sample indicated that they had combat experiences (see Table 10.8 on the following page). Six of the women in the sample participated in combat directly, while four had been to combat zones.⁴ Three (50%) of these women combat participants were medical personnel (1 doctor, 1 doctor intern, and 1 nurse intern); the other 2 were enlisted women (1 squad leader, 1 soldier). One did not indicate her title and place of combat participation, probably due to reasons of military secrecy.

It is also worth noting that the times and places of some of these women's combat participation were unanticipated. One indicated that her combat was on January 3, 1970 in Laos, a foreign country.⁵ The other indicated that she participated in combat on January 3, 1979 in Beijing.⁶

³ It is reported that commanders of all levels had a unified "protective" attitude toward the issue of allowing women to the front (Zhang et al, eds., 1992).

⁴ Since 3 of the 6 combat participants answered both the combat participation question (Question 12, see Appendix II) and the combat zone presence question (Question 13) "yes", but indicating the same time and place for their combat experiences, I decided to record them only once as combat participants.

⁵ The military operation in which she was involved was probably related to the logistic support line to Vietnamese communists through Laos' territory during the Vietnam War period.

⁶ Since this person worked in the technical reconnaissance unit in the suburbs of Beijing, and the highest level of military alert has been regarded as combat status in the peace-time PLA, I assumed that

The 3 women who had been to combat zones had been to the Yunnan combat zones on January 7, 1986, May 8, 1989 and January 8, 1990 separately. Only one of these three was known as a nurse. The woman reporter went to the combat zone in Tibet on January 6, 1990.

Table 10.8 The PLA Women's Combat Experiences (N=230)

Variables	Frequency	Percentage
Combat Participation	6	2.6
Combat Zone Experience	4	1.7
Total	10	4.3

Key:

1. N=230
2. Job assignments of these ten PLA women: 1 medical doctor, 1 intern doctor, 1 nurse, 1 intern nurse, 1 reporter, 1 squad leader, 1 soldier, 3 did not tell their job assignments.
3. Two participated in combat at Laoshan along the border between China and Vietnam (1 on Jan. 6, 1986, 1 on Jan. 8, 1987); 1 participated in combat at Beijing on Jan. 3, 1979; 1 participated in combat at Kunming on Jan. 4, 1979; 1 participated combat in Laos on Jan. 3, 1970. One's combat place was unknown.
4. Three went to Yunnan combat zones on Jan. 7, 1986, Jan. 8, 1990 and May 8, 1989 separately. The female military reporter went to the combat zone in Tibet on Jan. 6, 1990.

From the secondary literature, another important note is that some women combat participants indicated that their effort to go to the front was not for promotion but for wanting to be heroines. All were prepared to die when they submitted their requests to go. Some went to the front for a different reason. An army commander had ordered all officers who were from military families to go to the front, so that no single soldier in his army would think that military officers' descendants could have special treatment by not being assigned the combat role. Twenty five women personnel of this particular army, who were daughters of officers and officials, many of whom were also

she had legitimately regarded her duty in the technical reconnaissance unit during the combat alert time as direct combat participation.

wives of officers, used this order as an excuse, and all went to the front (Zhang, eds., 1992).

Peacetime Operations

In peacetime, Chinese women soldiers serve in traditional female roles, as already discussed. The most measurable contribution of women soldiers in peacetime operations has been in scientific research and development. This is also the field in which women have the highest officer/enlisted ratio among them (93% are officers and civilians according to the State Report, 1994).

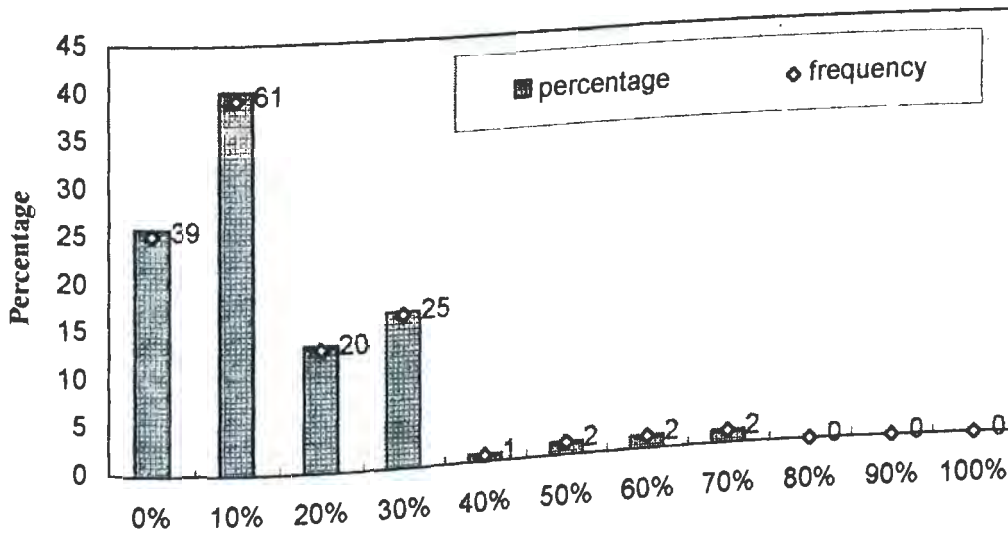
Female scientists and technicians contribute significantly to defense industry and technical development. In 1987 alone, 42 percent of the rewarded scientific and technical innovations by military personnel included women participants. A total of 1,223 women scientists have been recognized for their innovations from 1978 to 1987, and in Strategic Missiles Troops, women scientists have participated in 192 key research projects of which 4 have been completed independently by women. The State Report points out 3,000 scientific awards to military women since 1985, including 1,832 3rd Class State Awards, which is half of the total number of scientific awards.

Expectations of Combat Participation

In my 1992 survey, subjects were asked "what are the chances that you will participate in combat in the future?" (question 22). In addition to the choices of "I don't

know" and "does not apply, I plan to retire", these women were asked to predict the likelihood of their combat participation from 0% (no chance) to 100% (certain).

Figure 10.3 illustrates the distribution of these women's expectations. Few women in this sample predicted high possibilities (50% to 70%), while nobody selected the highest (80% to 100%) possibilities.



**Figure 10.3 Combat Expectation of the PLA Women
1992 Survey (N=152)**

Women of different age groups had a similar pattern in their expectations: most predicted low possibilities. Four of the 6 high possibility (50% to 90%) predictors were middle-aged (aged 21 to 35). Twenty one decided this was not applicable to them, while 42 women chose "I don't know".

The cross-tabulation between rank and combat expectation (see Table 10.9 on the following page) shows 75% of the senior officers expected low possibilities, while the groups of junior officers and enlisted personnel had the similar patterns of

expectation. More than half of the cadets expected no possibility of combat participation at all. Ten percent of junior officers selected high possibilities which was different from the group of senior officers. The relationship between the subject's rank and her expectation in this case is statistically significant (Chi-square =39.336, $p < 0.001$).

**Table 10.9 The PLA Women's Rank By Combat Expectation
1992 Survey (N= 152)**

Rank	Combat Expectation				Total
	0%	Low	High	100%	
Frequency					
Row Pct					
Senior Officer	15.0 23.4	48.0 75.0	1.0 1.6	0.0 0.0	64.0 100.0
Junior Officer	5.0 16.7	22.0 73.3	3.0 10.0	0.0 0.0	30.0 100.0
Cadet	9.0 52.9	8.0 47.1	0.0 0.0	0.0 0.0	17.0 100.0
Enlisted	10.0 24.4	29.0 70.7	2.0 4.9	0.0 0.0	41.0 100.0
Total	39.0 25.7	107.0 70.4	6.0 3.9	0.0 0.0	152.0 100.0

Promotion and Career Predictions

Women officers in the PLA are promoted either from the enlisted ranks or commissioned upon graduation from military school or civilian college. In China, officers are generally categorized as commanders, staff, political officers, and technical officers. The majority of Chinese women officers are technical officers (such as doctors, nurses, engineers, translators, and map makers, etc.) who have been switched to civilian status and have a slower promotion pace (five years for civilians compared to three for

active duty officers). There are also women commanders, staff, and political officers who have been promoted to colonels and generals due to their seniority and merit.

In the first cohort of generals designated in 1955 after over twenty years of war (from the founding of the PLA in 1927 to the end of the Korean War), there was only one woman Major General, Li Zhen (see Table 8.4 #43). In September 1988, five more women generals were designated (their pictures are shown in Appendix IV). Two of them are vice presidents of the military medical colleges; one is vice president of the military language college; one is the president of the General Hospital of the Army; and one is the deputy director of the Technology Committee of Defense Science and Industry. The number had increased to 8 when I conducted the survey in Beijing in 1992.⁷ At present, there are 12 female generals (1 lieutenant general, 11 major generals),⁸ all professionals who have made military service their life long career. The women generals I interviewed have all served in the military for thirty years or more. The colonels have served at least 22 years or more. One general told me that she joined the PLA in 1947. She has the highest seniority among the second cohort of Chinese women generals.

⁷ These Chinese women generals are: Hu Feipei 胡斐佩, vice-president of Luo Yang Military Foreign Language Institute; Liao Wenhai 廖文海, president of #301 General Hospital of the Army; Li Xikai 李希楷, vice-president of #3 Military Medical College; Nie Li 聂力, Marshal Nie Rongzhen's only daughter, vice chair of Science and Technology Committee, Commission of Science, Technology & Industry for National Defense; Peng Gang 彭刚, Marshal Peng Dehuai's niece, Vice-chair of Discipline and Inspection Committee of the Department of General Political Work of the PLA; Qiao Peijuan 乔佩娟, vice-president of the Military Arts College; Wu Xiaoheng 吴晓恒, vice-president of #1 Military Medical College; Zhao Zhiwen 赵织雯, vice-president of International Relations Institute.

⁸ Only two of the four new women generals are identified by this author: Wang Xiaotang 王晓棠, a famous movie star and the Vice President of the Military Studio, and Deng Xianqun 邓先群, Deng Xiaoping's step sister, Minister of Mass Work of the GPD.

It may be too early to predict whether promotions to women general will keep this pace in the future. On one hand, the officer/enlisted ratio is very high in favor of the women officers, most of whom are still young or middle-aged, and most of whom are professionals who have already served in the military for a long period. There should be a large enough pool of women senior officers for promotion to women general. On the other hand, many specialists have been changed to civilians whose chance of being promoted to the position of general has been reduced to zero. Only commanders at the top of the chain have the opportunity. This will cause problems and complaints in the future when more and more civilians will accumulate equivalent service length to the younger cohort of women generals.

Promotion Expectations

Twice the subjects in my 1992 survey were asked to predict their promotion opportunities. One question asks "what do you think your chances are of being promoted to the next higher position (class)?" (question 23) The other question asks "what do you think your chances are of being promoted to female general during your career?" Similar to the prediction of combat participation, subjects were asked to select 0% (no chance) to 100% (certain) in addition to the choices of "does not apply, I plan to retire" and "I don't know". Figure 10. 4 on the following page shows these women's expectations of their promotion.

Thirteen women (6%) selected "not applicable", while 58 (25%) selected "I don't know". Among the 159 women who answered this question, 9 (6%) predicted no promotion opportunities, 67 (42%) predicted low possibilities (10% to 40%), while 51 (32%) predicted high possibilities (50% to 90%). Thirty two (20%) were 100% sure they would be promoted. In other words, slightly more than one fourth of these women did not know whether they would be promoted or not. More than one third of the remainders predicted low possibilities, while about one third predicted high possibilities. One fifth were certain about their promotion.

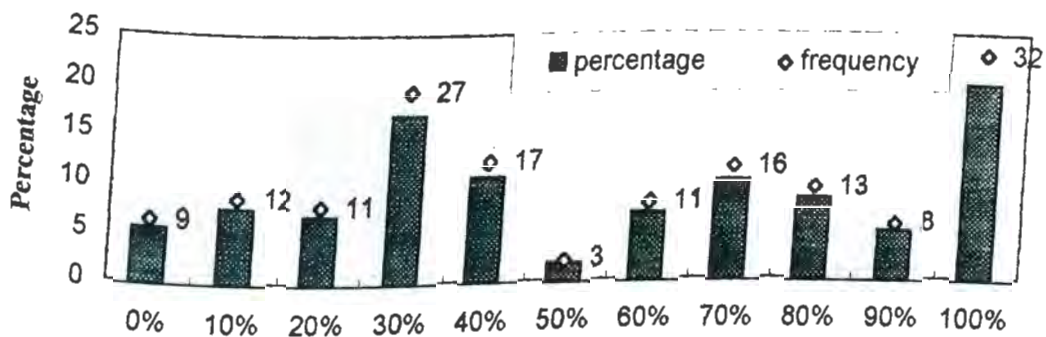


Figure 10.4 Promotion Prediction of the PLA Women (1992 Survey N=159)

Internal comparison provides more information. Table 10.10 provides cross tabulation between age and the promotion prediction. The relationship is statistically significant (Chi-square=41.025, $p < 0.001$).

Twelve selected "not applicable" while 47 women selected "I don't know". Thirty women did not tell their ages. This leaves to 141 cases for this internal comparison. Few young women predicted high possibilities compared with the middle

and oldest women, while 5 of the 7 no possibility predictors were youngest women. This is probably due to the fact that young enlisted personnel do not expect promotion

**Table 10.10 The PLA Women's Age by Promotion Expectation
1992 Survey (N=141)**

Age	Promotion Expectation				Total
	0%	Low	High	100%	
Frequency					
Row Pct	0%	Low	High	100%	Total
Youngest	5.0	15.0	5.0	11.0	36.0
	13.9	41.7	13.9	30.6	100.1
Middle	1.0	20.0	24.0	15.0	60.0
	1.7	33.3	40.0	25.0	100.0
Oldest	1.0	21.0	20.0	3.0	45.0
	2.2	46.7	44.4	6.7	100.0
Total	7.0	56.0	49.0	29.0	141.0
	5.0	39.7	34.8	20.6	100.1

according to the new system starting 1987 that enlisted have fewer chances to be promoted to officers. However, 31% of the youngest women selected the 100% possibility, which reflects the fact that most cadets expected promotion (see the following cross tabulation). As for the oldest age group, these women almost split between high possibility predictors and low possibility selectors.

Table 10.11 provides cross tabulation between rank and the promotion prediction. It shows that senior officers were split almost equally over their low or high predictions, which reflects the pattern of oldest group reported above. Thirty five percent of the junior officers predicted 100% chance of their promotion, while another 30% predicted high possibilities. Sixty three percent of women cadets were 100% sure of their promotion, while another 25% predicted high possibilities. As for the enlisted

women, 66% predicted low possibilities, while 24% of them predicted no possibility at all. The relationship between these women's rank and promotion prediction is statistically significant (Chi-square=86.843, $p < 0.001$).

**Table 10.11 The PLA Women's Rank By Promotion Expectation
1992 Survey (N= 159)**

Rank	Promotion Expectation				Total
	0%	Low	High	100%	
Frequency					
Row Pct					
Senior Officer	2.0	30.0	31.0	5.0	68.0
	2.9	44.1	45.6	7.4	100.0
Junior Officer	0.0	16.0	14.0	16.0	46.0
	0.0	34.8	30.4	34.8	100.0
Cadet	0.0	2.0	4.0	10.0	16.0
	0.0	12.5	25.0	62.5	100.0
Enlisted	7.0	19.0	2.0	1.0	29.0
	24.1	65.5	6.9	3.4	99.9
Total	9.0	67.0	51.0	32.0	159.0
	5.7	42.1	32.1	20.1	100.0

The subjects were also asked to express their expectations of becoming a woman general in the future. Fifty two (22.6%) selected "I don't know", while 17 (7.4%) decided this was not applicable to them. Among the remaining 161 respondents, 107 (66.5%) believed there was no chance for them to become a woman general in the future. 43 (26.7%) predicted low possibilities, while only 11 (6.8%) predicted high possibilities. Nobody selected the 90% or 100% choices. In other words, nobody was certain she may become a general in the future.

Figure 10.5 illustrates these women's prediction of becoming a woman general in the future.

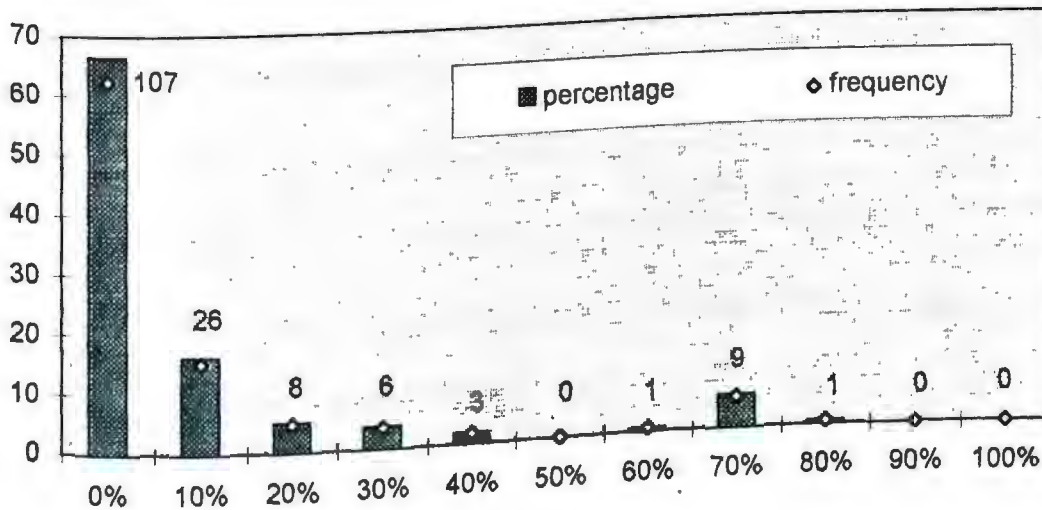


Figure 10.5 The PLA Women's Prediction of Being A Woman General in the Future, 1992 Survey N=161

Table 10.12 provides cross tabulation between age and prediction of becoming a female general in the future. The relationship is statistically significant (Chi-square=28.456, $p < 0.001$).

Table 10.12 The PLA Women's Age By Expectation of Becoming a General 1992 Survey (N= 144)

Age	Expectation of Becoming A General				Total
	0%	Low	High	100%	
Frequency					
Row Pct	0%			0.0	41.0
Youngest	23.0	13.0	5.0	0.0	100.0
	56.1	31.7	12.2	0.0	57.0
Middle	35.0	17.0	5.0	0.0	100.0
	61.4	29.8	8.8	0.0	46.0
Oldest	40.0	5.0	1.0	0.0	100.1
	87.0	10.9	2.2	0.0	144.0
Total	98.0	35.0	11.0	0.0	100.0
	68.1	24.3	7.6		

Most women predicted no possibilities of becoming a woman general in the future. There is an inverse linear relationship between age and expectation. However, this cross tabulation presents an interesting difference: most women in the oldest age group expected no possibility of becoming a woman general, while some women of the other two age groups predicted low possibilities, and 5 of the youngest women and 5 of the middle aged expected high possibilities.

Table 10.13 provides cross tabulation between rank and the expectations of becoming a woman general. The relationship is positive and statistically significant (Chi-square=54.355, $p < 0.001$). It shows similar patterns among the groups of officers and enlisted personnel, but a different one for the group of cadets: 36% of them predicted high possibilities and half of them predicted low possibilities. The group of junior officers was slightly different from the senior officers on this question: 37% of junior officers predicted low possibilities, while the percentage for senior officers was only 15%. The group of enlisted women was overwhelmingly negative on this question: 69% predicted no possibility, while 28% predicted low possibilities.

The rate of promotion of women officers cannot be compared to their male counterparts, especially for commanders and staff, because they have fewer chances, if any, to command military operations. For technical officers such as scientists, engineers, and medical doctors, promotion is primarily based on their seniority and contributions, and its main effect is on their incomes. Since 1977, many women officers have retired

from the military to try to advance faster in the civilian sector, because the universal Chinese scale makes rank and salary convertible for all government employed officials.

**Table 10.13 The PLA Women's Rank By General Prediction
1992 Survey (N=161)**

Rank	Expectation of Becoming A General				Total
	0%	Low	High	100%	
Frequency					
Row Pct					
Senior Officer	56.0	10.0	2.0	0.0	68.0
	82.4	14.7	2.9	0.0	100.0
Junior Officer	24.0	16.0	3.0	0.0	43.0
	55.8	37.2	7.0	0.0	100.0
Cadet	2.0	7.0	5.0	0.0	14.0
	14.3	50.0	35.7	0.0	100.0
Enlisted	25.0	10.0	1.0	0.0	36.0
	69.4	27.8	2.8	0.0	100.0
Total	107.0	43.0	11.0	0.0	161.0
	66.5	26.7	6.8	0.0	100.0

Finding a Job in the Civilian Sector

Subjects were also asked to predict their opportunities to find a good job in civilian sector after retirement. The relevant question asks: "Suppose you were in the process of retiring from the military, what do you think are the chances that you may find a good job in the civilian sector?" (question 49). Figure 10.6 on the following page displays these women's predictions of finding a good job in the civilian sector. Fewer than half of the women predicted that it was likely that they might have a good job in the civilian sector after service (41 [18%] thought that it was 100% possible while another 60 [26%] chose 50% to 90% possibilities; 14 [6%] thought there was no chance for

them to find a good job in the civilian sector after the service, while 69 [30%] chose 10% to 40% possibilities).

Table 10.14 on the following page shows the results of a cross tabulation between the subjects' ages and their prediction of obtaining good jobs in the civilian sector after retirement. The relationship is negative and statistically significant (Chi-square= 17.094, $p < 0.029$). Among the youngest women, nobody predicted no possibility while slightly more than half of them predicted low possibilities. In contrast to this age group, more middle aged women predicted high possibilities with 7% of them being 100% sure. The oldest women in this sample were the most negative group: 16% of them predicted no possibility, while 59% predicted low. In other words, although half of these women predicted low possibilities in finding a good job in the civilian sector, their predictions were different between different age groups.

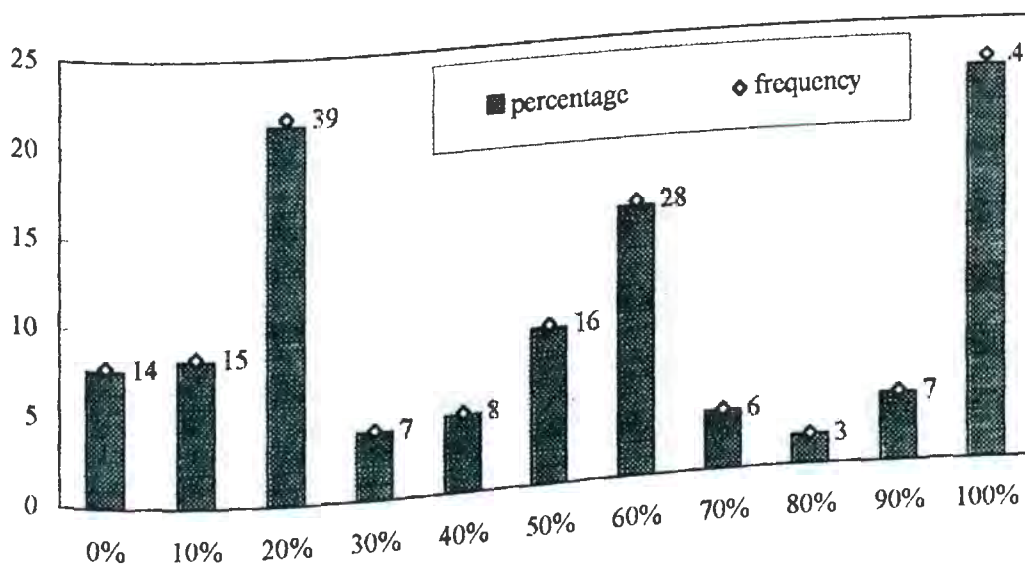


Figure 10.6 The PLA Women's Prediction of Finding a Good Job in Civilian Section 1992 Survey (N=230)

**Table 10.14 The PLA Women's Age By Better Civilian Job Expectation
1992 Survey (N=139)**

Age	Better Civilian Job Expectation				Total
	0%	Low	High	100%	
Frequency					
Row Pct	0.0	18.0	16.0	1.0	35.0
Youngest	0.0	51.4	45.7	2.9	100.0
Middle	3.0	25.0	28.0	4.0	60.0
	5.0	41.7	46.7	6.7	100.1
Oldest	7.0	26.0	9.0	2.0	44.0
	15.9	59.1	20.5	4.5	100.0
Total	10.0	69.0	53.0	7.0	139.0
	7.2	49.6	38.1	5.0	99.9

Table 10.15 provides results of a cross tabulation between subjects' ranks and their expectations of finding a good job in the civilian sector. The relationship is negative and statistically significant (Chi-Square=27.182, p<0.007).

**Table 10.15 The PLA Women's Rank and Finding a Good Civilian Job
Expectation 1992 Survey (N=153)**

Rank	Better Civilian Job Expectation				Total
	0%	Low	High	100%	
Frequency					
Row Pct	7.0	36.0	14.0	3.0	60.0
Senior Officer	11.7	60.0	23.3	5.0	100.0
Junior Officer	3.0	20.0	26.0	3.0	52.0
	5.8	38.5	50.0	5.8	100.1
Cadet	0.0	2.0	5.0	1.0	8.0
	0.0	25.0	62.5	12.5	100.0
Enlisted	0.0	17.0	16.0	0.0	33.0
	0.0	51.5	48.5	0.0	100.0
Total	10.0	75.0	61.0	7.0	153.0
	6.5	49.0	39.9	4.6	100.0

Overall, these PLA women had diversified predictions over the issue of finding a good job in the civilian sector after retirement. More senior officers expected low possibilities of finding good jobs in the civilian sector after retirement, while more junior officers expected high possibilities. No cadet and enlisted personnel selected 0% possibility, and the enlisted women were almost split equally between low and high possibility selectors.

Military Life

Subjects in the 1992 survey were asked questions about their marital status, number of children and relevant childcare arrangements, as well as personal income and monthly family expenses. In this section, information about these basic issues is dealt with first, followed by their own evaluations of their military lives.

Basic Information on PLA Women's Military Life

Income

Most enlisted personnel had monthly incomes of 99 RMB or lower. More civilians belonged to the 200 to 400 RMB income group. More than half (52.2%) of the officers belonged to the 100-199 RMB income group. This is probably due to the facts that senior civilians had served in the military more than thirty years and the salaries of military personnel go with seniority as well as rank.

Marriage and Family Status

Table 10.16 shows the marriage and family status of these PLA women.

**Table 10.16 Marriage and Family Status of the PLA Women
1992 Survey (N=207)**

<i>Categories</i>	<i>Frequency</i>	<i>Percent</i>
Married	105	50.7
Unmarried	96	46.4
Widow	3	1.4
Separated	1	0.5
Re-married	2	1.0
Total	207	100.0

In addition to the data listed in the table, the 1992 data indicate that 5 women were already married when they joined the military. Among the 105 married women, 66 (63%) women's husbands served in the military. Sixty three women's husbands served in the same service. This indicates a high proportion of inter-marriage between military personnel in this sample. As for spouse's support for women's military service, 88 (84% of married) PLA women had enjoyed their spouses' support.

Table 10.17 is a cross tabulation between number of children the subjects had and their ranks.

**Table 10.17 Number of Children By Rank of the PLA Women
1992 Survey (N=86)**

Rank	Number of Children					Total
	0.0	1.0	2.0	3.0	4.0	
Frequency						89.0
Row Pct						100.0
Civilian	32.0	46.0	8.0	2.0	1.0	60.0
	36.0	51.7	9.0	2.2	1.1	100.1
Officer	31.0	19.0	10.0	0.0	0.0	81.0
	51.7	31.7	16.7	0.0	0.0	100.0
Enlisted	81.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	230.0
	100.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	100.0
Total	144.0	65.0	18.0	2.0	1.0	100.0
	62.6	28.3	7.8	0.9	0.4	

It shows that no enlisted personnel in this sample had children.⁹ More than half of the civilians had only one child. More than half of the officers had no children.

Furthermore, when asked who was taking care of the children during the female member's absence, 11 (13% of those who had children) subjects said their spouses would take care of them; in 21 (24%) cases it was the grandparents; 1 relative took the job; and 5 (6%) had dry-nurses. Fourteen (16%) of the children had to take care of themselves. Unfortunately, the survey did not ask question about the age of PLA women's children.

As for the question of family monthly expenses, 116 (50.7%) did not tell their monthly family expenses. This is probably due to the reason that 96 of them were not married, and 23 did not tell about their marital status at all (see previous Table 10.16). Among the 113 who did provide their monthly family expenses, they were scattered over a range of 150 RMB to 900 RMB. The largest group was the 23 women whose family spent 400 RMB per month. Second to it was the 12 person 300 RMB expense group.

Gender Relationships Within the Military

There is one question in the 1992 survey which deals directly with the issue of gender relationships within the military. Subjects were asked to select one out of the five possible answers¹⁰ to the statement that "I am happy working together with male colleagues" (question 54-F). Table 10.18 presents the results of a cross tabulation

⁹ This reflects the PLA policy which discourages marriage for enlisted personnel and cadets.

¹⁰ The five choices are: strongly agree, agree, I don't know, disagree, strongly disagree.

between subjects' ranks and their evaluations of the gender relationship. The relationship is positive and statistically significant (Chi-square=36.684, p<0.001).

**Table 10.18 The PLA Women's Evaluations of Gender Relationships
1992 Survey (N=230)**

Rank	Happy Working with Male Colleague					Total
	Strongly Agree	Agree	DK	Disagree	Strongly Disagree	
Frequency						
Row Pct						
Senior Officer	0.0	59.0	16.0	8.0	0.0	83.0
	0.0	71.1	19.3	9.6	0.0	100.0
Junior Officer	0.0	28.0	25.0	11.0	2.0	66.0
	0.0	42.4	37.9	16.7	3.0	100.0
Cadet	1.0	7.0	12.0	3.0	0.0	23.0
	4.3	30.4	52.2	13.0	0.0	99.9
Enlisted	1.0	12.0	32.0	11.0	2.0	58.0
	1.7	20.7	55.2	19.0	3.4	100.0
Total	2.0	106.0	85.0	33.0	4.0	230.0
	0.9	46.1	37.0	14.3	1.7	100.0

Eighty five women selected "I don't know", among whom 32 were enlisted. In other words, 55% of the enlisted women chose the middle category in a Likert scale. This may be partially explained by the fact that women soldiers mainly worked in segregated units such as telephone company, typists squads, etc., where there were no male colleagues. More than one third of junior officers made the same selection. The cross tabulation also shows 2 junior officers and 2 enlisted women strongly disagreed with the positive statement, which means they were very unhappy about their relationship with male colleagues.

It is hard to know if there is a hostile attitude toward women's service in the military. Male bonding is a strange word to most Chinese, and masculinity is certainly not dominant in the Chinese military subculture. Women soldiers tend to have been concentrated where more intellectuals and professionals are located, and the generally higher level of education there helps to create a suitable environment for military women. Most male officers and soldiers come from rural areas, where getting married at an early age is very common compared with their counterparts from urban areas. Thus, women soldiers are regarded more as colleagues at work than as potential objects of mate selection. In addition, there is a hierarchical difference between female officers and male enlisted men.¹¹

When questioned in detail about gender relations inside the barracks during my focus interviews, some officers admitted that there have been problems, e.g., a company commander was criticized by male platoon leaders for giving too many light tasks to the women's platoon; demoralizing gossip about romances between a superordinate and a subordinate who are of different genders; inconvenience in hygiene arrangements; voyeurs being caught and humiliated; or love letters that disturbed an individual soldier so much that her performance was negatively affected. I have also asked direct questions about sexual harassment. Most of the senior women officers acknowledged

¹¹ The few female military personnel are objects of male officers' mate selection. An attempt from an enlisted man is regarded as "a frog wants a swan's meat." Recently a few novels have been published informally describing love affairs between senior male officers and junior female soldiers. One of the books described some girls who were coerced by the senior officers into sexual relationships through fear of losing promotions or other favors from the superior. None of my interviewees acknowledged awareness of such events.

the existence of minor sexual harassment, such as incidents of male personnel groping a female fellow's thigh when the two were working together, or finding Peeping Toms around women's bathrooms. Most of them emphasized the strict rules against such behavior. They also added tolerance by pointing out that so few women were visible for long periods where male soldiers were stationed. Hungry manly gaze has been repeated by my interviewees as the most common uncomfortable situation they have experienced. These gazes would make them realize immediately that they were not only soldiers, but also women.

Evaluations of Military Life

Subjects were asked to select one out of five choices to 14 statements to evaluate their military lives.¹² Answers to these statements were cross tabulated with rank, and are presented in this section.

Career Evaluations

Recent Assignment

Subjects were asked to evaluate their careers by answering 7 statements. Answers to the statement "I am satisfied with my recent assignment" (question 54-K, see Appendix II) are presented in Table 10. 19 on the following page. More than half

¹² The choices are : strongly agree, agree, I don't know, disagree, strongly disagree.

of the senior officers agreed with the statement while half of the junior officers disagreed. The group of cadets were split equally between selectors of "agree" and "I don't know" except 2 selected "disagree" and 1 selected "strongly disagree". More enlisted personnel were satisfied with their current assignment. The relationship is statistically significant (Chi-square=40.952, $p < 0.001$).

Job Stability

Answers to the statement "I have well-defined and stable work assignment" (question 54-H) are presented in Table 10.20. The relationship is statistically significant (Chi-square=26.290, $p < 0.001$). For this statement, a clear difference was shown between senior and junior officers: most senior officers thought they had stable jobs, while 19 junior officers either strongly disagreed or disagreed. Most enlisted personnel expressed satisfaction with having a stable job assignment, which was

**Table 10.19 The PLA Women's Evaluations of Job Assignment
1992 Survey (N=230)**

Rank	Satisfactory Assignment				Strongly Disagree	Total
	Strongly Agree	Agree	DK	Disagree		
Frequency						83.0
Row Pct						100.0
Senior Officer	1.0	43.0	13.0	26.0	0.0	100.0
	1.2	51.8	15.7	31.3	0.0	66.0
Junior Officer	1.0	10.0	18.0	33.0	4.0	100.1
	1.5	15.2	27.3	50.0	6.1	23.0
Cadet	0.0	10.0	10.0	2.0	1.0	100.0
	0.0	43.5	43.5	8.7	4.3	58.0
Enlisted	1.0	26.0	22.0	8.0	1.0	99.9
	1.7	44.8	37.9	13.8	1.7	230.0
Total	3.0	89.0	63.0	69.0	6.0	100.0
	1.3	38.7	27.4	30.0	2.6	

consistent with their evaluations of current assignments. Fifty women chose "I don't know", of whom more than half were cadets or enlisted personnel.

**Table 10.20 The PLA Women's Evaluations of Job Stability
1992 Survey (N=230)**

Rank	Stable Job				Strongly Disagree	Total
	Strongly Agree	Agree	DK	Disagree		
Frequency						
Row Pct						
Senior Officer	2.0	61.0	11.0	8.0	1.0	83.0
	2.4	73.5	13.3	9.6	1.2	100.0
Junior Officer	3.0	31.0	13.0	15.0	4.0	66.0
	4.5	47.0	19.7	22.7	6.1	100.0
Cadet	0.0	13.0	10.0	0.0	0.0	23.0
	0.0	56.5	43.5	0.0	0.0	100.0
Enlisted	5.0	31.0	16.0	3.0	3.0	58.0
	8.6	53.4	27.6	5.2	5.2	100.0
Total	10.0	136.0	50.0	26.0	8.0	230.0
	4.3	59.1	21.7	11.3	3.5	99.9

**Table 10.21 The PLA Women's Evaluations of Job Security
1992 Survey (N=230)**

Rank	Job Security				Strongly Disagree	Total
	Strongly Agree	Agree	DK	Disagree		
Frequency						
Row Pct						
Senior Officer	1.0	60.0	12.0	10.0	0.0	83.0
	1.2	72.3	14.5	12.0	0.0	100.0
Junior Officer	4.0	29.0	21.0	11.0	1.0	66.0
	6.1	43.9	31.8	16.7	1.5	100.0
Cadet	0.0	11.0	12.0	0.0	0.0	23.0
	0.0	47.8	52.2	0.0	0.0	100.0
Enlisted	0.0	19.0	32.0	6.0	1.0	58.0
	0.0	32.8	55.2	10.3	1.7	100.0
Total	5.0	119.0	77.0	27.0	2.0	230.0
	2.2	51.7	33.5	11.7	0.9	100.0

Job Security

Answers to the statement "I have job security" (question 54-L) are presented in Table 10.21. The relationship is statistically significant (Chi-square=35.201, $p < 0.001$). More women (77) selected "I don't know". Among the 153 women who did answer, more junior officers and enlisted personnel disagreed with this statement than senior officers.

Business Trip Opportunity

Table 10.22 shows answers to the statement "I have many opportunities to take business trips" (question 54-I). The relationship is statistically significant (Chi-square=31.272, $p < 0.001$).

**Table 10.22 The PLA Women's Evaluations of Mobility
1992 Survey (N=230)**

Rank	Business Trip Opportunity					Total
	Strongly Agree	Agree	DK	Disagree	Strongly Disagree	
Frequency						
Row Pct						
Senior Officer	1.0	18.0	10.0	48.0	6.0	83.0
	1.2	21.7	12.0	57.8	7.2	99.9
Junior Officer	3.0	16.0	16.0	26.0	3.0	66.0
	4.5	24.2	24.2	39.4	7.6	99.9
Cadet	0.0	9.0	12.0	1.0	1.0	23.0
	0.0	39.1	52.2	4.3	4.3	99.9
Enlisted	3.0	5.0	20.0	23.0	7.0	58.0
	5.2	8.6	34.5	39.7	12.1	100.1
Total	7.0	48.0	58.0	98.0	19.0	230.0
	3.0	20.9	25.2	42.6	8.3	100.0

Fifty eight chose the middle category of "I don't know". Most women did not agree with this statement. For the first time, the percentage of senior officers among the disagree group was higher than the junior officers and enlisted women. In other words, senior officers in this sample were not satisfied with their mobility. Forty percent of the enlisted women did not agree with the statement either. This is different from their generally positive evaluations of their job assignment and stability.

Education and Training Opportunity

Answers to the statement " my job has provided me training and educational opportunities" (question 54-N) are presented in Table 10. 23. The relationship is statistically significant (Chi-square=26.245, $p < 0.001$). Forty four selected the middle category of "I don't know". Most of the 186 respondents agreed with the statement, although more officers disagreed compared with the enlisted women. On average, senior officers had higher education than other rank groups (see previous section). However, 21% of them disagreed with the statement in this sample. The group of junior officers tended to show diversity in their evaluations. For this particular statement, junior officers split between agree and disagree in their evaluations, and more than one fourth of them selected "I don't know". More than half of the enlisted women agreed with the statement, while as the cases in previous evaluations, the group of cadets was split between selectors of "agree" and "I don't know".

**Table 10.23 The PLA Women's Evaluations of Education Opportunity
1992 Survey (N=230)**

Rank	Education Opportunity					Total
	Strongly Agree	Agree	DK	Disagree	Strongly Disagree	
Frequency						
Row Pct						
Senior Officer	3.0	53.0	9.0	17.0	1.0	83.0
	3.6	63.9	10.8	20.5	1.2	100.0
Junior Officer	3.0	23.0	17.0	18.0	5.0	66.0
	4.5	34.8	25.8	27.3	7.6	100.0
Cadet	4.0	10.0	9.0	0.0	0.0	23.0
	17.4	43.5	39.1	0.0	0.0	100.0
Enlisted	9.0	30.0	9.0	9.0	1.0	58.0
	15.5	51.7	15.5	15.5	1.7	99.9
Total	19.0	116.0	44.0	44.0	7.0	230.0
	8.3	50.4	19.1	19.1	3.0	99.9

Promotion Opportunity

Subjects were also asked to express themselves on the issue of promotion. The relevant statement is "I am satisfied with my promotion opportunity" (question 54-E), and the results are presented in Table 10.24. The relationship is statistically significant (Chi-square=58.565, $p < 0.001$). More women (85) chose "I don't know" than other ones. And more women disagreed with the statement, which was consistent with their expectations of being promoted or becoming a woman general in the future, discussed in the previous section. More officers disagreed with the statement, the only difference was that more junior officers in this sample selected "strongly disagreed" than senior officers. Most enlisted women had negative evaluations on their promotion opportunity too, which is consistent with their relevant expectations.

**Table 10.24 The PLA Women's Evaluations of Promotion
1992 Survey (N=230)**

Rank	Promotion Opportunity					Total
	Strongly Agree	Agree	DK	Disagree	Strongly Disagree	
Frequency						
Row Pct						
Senior Officer	1.0	26.0	13.0	41.0	2.0	83.0
	1.2	31.3	15.7	49.4	2.4	100.0
Junior Officer	0.0	11.0	19.0	29.0	7.0	66.0
	0.0	16.7	28.8	43.9	10.6	100.0
Cadet	0.0	8.0	15.0	0.0	0.0	23.0
	0.0	34.8	65.2	0.0	0.0	100.0
Enlisted	0.0	5.0	38.0	14.0	1.0	58.0
	0.0	8.6	65.5	24.1	1.7	99.9
Total	1.0	50.0	85.0	84.0	10.0	230.0
	0.4	21.7	37.0	36.5	4.3	99.9

Future Welfare After Retirement

As for their perception of overall welfare state after retirement, the subjects' answers to the statement of "my general welfare will not be bad after my retirement" (question 54-J) are presented in Table 10. 25. Again, the relationship between these women's ranks and their evaluations is statistically significant ((Chi-square=28.427, $p < 0.001$), even though 103 women selected "I don't know". More senior officers agreed with the statement while 28% of them selected "I don't know" for this question. The group of junior officers had diversified opinions to this question again. Less than half of the enlisted personnel answered this question while more cadets selected "I don't know". Generally speaking, almost half of these women selected "I don't know".

**Table 10.25 The PLA Women's Evaluations of Welfare After Retirement
1992 Survey (N=230)**

Rank	Welfare After Retirement					Total
	Strongly Agree	Agree	DK	Disagree	Strongly Disagree	
Frequency						
Row Pct						
Senior Officer	3.0	34.0	23.0	20.0	3.0	83.0
	3.6	41.0	27.7	24.1	3.6	100.0
Junior Officer	4.0	18.0	26.0	13.0	5.0	66.0
	6.1	27.3	39.4	19.7	7.6	100.1
Cadet	0.0	5.0	17.0	1.0	0.0	23.0
	0.0	21.7	73.9	4.3	0.0	99.9
Enlisted	1.0	13.0	37.0	6.0	1.0	58.0
	1.7	22.4	63.8	10.3	1.7	99.9
Total	8.0	70.0	103.0	40.0	9.0	230.0
	3.5	30.4	44.8	17.4	3.9	100.0

In sum, these women's evaluations of their military career diversified across different ranking groups. The only consensus was that most of these PLA women thought their jobs were stable. Most of them also thought that they had few opportunities to travel. Other than that, these women had diversified evaluations of their careers: most senior officers were happy with their current assignments, while most junior officers were not; and both cadets and enlisted tended to either agree or select "I don't know". Most officers in this sample felt they had job security, while most enlisted did not know. Most officers were not satisfied with promotion opportunities, while some senior officers were satisfied. And again, most enlisted and cadets did not know. There is a similar pattern in their evaluations of future welfare.

Evaluations of Income and Living Standard

Income

Answers to two questions show that these women were not happy with their income and living standard. One statement is that "I am satisfied with my income" (question 54-D). Table 10.26 presents the cross tabulation between subject's rank and her response to this question. The relationship is statistically significant (Chi-square=29.388, $p < 0.001$).

More than half of the cadets selected "I don't know". This was the group who were not in the military long enough to know. More than half of the junior officers disagreed (56.1%), while the percentage of disagree for senior officers was high too (46%). In addition, 10% of the senior and 12% of the junior officers strongly disagreed with the statement. Less than half of the enlisted disagreed with the statement (43%).

**Table 10.26 The PLA Women's Evaluations of Their Income
1992 Survey (N=230)**

Rank	Satisfactory Income				Strongly Disagree	Total
	Strongly Agree	Agree	DK	Disagree		
Frequency						
Row Pct						
Senior Officer	0.0	26.0	11.0	38.0	8.0	83.0
	0.0	31.3	13.3	45.8	9.6	100.0
Junior Officer	0.0	8.0	13.0	37.0	8.0	66.0
	0.0	12.1	19.7	56.1	12.1	100.0
Cadet	0.0	4.0	13.0	6.0	0.0	23.0
	0.0	17.4	56.5	26.1	0.0	100.0
Enlisted	0.0	16.0	17.0	24.0	1.0	58.0
	0.0	27.6	29.3	41.4	1.7	100.0
Total	0.0	54.0	54.0	105.0	17.0	230.0
	0.0	23.5	23.5	45.7	7.4	100.1

Furthermore, not a single woman selected "strongly agree". This leads to the observation that many women in this sample were not satisfied with their income.

Living Standard

Another statement is "my living standard in the military is higher than in the civilian sector". Table 10.27 presents a cross tabulation between rank and the answers to this statement. The relationship is statistically significant (Chi-square=38.110, $p < 0.001$).

**Table 10.27 The PLA Women's Evaluations of Living Standard
1992 Survey (N=230)**

Rank	Higher Living Standard Than Civilians					Total
	Strongly Agree	Agree	DK	Disagree	Strongly Disagree	
Frequency						
Row Pct						
Senior Officer	1.0	24.0	15.0	39.0	4.0	83.0
	1.2	28.9	18.1	47.0	4.8	100.0
Junior Officer	0.0	10.0	11.0	34.0	11.0	66.0
	0.0	15.2	16.7	51.5	16.7	100.1
Cadet	0.0	6.0	15.0	2.0	0.0	23.0
	0.0	26.1	65.2	8.7	0.0	100.0
Enlisted	0.0	6.0	18.0	33.0	1.0	58.0
	0.0	10.3	31.0	56.9	1.7	99.9
Total	1.0	46.0	59.0	108.0	16.0	230.0
	0.4	20.0	25.7	47.0	7.0	100.1

Many senior (47%) and junior officers (52%) disagreed, as well as many enlisted (57%). More than half of cadets (65%) selected "I don't know". One difference is that more junior officers selected "strongly disagree" than senior officers. About 30% of senior officers thought they had higher living standard than civilians while only 15% of

the junior officers agreed. In general, more than half of all women in this sample did not think their living standard in the military was higher than women in the civilian sector.

Evaluations of Military Life

Four statements in question 54 are related to these women's evaluations of their military life. The result of the questioning about whether they are happy working with male colleagues within the military is reported in the section on gender relationships.

The second statement is "I have many friends in the military" (question 54-C). The findings to this statement are presented in Table 10.28. The relationship is not statistically significant (Chi-square=11.082, $p < 0.086$).

More than half of women in all four ranking groups agreed or strongly agreed with this statement. No cadets selected "disagree". On the other hand, about one fourth of the junior officers in this sample did not think they had many friends within the military. Another 21% of the junior officers selected "I don't know". More than one fourth of the enlisted did not know either.

The third statement is about subjects' evaluations of the quality of their children's education. The statement is "I am satisfied with the quality of my children's education" (question 54-G). The cross tabulation is presented in Table 10.29. The relationship is statistically significant (Chi-square=89.034, $p < 0.001$).

**Table 10.28 The PLA Women's Evaluations of Having Many Friends
1992 Survey (N=230)**

Rank	Many Friends					Total
	Strongly Agree	Agree	DK	Disagree	Strongly Disagree	
Senior Officer	4.0	54.0	14.0	11.0	0.0	83.0
	4.8	65.1	16.9	13.3	0.0	100.0
Junior Officer	4.0	32.0	14.0	13.0	3.0	66.0
	6.1	48.5	21.2	19.7	4.5	100.0
Cadet	3.0	13.0	7.0	0.0	0.0	23.0
	13.0	56.5	30.4	0.0	0.0	99.9
Enlisted	2.0	33.0	15.0	6.0	2.0	58.0
	3.4	56.9	25.9	10.3	3.4	99.9
Total	13.0	132.0	50.0	30.0	5.0	230.0
	5.7	57.4	21.7	13.0	2.2	100.0

**Table 10.29 The PLA Women's Evaluations of Children's Education
1992 Survey (N=230)**

Rank	Satisfactory Children's Education					Total
	Strongly Agree	Agree	DK	Disagree	Strongly Disagree	
Senior Officer	0.0	36.0	16.0	30.0	1.0	83.0
	0.0	43.4	19.3	36.1	1.2	100.0
Junior Officer	1.0	5.0	37.0	18.0	4.0	66.0
	1.5	9.1	56.1	27.3	6.1	100.1
Cadet	0.0	2.0	21.0	0.0	0.0	23.0
	0.0	8.7	91.3	0.0	0.0	100.0
Enlisted	0.0	3.0	51.0	2.0	0.0	58.0
	0.0	8.6	87.9	3.4	0.0	99.9
Total	1.0	49.0	125.0	50.0	5.0	230.0
	0.4	21.3	54.3	21.7	2.2	99.9

Most cadets (91%) and enlisted (88%) selected "I don't know" since they were not married and had no children. More than half of the junior officers (56%) selected the same answer. About one third of the junior officers were not satisfied with the quality of

their children's education. More than one third of the senior officers (37%) were not satisfied either. However, more senior officers (43%) were satisfied with the quality of their children's education.

One statement directly asks the subjects about their overall evaluations of the military life: "life in the military is about what I expected it to be" (question 54-A). The results are presented in Table 10.30. The relationship is statistically significant (Chi-square=25.527, $p<0.001$).

**Table 10.30 The PLA Women's Evaluations of Military Life
1992 Survey (N=230)**

Rank	Expected Military Life					Total
	Strongly Agree	Agree	DK	Disagree	Strongly Disagree	
Frequency						
Row Pct						
Senior Officer	1.0	41.0	14.0	26.0	1.0	83.0
	1.2	49.4	16.9	31.3	1.2	100.0
Junior Officer	2.0	10.0	17.0	33.0	4.0	66.0
	3.0	15.2	25.8	50.0	6.1	100.1
Cadet	0.0	9.0	9.0	4.0	1.0	23.0
	0.0	39.1	39.1	17.4	4.3	99.9
Enlisted	0.0	14.0	16.0	27.0	1.0	58.0
	0.0	24.1	27.6	46.6	1.7	100.0
Total	3.0	74.0	56.0	90.0	7.0	230.0
	1.3	32.2	24.3	39.1	3.0	99.9

More than half of the senior officers (51%) selected "agree" or "strongly agree", while more than half of the junior officers (56%) did not think their military lives met their expectations. This is another sharp contrast between the senior and junior groups of women officers. The cadets were equally split between "agree" and "I don't know" selectors (39%), while 22% of them selected "disagree" or "strongly disagree". Nearly

half of the enlisted (48%) did not think their military lives met their expectations. And more than one fourth of them (28%) selected "I don't know".

Career Goals

Among 14 statements of question number 54, one is: "I am serving my Motherland" (question 54-M). The results are presented in Table 10. 31.

**Table 10.31 The PLA Women's Career Goal
1992 Survey (N=230)**

Rank	Service Motherland					Total
	Strongly Agree	Agree	DK	Disagree	Strongly Disagree	
Frequency						
Row Pct						
Senior Officer	10.0	63.0	6.0	3.0	1.0	83.0
	12.0	75.9	7.2	3.6	1.2	99.9
Junior Officer	10.0	38.0	12.0	6.0	0.0	66.0
	15.2	57.6	18.2	9.1	0.0	100.1
Cadet	6.0	10.0	7.0	0.0	0.0	23.0
	26.1	43.5	30.4	0.0	0.0	100.0
Enlisted	16.0	30.0	11.0	1.0	0.0	58.0
	27.6	51.7	19.0	1.7	0.0	100.0
Total	42.0	141.0	36.0	10.0	1.0	230.0
	18.3	61.3	15.7	4.3	0.4	100.0

There is no statistically significant relationship between subjects' ranks and their service purposes (Chi-square=13.857, $p < 0.031$). Most of the women in this sample agreed or strongly agreed with the statement: 88% for the senior, and 73% for the junior officers; 70% for the cadets, and 79% for the enlisted. It worth noting that 30.4% of the cadets selected "I don't know".

Summary

This chapter provides basic descriptive information on the 230 women's rank and service distributions, their service length, and occupational categories. This is followed by discussions of their age distribution, geographic and ethnic origins, and family backgrounds. Their current education levels were significantly related to their age, service duration, and rank. This means older women who served longer terms with higher rank tended to have higher education. The percentage of college graduates among these women increased to 41% from the 17% entrance data. All these produce a picture that women's education achievements can be positively related to their service in the Chinese military.

In the second section, these PLA women's participation in wartime and peacetime operations is discussed. This is followed by discussions of their expectations of combat participation. An internal comparison shows that the subject's rank was significantly related to her expectation of combat participation although most of them expected low possibilities. About 10% of junior officers predicted high possibilities.

The third section is focused on these women's promotion and career predictions. Generally speaking, most women predicted promotion, more than half of them predicted high possibilities. However, most women predicted no possibilities of becoming a woman general in the future. Internal comparisons show that these women's predictions of promotion were diversified significantly by different age and rank groups. Middle aged and older women tended to have higher promotion expectations, while one fourth of

the middle aged predicted 100% possibilities. Senior officers almost split between low and high predictions, while more than half of the cadets predicted 100% promotion possibilities. This was in sharp contrast to the enlisted women of whom more than half predicted low promotion possibilities.

As for finding a better civilian job after retirement, younger and middle aged women almost split between low and high predictions, while more than half of the older women expected low possibilities, and there are no statistically significant relationship between their rank or age and their predictions.

Further discussions are devoted to these women's income, marriage and family status, and gender relationship within the military. The subject's rank is significantly related to her evaluation of gender relationship.

In the last section, evaluations of career and military lives of the 230 women in my 1992 survey are presented in 12 tables. The statistical analysis is focused on relationships between subjects' ranks and their various evaluations. With only two exceptions, 10 cross tabulations between the variables demonstrate that there are statistically significant relationships between these women's ranks and their evaluations. In other word, these PLA women differed with each other about their evaluations and satisfaction levels. Generally speaking, the group of junior officers was the most diversified one in the evaluations over almost all issues.

The two cases where rank of these women did not make differences were concerned with their evaluations of whether they were serving the motherland and

whether they had many friends in the military. Most women in this sample agreed with each other that they were serving the motherland, and they had many friends within the military. Other than this, these women's evaluations were diversified among different ranking groups.

Generally speaking, the group of senior officers tended to agree with most statements except the issues of income and promotion. Still, about 30% of senior officers thought they had higher living standard than their counterparts in civilian sectors which was different from evaluations of most other women. The group of junior officers differed with each other over almost all issues with a tendency of giving negative evaluations to many issues. The group of cadets was the least opinionated people who tended to select "I don't know" to most of the evaluation questions. About 48% of the enlisted women thought their military lives were not what they had expected and they were not happy with the mobility and promotion issues. Other than these, this group tended to provide positive evaluation or select "I don't know".

Most women tended to be satisfactory with their current job assignment and job stabilities. The group of enlisted women and senior officers were the most satisfactory in this regard while the group of junior officers disagreed with the senior officers in regard to job stability. They agreed with the enlisted women in their negative evaluations of job security, while the group of senior officers was the most dis-satisfied with business travel opportunities. More officers disagreed with the issues of education and training opportunities and promotion compared with the enlisted group. Women of all ranks

tended to have similarly negative evaluations about their income and living standards.

More than half of the senior officers thought their military lives were similar to their expectations, while 56% of the junior officers disagreed. Almost half of the enlisted women had similarly negative evaluations over the same issue.

Chapter XI Women Soldiers in the Chinese Nationalist Army

In the process of data collection, while focusing on the PLA women, I also tried to record information on Chinese women in the Nationalist Revolutionary Army (NRA in this document, known as the Nationalist Army or KMT Army in the West) under the leadership of the CNP. This is because of the need to cover women on both sides and to overcome bias caused by political or ideological differences in academic studies. This effort has resulted in obtaining some information on 30 women on the CNP's side. Since the author is not allowed to visit Taiwan, let alone conduct surveys there for this study due to reasons described in Chapter III, this chapter was neither planned nor included in the research proposal. The following discussion is offered for descriptive and illustrative purpose. I don't assume any representativeness of the data, although these women account for 2% of women in the NRA, if the population of 1,500 (see chapter 1) obtained through a focused interview in 1992 is accurate or close to the real number. The information on NRA women is shown in Table 11.1 on the following pages.

Demographic Information on the NRA Women

Nineteen (63%) of these 30 NRA women have their geographic origins recorded by this study. It is worth noting that only three (16%) of these cases were known as Taiwan natives. Sixteen (84%) women have their family origins registered as in

Table 11.1 Military Women In Chinese Nationalist Army

#	Name	Date (Battle)	Origin (PRCT place)	Ethnic	SES F:Father H:Husband	Rank	Mil Skil	CMBT Time	Note
1	Cao Xiuqing 曹秀清	1903-1984	Shaanxi Mizhi	Han	student H:Du Luming 杜律明	principal school for children of mil. personnel	No	No	when her husband was the Commander in Chief of the Fifth Army of NRA, she served as the principal of the school specialized in educating children of the army's personnel
2	Chen Kuixian 陈葵仙	1912-	Guangxi Sining	Han	college student	team leader staff	No	No	Guangxi University Team leader for Girls' military training, political staff of the National Defense Supreme Committee
3	Chen Xinmei 陈信妹	(1958)	Taiwan Gaoxiong	Han		Captain	Yes	Yes	member of Female Youth Work Team, psychological warfare
4	Deng Bunu 邓不奴	1903-	Guangdong Sanshui	Han	student	instructor	Yes	No	Guangdong Nationalist Military, Political and Party Training Brigade,
5	Gao Libing 高丽冰	(1958)	Fujian Tongan	Han		Captain	Yes	Yes	member of Female Youth Work Team, psychological warfare
6	Hu Ruizhen 胡瑞珍			Han		Major	Yes	Yes	first generation graduate of Political Cadre School, Deputy Commander of the Female Youth Work Team
7	Hu Rongdi 胡蓉弟	(1958)	(Jinmen)	Han		Major	Yes	Yes	member of Female Youth Work Team, psychological warfare
8	Hua Wendi 华文弟						Yes	No	first generation of graduate of the Political Cadre School, sent to study in America, reporter
9	Li Kundao 李坤道	(1965)				Lt. Colonel	Yes	No	Team Leader of Female Youth Work Team
10	Liu Hengjing 刘蘅静	1902-	Guangdong Panyu	Han	student	Design Com. Mem	No	No	CNP's Military Committee General Political Department, legislative of the first Parliament

11	Luo Dexin 罗德馨	1920-	Guangdong Nanhai	Han	student	political officer	No	No	Guangdong Military Zone Political Department political director
12	Miao Sufang 苗素芳	1928-	Shandong Yie county	Han	student	cadet	Yes	No	CNP's Youth Army 207th Division Independent Brigade Women Cadet company
13	Ren Peidao 任培道	1895-	Hunan Xiangyin	Han	student	Military First Aid	Yes	No	Monitor of Military First Aid Training Class, assist Song Meiling in Organizing Women Cheerleading Committee for Anti-Japanese Fighters
14	Shen Lihua 沈丽华	(1958)	(Jinmen)	Han		First Lieutenant	Yes	Yes	member of Female Youth Work Team, psychological warfare
15	Song Meiling 宋美龄	1897-	Guangdong Wenchang	Han	college student H: Jiang Jieshi 蒋介石	General Secretary Aviation Committee	No	No	Together with her two famous sisters, sponsored many organizations for front support in Anti- Japanese war period, and schools for children of CNP's armies
16	Tang Lizhu 汤丽珠	(1962-	Zhejiang	Han	Taipei student	psycholo- gical staff	Yes	Yes	psychological warfare, broadcaster
17	Wang Liwen 王莅文	(1962-)	(Jinmen)	Han	Xinzhu student	civilian	No	Yes	psychological warfare, broadcaster
18	Wang Ren Yifang 汪任懿芳	1912-	Jiangsu Wu county	Han	student	President General Staff	No	No	President of College for Veterans' Children General Staff of Women Federation Branch in Army Department
19	Wen Baolan 温宝兰		Hebei	Han	nurse	First Lieutenant	Yes	No	816th Army Hospital Nurse
20	Xiao Meijin 萧美津	(1955-	Taiwan	Han	student	telephone operator	Yes	Yes	Switchboard of the Defense Department
21	Yang Qiuyue 杨秋月	(1958)	(Jinmen)	Han		Second Lieutenant	Yes	Yes	member of Female Youth Work Team, psychological warfare
22	Yang Yingxue 杨映雪	(1956)				Major	Yes	No	Sponsor and Team Leader of Female Youth Work Team
23	Yu Junzhu 俞俊珠	1903-	Jiangsu	Han	student	propagand staff	No	No	the General Political Department of CNP's Nationalist Army

24	Zhang Haiping 张海平	(1958)	(Jinmen)	Han		Second Lieutenant	Yes	Yes	member of Female Youth Work Team, psychological warfare
25	Zhang Qiuxiang 张秋香	(1958)	(Jinmen)	Han		Captain	Yes	Yes	member of Female Youth Work Team, psychological warfare
26	Zhang Weizhen 张维贞	1912-	Liaoning Beifeng	Han	student	cadet	Yes	No	CNP's Party, Political and Military Allied Military Operation Training Class
27	Zhao Guorong 赵国蓉	(1962-	(Jinmen)	Han	sister of Zhao Guoqin	psycholo- gical staff	Yes	Yes	psychological warfare. broadcaster
28	Zhao Guoqin 赵国琴	1941-	Hebei Ning county	Han		Captain	Yes	Yes	member of Female Youth Work Team, psychological warfare
29	Zheng Yuli 郑玉丽	1921-	Taiwan Xinzhu	Han	student	Team Leader	No	No	Sponsor and organizer of Women Service Team
30	Zhou Meiyu 周美玉	1910-	Zhejiang Cixi	Han	nurse	Major General	Yes	No	China Red Cross First Aid General Association. Professor of Defense Medical College

Key:

(Battle): battle place where the subject participated military operations.

CMBT: combat.

Com: company.

H: husband.

Mil Skil: military skills.

Mem: member.

propagand: propaganda.

SES: social and economic status.

SOURCES:**Taiwan Women In the Past Twenty Years, Taiwan Women Writers' Association Published, 1965.**Xue, Weiwei (eds.). Who's Who of Chinese Women. [中国妇女名人录], Shaanxi: People's Publisher, 1988.

mainland China. All these women were from the Han nationality, with three exceptions for whom we had no information about their nationalities. This was similar to women in the PLA.

Only two women were linked with their husbands. One is Song Meiling 宋美齡, whose husband is Jiang Jieshi (Chiang Kai-shek in the West), the supreme leader of the CNP. The other is Cao Xiuqing 曹秀清, whose husband is Du Luming 杜律明, one of the famous generals of the NRA.

Song is a powerful leader of the women's movement on the CNP's side. The main reason for including her in this study of Chinese military women is that as the General Secretary of the Aviation Committee after her marriage to Jiang Jieshi in 1927, she was in charge of the NRA's Air Force. Secondly, she sponsored many organizations for front support in the Anti-Japanese War period, together with her two famous sisters, Song Qingling and Song Ailing 宋霭齡. Thirdly, she sponsored schools for children of officers of the NRA, as well as orphanages for war victims in mainland China and in Taiwan. Last but not least, she was instrumental in all kinds of welfare arrangements within the NRA, including housing, social support groups, propaganda work, and cultural entertainment.

Cao Xiuqing was involved in military activities when her husband served as the Commander in Chief of the Fifth Army of the NRA during the early stage of the Anti-Japanese War. She was the principal of the school specialized in educating and training

children of the army's personnel. The school was quasi-military, so was her status within the system.

In sum, most of the NRA women are Han people from mainland China. Only a few have been recorded together with their famous husbands.

Participation During the Post-Opium-War Period

Thirteen (43%) of the women in this sample were involved in military operations during the post-Opium-War period as well as during modern times. In addition, they had either military or quasi-military positions within the NRA. This is the main reason that they are included into this chapter, representing the opposite side of the PLA, instead of in Chapter VIII.

There is no information about whether or not these 13 NRA women participated (together with the 113 women fighters) in the 1911 revolution or (together with the 59 women participants) in the Northern Expedition War period. Compared with early women revolutionaries on the CNP's side, these were more career makers and started their military service during the Anti-Japanese War period. The following section describes some of these women's participation during the Anti-Japanese War period.

Participation in the Anti-Japanese War

Chen Kuixian 陈葵仙 (#2 in Table 11.1) was a team leader for Girls' Military Training at Guangxi University during the Anti-Japanese War. She also served on the

political staff of the National Defense Supreme Committee of the CNP. Deng Bunu 邓不奴 (#4 in Table 11.1) served as an instructor at the Political and Party Training Brigade in the Guangdong Branch of the NRA. Liu Hengjing 刘衡静 (#10 in Table 11.1) was more famous as one of the women legislators in the First Parliament of the Republic of China. She also served as a Design Committee Member in the General Political Department under the CNP's military committee. Luo Dexin 罗德馨 was the Political Director, heading the Political Department of the Guangdong Military Zone of the NRA. Ren Peidao 任培道 (#13 in Table 11.1) helped Song Meiling in organizing the women's cheerleading committee for the Anti-Japanese Fighters, as well as organizing first aid efforts on the front. She was one of the Monitors of the Military First Aid Training Class. Yu Junzhu 俞俊珠 (#23 in Table 11.1) served on the propaganda staff in the General Political Department of the NRA.

All these women were well educated and had military designations. Most of them served in the political department of the NRA. They were also involved in women's political suffrage as a part of the women's movement. Their participation in the Anti-Japanese War was supportive. None of them participated in direct combat. This is similar to most women participants on the CCP's side during the Anti-Japanese War period--mainly they assumed supportive roles, and were mostly involved in political, propaganda work, and logistic support. There are differences between military women on the CCP's and on the CNP's sides during the eight year Anti-Japanese War:

- 1) some women on the CCP's side participated in direct combats;

- 2) CCP women guerrilla fighters participated in operations of the regular forces, while regular soldiers also engaged in guerrilla warfare;
- 3) CCP women guerrilla fighters in the Japanese occupied areas suffered the heaviest casualties compared with those in previous ones;
- 4) key CCP veteran women soldiers played important roles in developing anti-Japanese bases, as well as organizing and commanding the military operations. All these features were missing for the CNP military women, either due to lack of comprehensive information for this research, or due to the more regularized nature of the NRA and its limit on women's roles within the military other than supportive and political roles.

Distribution and Functions of the NRA Women

Twenty four (80%) of these women were known as active-duty personnel with military ranks, five (17%) were quasi-military whose military designations were unknown. This includes the two famous women discussed above. Three were cadets whose assignments after military training were unknown too. One was known as a civilian working in the military. In short, most of these women were active-duty military personnel serving in the regular formation of the NRA.

Zhou Meiyu 周美玉 (# 30 in Table 11.1) was the only Major General among these women. She came from a nurse's family and served in the NRA most of her life. She was a professor at the Defense Medical College of the NRA (Xue et al eds., 1988). Given her age, I assume that she has already retired.

Thirteen (43%) served in the Female Youth Work Team of the NRA. They had combat experiences. Eight of them (27%) participated in combat at Jinmen 金門 Island during the 1958 to 1962 period, when Mao decided to bomb the island. All the NRA combat participants engaged in psychological warfare. Three were known as broadcasters. This is similar to the fact that one of my personal acquaintance was a broadcaster on the PLA side across the Taiwan strait. She was popular among her audience across the strait because she spoke both Mandarin and Minnan dialects. From this information, we know now for sure that women engaged in psychological warfare on both sides of the Taiwan strait during the on-going civil war between the CCP and the CNP.

All the women in this sample served in the Army of the NRA. In addition to the woman general discussed above, there were one lieutenant colonel, three majors, four captains, five staff, one instructor, one political officer, two first lieutenants, two second lieutenants, and one telephone operator. Although it is hard to compare these 30 with the 230 PLA women due to the differences in data sources and quality issue, at least it can be observed that there is no sharp contrast between the two groups in regard to women's distribution and functions within the military.

There is no information about any casualty among the NRA women. None of them commanded military operations. Most of their roles in the NRA were supportive.

Another feature is that most of these women had military training (70%). This is consistent with the observation that generally speaking, the NRA is a more regularized

force mainly engaged in conventional military operations, compared with the Chinese communist troops which were engaged in guerrilla warfare before 1949.

Summary

I present military women in modern period on CNP side in this chapter. Some of them participated in Anti-Japanese War. Most of them served in the military when mainland China and Taiwan went through political turbulence as well as rapid economic growth.

Almost all these modern military women went through military training and had professional skills. They played supportive roles in the armed forces. A small proportion did participate in combat, while most of them served in peacetime. Comparison with the PLA women is limited, yet some similarities and differences have been observed in this chapter.

Chapter XII Conclusion

This research has scrutinized 717¹ Chinese military women on the basis of secondary sources and 230 modern women in the PLA through a survey conducted in Beijing, China, in late spring of 1992. Despite limitations caused by political and technical reasons, a portrait of women in Chinese military has been drawn with certain degrees of historical depth as well as use of modern research techniques. Generally speaking, the description is more informative rather than conclusive. Research findings are summarized in this chapter.

Patterns of Women's Participation in Chinese Military Operations

Women Participated in Chinese Military Operations Across Time

Before this reported research, no systematic study has been done to demonstrate the scale and nature of Chinese women's military participation except some limited information on their presence in warfare. The general impression has been that women's military participation in China is sporadic and of small scale.

This study demonstrates a contrary result--it shows that over a time span of 3200 years, women participated in China's conventional as well as unconventional warfare. Their presence has been observed in both regular and irregular military formations. The

¹ . Forty are listed for ancient period, 647 during the 100 year post-Opium War period, and 30 on the CNP's side.

40 ancient women warriors identified by this study lived during almost all the major dynasties of ancient China. They were recorded quite evenly over the time continuum from the year 3200 ago until the year 1840. These female warriors participated together with other women: some of them commanded segregated troops of women both in wartime and peacetime, some of them had women units as guards. This means behind these exemplary women warriors recorded by history books, there were other nameless women participants.

The 647 women during the 100 year post-Opium War period also represented thousands of women participants in military operations. Some of them were defenders in anti-imperialist wars and the anti-Japanese invasion war. Some were militant revolutionaries in the 1911 revolution and the following Northern Expedition War. Some were rebels in the Taiping Revolution and other peasants' uprisings. Some participated in the civil wars between the CCP and the CNP.

Then, 230 modern PLA women, as well as 30 women who participated military operations on the CNP side were studied and reported in this document.

The first finding of the study indicates that women's presence in Chinese warfare is frequent across time. It is not sporadic. Women participate in all forms of warfare in China as volunteers, commanders, rebels, revolutionaries, as well as regular soldiers. It means that the military institution in China has not been exclusively male.

On the other hand, women's frequent presence in Chinese military operations does not automatically oppose the statement that warfare is also prototypically male for

the Chinese case, since the scale and nature of women's involvement in the military have not been compared with men's in this particular study due to lack of available data. As a matter of fact, an initial impression is obtained that in general the proportion of women's participation is small compared with the proportion of men's. More research needs to be done before the question of whether warfare is prototypically male in China can be answered fully.

Women's Increased Representation in Chinese Regular Military Formations

Table 12.1 shows these women's representation in China's regular military formations over different time periods.

Table 12.1 Chinese Women's Representation in Regular Military Formations

Time Period	Total Number for the Period	Frequency in Regular Military Formation	Percentage of Participants in Regular Army
16th c. B.C.-1840 A.D.	40	10	25
1840-1911	14	4	28.6
1911 Revolution	113	35	31
1911-1927	59	36	61
1927-1937	50	21	42
1934-1935	224	224	100
1931-1945	157	83	52.9
1946-1950	30	19	63.3
1949-1992	230	230	100
1946-1992	30	25	83.3
Total	947	687	72.5

Women have served in various military formations in China's history. Their representation in regular military formations has been observed frequently in this study. In this particular data set, the percentage of women in regular military formations has

increased over different time periods, even if the 100% representations of women in the Red Army on the Long March² and the PLA (shaded area in the table) are not considered in the comparison. This pattern has a cross-cultural similarity to military women in other countries. Women's increased representation in regular armed forces has been observed in most developed countries (Stanley and Segal, 1992). However, more longitudinal study on a regular and shorter time span is desired before we can conclude more convincingly that there is increased women representation in China's regular armed forces.

Chinese Women Participated in Combat Across Time

Table 12.2 demonstrates Chinese Women's participation in combat across time.

Table 12.2 Women Combat Participants in China

Time Period	Total Number for the Period	Frequency of Combat Participants	Percentage
16th c. B.C - 1840 A.D	40	40	100
1840-1911	14	14	100
1911 Revolution	113	79	70
1911-1927	59	51	88
1927-1937	50	50	100
1934-1935	224	98	43.8
1931-1945	157	99	63.1
1946-1950	30	24	80
1949-1992	230	6	2.6
1946-1992	30	13	43.3
Total	947	474	50

² For several reasons I have regarded women on the Long March as participants of regular military formations: 1) compared with women fighters in guerrilla warfare at various revolutionary bases, Red Army women soldiers on the long march have been regarded as regular soldiers by themselves as well as by other Communists; 2) Red Armies on the Long March have been regarded as "regular units" of the revolutionary forces as a whole; 3) These units were organized in a format following the typical regular military formation.

This indicates a high percentage of combat participants among the identified military women in this study, with the only exceptions of the 2.6% of the PLA women and the 43.3% of women on the CNP side. It shows: 1) Chinese women participated in direct combat across time; 2) women combatants tend to have an easy entry in Chinese history--455 (66%) of the 687 historical women identified by this study were combat participants.

Women Combatant Casualties Differ in Different Military Operations

Table 12.3 presents the casualties of Chinese women in direct combat in different military operations during different time periods.

Table 12. 3 Casualties of Chinese Women in Direct Combat

Time Period	Total Number for the Period	Frequency of Combat Casualty	Percentage
16th c. B.C -1840 A.D.	40	4	10
1840-1911	14	5	35.7
1911 Revolution	113	3	2.7
1911-1927	59	8	13.6
1927-1937	50	23	46
1934-1935	224	13	5.8
1931-1945	157	53	33.8
1946-1950	30	7	23.3
1949-1992	230	0	0
1946-1992	30	0	0
Total	947	116	12

This indicates that women have suffered casualties in combat in the Chinese case. It also shows that casualties among women combatants differ from time to time, and in different military operations. The highest casualties occurred among women guerrilla

fighters at the Red Army revolutionary bases. Second to these were the anti-invasion defenders both in the five anti-imperialist wars and the anti-Japanese war. No casualty is reported by this study for the modern PLA women soldiers and the 30 women on the CNP's side. No relevant information can be retrieved from the existing literature either. More research is needed to get a better picture.

Women Command Battles in Different Military Operations

The percentage of women who commanded in battle among these women warriors is also different during various time periods and in different military operations.

Table 12.4 presents the results.

Table 12. 4 Women Combat Commanders in China

Time Period	Total Number for the Period	Frequency of Women Commanders	Percentage
16th c. B C -1840 A D	40	28	70
1840-1911	14	12	85.7
1911 Revolution	113	10	8.9
1911-1927	59	8	13.6
1927-1937	50	32	64
1934-1935	224	38	17
1931-1945	157	22	14
1946-1950	30	4	13
1949-1992	230	0	0
1946-1992	30	0	0
Total	947	154	16

This indicates that Chinese women not only participated in combat, some of them also commanded in battle. More than half of the women recorded for the ancient period, in anti-imperialist warfare, in the Taiping and other rebellions, and in guerrilla warfare

commanded in battle. The percentage of women battle commanders in other periods ranged from 8.9% to 17%. Again, no woman in the 1992 survey and none on the CNP's side has commanded in battle.

Women Served as Officers at the Rank of Major and Above

Table 12.5 presents the description of women officers at the rank of major and above in the data set of this study.

Table 12. 5 Women Officers Rank Major and Above

Time Period	Total Number for the Period	Frequency of Women Major and Above	Percentage
16th c. B.C. -1840 A.D.	40	12	30
1840-1911	14	4	28.6
1911 Revolution	113	0	0
1911-1927	59	8	13.6
1927-1937	50	3	6
1934-1935	224	36	16
1931-1945	157	7	4.5
1946-1950	30	2	6.7
1949-1992	230	83	36.1
1946-1992	30	6	20
Total	947	161	17

With the only exception of the 1911 revolution in which no woman participant was promoted to officer ranked major and above, this study finds that some Chinese women warriors get promoted to the rank of major and above across time. The 1992 survey demonstrates the highest percentage (36%) of ranking women officers among the 230 PLA women. The percentage of high ranking women officers is also high for ancient warriors (30%) and for Taiping and other rebels (28.6%). The low percentage

of ranking officers among anti-Japanese war fighters can be partially explained by the fact that many of them were transferred to civilian sectors as women cadres during the regularization period of the PLA in the middle 1950s.

Some Women Warriors Became National Leaders

Table 12. 6 presents the frequency and percentage of women warriors who became national leaders later.

Table 12. 6 National Leaders Among the Military Women

Time Period	Total Number for the Period	Frequency of National Leaders	Percentage
16th c. B.C.-1840 A.D.	40	4	10
1840-1911	14	0	0
1911 Revolution	113	5	4.4
1911-1927	59	2	3.4
1927-1937	50	3	6
1934-1935	224	11	4.9
1931-1945	157	6	3.8
1946-1950	30	1	3.3
1949-1992	30	0	0
1946-1992	230	1	3.3
1946-1992	30	1	3.3
Total	947	33	3.5

With the exceptions of the modern PLA women and warriors in anti-imperialist wars and the Taiping and other rebellions, each group of women fighters in different time periods and different warfare produced female national leaders. Existing literature on the Taiping Revolution described the 4 Taiping women generals as national leaders when the Heavenly Kingdom was ruling the 12 provinces for almost a decade. And one of the 12 modern women generals of the PLA was transferred to the civilian sector and became a

national leader in China recently. These add to the observation that a small proportion of women warriors in China have achieved higher positions either during or after their military participation. Military service can be regarded as one of the social mobility vehicles which may facilitate women moving to national leadership.

Ethnic and Social Origins of Chinese Military Women

Table 12.7 presents the ethnic and social origins of these Chinese military women focusing on women who came from officers' and officials' families.

Table 12. 7 Ethnic and Social Origins of Chinese Military Women

Time Period	Total Number for the Period	Frequency of Minorities	Percent	Frequency of Official Fathers	Percent
16th c. B.C -1840	40	8	20	19	47.5
1840-1911	14	3	21.4	9	64.3
1911 Revolution	113	0	0	4	3.5
1911-1927	59	0	0	1	1.7
1927-1937	50	2	4	0	0
1934-1935	224	3	1.3	1	0.5
1931-1945	157	13	8.3	1	0.6
1946-1950	30	2	6.7	105	3.3
1949-1992	230	5	2.2	0	0
1946-1992	30	0	0	141	14.9
Total	947	36	3.8		

This indicates that most of Chinese women warriors studied by this research are of the Han nationality. One fifth of the ancient women warriors and more than one fifth of the women participants in anti-imperialist wars and the Taiping and other rebellions were from minor nationalities. No woman from minority ethnic groups participated in

the 1911 revolution, the following Northern Expedition War, and modern military operations on the CNP side.

The percentage of women warriors from official families differs over time: comparatively high percentages were observed for women participants from 3200 years ago to the 1911 revolution. Another comparatively high percentage is observed for the modern PLA women. In other words, women from officers and officials' families are more likely to participate in military operations. This is true both in China's history as well in modern time.

In sum, most of these Chinese military women were of the Han nationality: about one fifth of the ancient women warriors before 1911 were from minor nationalities. Nearly half of the ancient as well as modern PLA women were from official and officers' families. Their presence in Chinese military operations has been observed as a frequent phenomenon, and their representation in the regular military formations have been seen increased over time. All historical women recorded before 1911 participated in combat, many of those during the post-Opium War period were combat participants too. Six of the 230 PLA women participated in combat, 4 has been assigned to combat zones. Guerrilla women fighters suffered the heaviest casualty in the Chinese case, more than one third of those women anti-invasion fighters died in combat too. No casualty has been recorded for modern military women. Some of these women were promoted to rank of major and above, while a smaller proportion of them became national leaders.

Modern Military Women Are Career Makers

Through a sample of 230 PLA women that was not scientifically collected, some basic information on these PLA women has been presented in Chapter X of this document. Compared with the historical women identified through secondary sources, these women should be observed more accurately as "career makers" rather than combatants. Although 10 (4%) of them participated in combat or were assigned to combat zones, most of them predicted low possibilities of combat participation in their career. There is no information on the 30 NRA women about their combat prediction. However, the observed behavior pattern described in chapter XI produces a similar picture. In other words, most historical women participants during earlier periods were called into military operations, while most of the modern military women on both sides of the Taiwan strait selected the military service as their career. They served in the typical six categories of traditional female roles within the military. This is another cross-cultural similarity in the Chinese case.

What affects Chinese Women's Military Participation

In order to address this sociological question, this study analyzed contextual, situational, cultural and structural factors in the three defined time periods starting from 4,000 years ago. The descriptions in Chapters IV, V, VII, and IX illustrate the relationships between women's military participation and various independent variables

defined for this study. Some of the relationships are more obvious than others. The clearer relations will be discussed first, then some murky ones will be dealt with later.

Frequent Cultural and Ideological Support for Women's Military Participation

The findings indicate that cultural as well as ideological support for Chinese women's military participation has been frequent over the time span of 3200 years. Over a period of 1200 years, eight of the 10 volumes of Biography of Women included women warriors as role models for Chinese women. Whenever there is a need or perceived necessity of women's involvement in military operations, historical as well as fictional heroines will be recalled, and Chinese women will volunteer to participate in military operations. Legends of some of the ancient women warriors identified in this study have been cited repeatedly as an integral part of the overall indoctrination of patriotism and nationalism.

The Chinese feudal value system of loyalty and filial piety was intertwined with patriotism and nationalism. Women were encouraged to sacrifice for the higher order of homeland defense, loyalty to the court, as well as for virginity and chastity. Ancient warriors demonstrated their loyalty to the courts as well as patriotism in their deeds during anti-invasion wars. Some of the ancient heroines fulfilled their filial piety by military participation, such as the cases of Shen Yunying and Bi Zhu. The role model of Hua Mulan is so deeply rooted in the culture that women are frequently named after her by their parents, or constantly imitate her in military actions. The combination of this

glorification of heroines and the indoctrination of commitment to the higher order supports women's military participation, particularly in defensive wars.

There was no obvious breakdown of this component of the value system when feudalism was severely attacked and criticized by modern revolutionaries. This is because almost all modern Chinese revolutionaries had to rely on patriotism to deal with foreign invasions. Even in peacetime, patriotism and nationalism have continued to be the most widely agreed values in Chinese society, not only because the Party has been constantly indoctrinating the value system, but also because Chinese people have cherished national identity for so long, and foreign invaders were cleared out only a half century ago. In a modernizing country with strong historical traditions, patriotism and nationalism will continue their functions as a national binding force for China.

Furthermore, as is discussed earlier in this document, Chinese philosophers and military thinkers do not exclude women from combat. The culture does not have the duality dilemma found in Western cultures. Women are not ideologically excluded from military participation. A relevant phenomenon is that the glorification of heroines is focused more on their leadership, mastery of arts of war, bravery, strategic skills and education, rather than their equal capability of handling heavy weapons.³ Another interesting phenomenon is that the cruel aspect of warfare has been carefully avoided in the cultural construction of war fighting in general, and heroines in particular. Similar to

³ . Occasionally there are descriptions of Chinese women warriors' outstanding physical strength in ancient records. In folklore and literary works, there are more stories on "female tigers"--Chinese counterparts of Amazons. But in general, the Chinese cultural construction of heroines tends not to emphasize on their physical fitness or upper body strength. Modern readers might be misled by this kind of description and fail to recognize that most ancient hand weapons were heavy.

their male counterparts, heroines are glorified as loyal servants to the court more than valorous warriors by themselves. These features make the image of women warriors more acceptable and inspiring.

Some women's social status has been improved thanks to their military participation. In this study, eighteen (45%) of the 40 ancient warriors have enjoyed some entitlement because of their military activity. One hundred and sixty one (17%) of the total 947 women studied in this research have achieved the rank of major and above, 33 (3.5%) of them became national leaders. This indicates that military service is one of the social mobility channels which allows women to achieve, or, at least to hope for social recognition or higher status.

In short, cultural and ideological support for women's military participation has been frequent in the Chinese case. The cultural endorsement of heroines, colored by traditional patriotism, continues. Chinese women have no difficulty in envisioning themselves of being heroic warriors as well as nurturing mothers. To be a heroine is symbolically rewarding enough for any young woman to join combat, particularly if this woman has never been encouraged to value her own worthiness as a unique individual. Within this cultural context, military service becomes one of the social mobility channels for women to seek recognition, achievement, and higher social status.

Group Security Situation and Shortage of Manpower Affect Women's Military Participation in Unconventional Warfare and In Irregular Formations

Threat to group survival and shortage of manpower are defined as the situational factors in this research. The relationships between these situational factors and women's military participation vary in different operations and formations. The effects are more visible and predictable in the scale of women's participation in unconventional military operations and their positions in irregular formations, but vague in conventional warfare and regular formations. In other word, national emergency situation and shortage or perceived shortage of manpower bring more women in revolutions, defense, and anti-invasion wars. But the increase of women's representation in regular military formations has not been clearly related to any of the defined situational factors.

Generally speaking, the proposition in the theory chapter has been supported: whenever there is a threat to group survival, or a shortage of manpower, women will participate in military operations, including combat. Whenever war is brought to one's homeland, women will arise for defense. The more severe the threat to national survival is perceived, the larger scale of women's military participation is observed. It is particularly worth noting that in the Chinese case, the percentage of minor ethnic women's participation in ancient warfare (20%) and anti-invasion wars (8%) are higher than those during revolutions, civil wars and peacetime military service, when the minority representation remained as 2%. Therefore, it is suggested by this author that the percentage of minority women's military participation might be used as one of the indicators in future research to see how deeply the population is mobilized for the war.

Findings indicate that the situational factors are positively related to women's positions in irregular military formations, but have no obvious effect on women's positions in regular formations. More women serve regularly in the PLA today, which is neither related to the group security situation, nor to a shortage of manpower.

This is probably due to two reasons. One is China's large population, which makes manpower shortage a non-issue to regular armies which have national access. Secondly, it may be related to the technological reasons that regular army requires well trained warriors to serve.

In sum, more women were mobilized during the anti-invasion wars, revolutions and civil wars when there was an emergency situation and a shortage of manpower for insurgent armies as well as contesting forces in civil wars.

Male Family Head's Military Experiences Are More Important in Ancient and Modern Times

Male family head's military experiences, as a structural factor, have different relationships with women's military participation during the three different time periods defined in this study.

In ancient China, structural factors such as the absence or disability of male family heads who were responsible for defense or military operations, or male family relatives' direct participation in the rebellions, had strong relationships with women's military involvement. At least ancient Chinese women warriors were more likely to be recorded with their male family relatives, since their names with the universal *nee* (*shi*) in

Chinese) could not function for identification purpose anyway. Among the 40 ancient warriors, seventeen (42.5 %) women's fathers had military experiences either as tribe kings, emperors, Grand Defenders, or as military officers and uprising leaders. Twenty two (55%) women's husbands had military experiences.

The relationship between the structural factor of male family head's military involvement and a woman's participation was changed during the 100 year Post-Opium-War period. Few women were recorded with information regarding their male family relatives. Even fewer were recorded as fighting together with their husbands in revolutionary armies. Thus there was no obvious relationship between the male family head's military experiences with either woman's participation, nor her position within the military formations during this period.

However, in modern China, many PLA women came from military officers' or officials' families (55.8% of 190 who provided information on social origins), or were married to military officers (63% of married personnel). The structural factor of male family heads' military experiences resumes its effect during the modern time.

This finding was not anticipated. A possible explanation that may be offered is that usually children from military families are more likely to seek careers in the military. Some existing literature presents such a pattern in America (Biderman & Haley, 1979; Martin, 1981; Thomas, 1984; Faris, 1987). In ancient China, these women benefited from military family background by being able to learn martial arts from a younger age. In modern times, they have more access to the military compared with girls from other

families (see Chapter X). The inter-marriage tendency among military officers leads to many women serving with their husbands.

A new ideology and the women's movement in the post-Opium-War period led to the practice that women no longer changed their names after marriage. This was probably related to the phenomenon that few women were recorded with their husbands during the 100 year turbulent period. The new ideology has been indoctrinated continuously into the modern period with an emphasis on women's active participation in labor forces and seeking their own careers. Within the context of this continued women's movement, future studies may be focused on testing the "Occupational Linkage Hypothesis" (Lueptow, McClendon, And McKeon, 1979; Mortimer, 1982), which reflects an approach in sociological studies on the effects of paternal work experience on child socialization (Gecas, 1979).

In short, if the 100 year post-Opium War period is considered an unusual time for China, when national emergency brought more women into military operations, we may say in the Chinese case, women of military family background tend to seek careers in the military. This proposition in the theory chapter has been supported by the cases in the ancient and modern time periods.

Different Contextual Factors' Effects on Women's Military Participation

The relationship between the contextual factors and women's participation in conventional and unconventional military operations is very interesting. It is clear that the scale of women's military participation has been increased if patterns of women's

participation are compared between the ancient and the modern time. From Fu Hao's 15,000 troops 3200 years ago, to the 120,000 Taiping women combatants, then to millions of women in logistic support of the PLA's decisive engagement against the NRA during the third civil war period, this increase is clear. Modern technology not only makes large scale campaigns possible, but it also make the logistic support larger scale.

Furthermore, if we compare the cases in more detail, it is worth noting that most ancient and modern women warriors had military training. Twenty six (65%) out of the 40 ancient warriors mastered martial arts, and 97% of modern female soldiers from both sides of the Taiwan Strait had military training. This means both low and high levels of technology are related with women's military training. The lower percentage of women participants with military training in anti-invasion wars, civil wars and other revolutions may be caused by the overarching effects of the situational factor. Still, there were exceptions in this period: 82% of the Taiping and other rebelling women had military skills, and 71% of the women participants in the Northern Expedition War as well as many in the anti-Japanese war went through military training.

In ancient times, war fighting demanded warriors to have stronger physical strength and the mastery of martial arts, which were obtained through long training. During the 100 years post-Opium-War period, technology made it easier for ordinary people to use bombs and guns through short time practice, but did not make warfare too technically dependent, if we just focused on the weaponry alone. Modern warfare

demands high levels of orchestration of different units in addition to highly sophisticated weaponry, which make the military training of warriors not only necessary, but also diversified and specialized. It is already inconceivable for anybody to serve in a modern army without any military training.

Thirdly, there is a positive relationship between the contextual factors and women's positions in regular military formations. Technology increases the need for administrative work and specification of logistic support in the military, which are suitable for women even in civilian sector. The combined development of technology and economy in modern times help women enter many professions. In the Chinese case, women have become important participants in medical, translation, map making, and many scientific and technical fields after long work experience. This means technology indirectly affects women's position in regular armed forces through its effects on more general women's labor force participation and the increase of women professionals in the host society.

Technology and the combination of development of technology and economy are positively related to women's military participation and positions in the formations. The contextual factors' effect is more visible in women's participation in modern conventional warfare and positions in regular armies. Theoretically, these macro-level factors should be observed over a long time span rather than in short time periods. Technology demands modern warfare being fought with large scale logistic support, which makes women's participation almost indispensable. The effect of contextual factors is less

obvious during the modern revolution and civil war period when situational factors send many militarily unskilled women into battles.

In sum, affected by the ideological support for women's military participation as a frequent ingredient in Chinese culture, different combinations of contextual, situational and structural factors have different effects on women's military participation and positions in various formations. Situational factors are more obvious in the sense that both women's participation and positions are affected by the group's security situation and shortages or perceived shortages of manpower. Contextual factors have different effects at different time periods. These did affect the scale of women's participation in ancient times, since low technology required warriors to master the martial arts through long training. The structural factor of male family head's military experiences had affected women's military participation and positions in ancient and modern times, but not during the 100 years' turbulent revolutionary time. If we treat the 100 year post-Opium-War period as a special time span and take it away from the pattern analysis, the effects of the independent variables over women's military participation will be more consistent. Situational factors functioned more powerfully during this period, which brought more unskilled women into battles, and blurred the general pattern.

Do Chinese Women's Military Roles Go in Cycles?

To answer the relevant research question of whether women's military roles goes in cycles of expansion and contraction, this research finds that the scope of women's

military participation does go in cycles of expansion and contraction, particularly affected by the situational factors. But the degree and nature of their participation and their positions within the military do not go in cycles. In other words, it is predictable that the total number of military women at a particular time measurement will change responding to different situational factors. Women's functions and distribution within the military are more affected by the ideological support, as well as the contextual factor of technology development. An individual woman's decision to follow a military career is more related to the male family head's military experiences both in ancient and modern time.

In the Chinese case, when invasion, revolution or civil wars occur, women's military participation tends to be expanded to the extent that both their representation in regular and irregular formations increased. The increase will be more in women's participation in unconventional warfare and their positions in irregular formations. When there is comparatively prolonged peace, the quantity of women's military participation will be reduced and stabilized due to the reduction or cessation of women's participation in unconventional warfare and irregular formations. In other words, if we only focus on the relationship between situation and the size of women's military participation, history does show more women participants during the revolutionary peak times and nationwide civil wars.

Cross-Cultural Comparison

Through the descriptions of these 947 women warriors, a portrait of Chinese military women is drawn against the backdrop of a 3000 year history. As mentioned briefly in the literature review in Chapter 1, there is a rich literature on military women in other cultures, including American military women. To conduct a thorough comparison will be the topic of another dissertation. Some preliminary thought is offered here since the knowledge on the Chinese military women is still fresh. My general impression is that there are many similarities as well as differences. Many aspects seem similar at first glance, but the different sides will reveal themselves when being scrutinized.

For example, in the Chinese case, women's military roles in ancient China were mainly combat and logistic support in wars between tribal states, homeland defense, and various peasants' uprisings. Chinese culture has created a very positive picture of these ancient female warriors. They are portrayed as heroic and clever commanders, brave fighters, and loyal home defenders. The cultural construction of these historical women produces virtuous role models women should follow if needs arise. In contrast to this image, most of the ancient women warriors are portrayed in the West without the purpose of indoctrination. The cultural construction of ancient women warriors in the West produces warrior queens or warrior goddesses rather than role models. For example, the Bible says Barak commanded an army of 10,000 but refused to go into battle unless the priestess-queen Deborah went along, to cast victory spells for him. Many of ancient women warriors in the West are described together with matriarchy.

Around the shores of the Black Sea and along the African coasts of the Mediterranean, Amazons were reputed to be women raised in a matriarchy. An Amazon Queen named Artemisia joined Xerxes to fight the Greeks at the battle of Salamis in 480 B.C., because she hated Greeks (Goodrich, 1994; Dever & Dever, 1995). In the time of Iliad, it was told that there was a heroic tradition of armies made up entirely of warrior women trained for combat from early girlhood. Another example of Western cultural construction is the Celtic Morrighu as a young death queen called Valkyrie in Scandinavia and Germany, as well as an aged crone among the Celts of Ireland.

"The Greeks had called her Athene or Pallas Athene. The Romans worshipped her as Minerva. To the Celts she descended from an even more ancient source, their totem animal, the crow or raven" (Goodrich, 1994: 196).

In short, the image of ancient women warriors in the West is similarly powerful, but not always positive. The social construction is more intertwined with mythology and religion rather than serving the purpose of orthodoxy indoctrination.

Norma Lorre Goodrich believes that there are two major movements in the West which dethroned women. One was certainly democracy, the other was Christianity.

"The weapon used was pregnancy and motherhood taught as obligation and sacrificial way of life...Christianity wiped out the ancient heroic mode for women and demoted them to service, subservience, and impurity" (Goodrich, 1994:194).

In the Chinese case, women were demoted to service, obedience, and lowest social status even below her eldest son by Confucianism, but were not derived their rights to become glorious heroines. This probably leads many capable Chinese women to seek military careers in order to have their names marked by history.

In all these social constructions of ancient women warriors, another prominent similarity is that some of the heroines are portrayed as virginal: for example, the case of Joan of Arc as a certifiable virgin. It is believed that her power of prophecy came from her virginity. What is different is that in the Chinese case, women's virginity is closely related to loyalty to the court and filial piety to one's parents. If you can not meet both codes at the same time, loyalty comes first. The whole practice of social reconstruction in China is straightforward indoctrination for social control.

Another similarity as well as difference is that most ancient women warriors in China as well as in the West are portrayed as physically strong or with magical power. There is story about a giantess 192 feet long in Ancient Ireland. There are also many stories about powerful Amazons clad in red leather and always on horses. Some of the Chinese heroines are physically strong too. On the other hand, the Chinese construction of women warriors emphasizes more the mastery of martial arts with clever tactics and strong leadership. Some were portrayed as typical women. Xun Guan and Li Xiu are portrayed more as energetic teenage girls who have mastered the martial arts at their early ages.

Another similarity is the anonymity involved in low class women's military participation. After much research, some representatives of the two thousand Red Army soldiers on the Long March are listed in this document. One continued to follow the army after several rejections simply because she did not want to go back home to be a child-bride slave again. Many felt they were starting to be treated as persons in the

egalitarian army. That kind of human respect was rewarding enough to keep many Red Army soldiers going through all the hardship and threat of death.

The most significant similarity is that women's functions within the military are historically supportive, although many of them participated in direct combat and commanded battles. The six traditional categories of women's roles in the military are almost universal compared across culturally.

In sum, women's presence in the regular armed forces of China, as well as in other quasi-military organizations such as the militia and the armed police, remains frequent, due both to the Party's ideology of equal status between the genders and to the dual commitment of women to labor and family. It also derives from a tradition of using women in unconventional warfare and irregular military formations. Whenever there is a shortage or perceived shortage of manpower, women will be mobilized to participate in military operations. To be a Chinese woman soldier in peacetime is a privilege offering job security, opportunities for education and training, and better social status. The functions of Chinese women in military operations are supportive in nature and are limited to non-combat positions, although some of them have participated in combat and been inside fire zones during conflicts. In peacetime, Chinese female soldiers serve in traditional women's roles. They have benefited but also been limited by their relative concentration in certain work places—benefited by job security and stable status, but limited by promotion opportunities.

APPENDIX I

A List of the Topics Covered in the Questionnaire for the 1992 Survey of the PLA Women

Conducted from April 17 to May 18 in Beijing By

Xiaolin Li

MILITARY INFORMATION

- distribution
- ranks
- years in the military
- transfer possibility
- promotion (why, when and where),
- spouse
- where to join
- combat experience
- record of award

CAREER INTENT AND EXPECTATION

- service expectation
- prediction of participation in combat
- prediction of future promotion
- prediction of being promoted to be a general
- prediction of finding a good job in civilian section

INDIVIDUAL AND FAMILY CHARACTERISTICS

- age
- birth place
- nationality
- educational level
- parent's educational level
- parent's positions
- marital status
- spouse's educational level
- spouse's support of her serving in the military
- marital life

family income
whether satisfied with family income

EVALUATION OF MILITARY LIFE

general satisfaction
comparison with work and life in civilian section
level of satisfaction on promotion opportunity
level of satisfaction on children's education
level of satisfaction on working with male colleagues
feeling about job security
prediction of life after retirement
sense of serving motherland
opportunity of education and training

APPENDIX II

English Translation of the 1992 Survey Questionnaire

I. MILITARY INFORMATION

1. When did you enter the military? 19__
2. Service: Army Navy Air Force General Logistics
General Political General Staff
3. Your rank: _____
Civilian Class: _____
Artistic Class: _____
Technical Class: _____
4. How long have you been in the military?
____ years ____ months
5. Your current title: _____
I don't know ()
6. Have you been transferred?
No ()
Yes ()
=>From what service/position to what
service/position?

7. If you are an officer, when, where and why you were promoted?
Why: Degree: _____ When: _____
Performance: _____ Where: _____
Seniority: _____
8. Is your spouse also in the military?
not married ()
No ()
Yes ()=> What service? _____
What position/title? _____
9. Where did you join the military?
City: Province _____ City _____
Country: Province _____ County _____
10. As of today, how many months have you been assigned
to your present post?
_____ months

11. How much longer do you expect to be at your present position?

_____ months

I don't know

12. Have you participated in combat?

No

Yes => when: _____ year _____ month

where: _____

Your position at that time: _____

13. Have you been to the combat zone?

No

Yes => when: _____ year _____ month

where: _____

Your position at that time: _____

14. Record of your announced commendations and awards:

when: _____ year _____ month

why: _____

15. FOR MEDICAL PERSONNEL ONLY:

Are you a medical doctor?

No

Yes => reasons to be promoted:

Nurse

Schooling

Other reasons _____

16. FOR SCIENTIFIC AND TECHNICAL PERSONNEL ONLY:

Highest education you have obtained:

College Graduate

Graduate Study

Civilian College: _____

Military College: _____

Your position: _____

17. FOR CULTURAL PERSONNEL ONLY:

Have you been trained at specialty school?

No

Yes =>where: _____

For how long: _____ months

How long have you been working at current position?

How much longer do you expect to be at your present position?

Have you been to the Front?

No

Yes =>when: _____

where: _____

For how long: _____

How many times: _____

18. During your military service, have you been changed to another military location?

No

Yes => How many times? _____

19. If your spouse is in the military, does he serve in the same district with you?

No

Yes

II. CAREER INTENT AND EXPECTATION

20. When you finally leave the military, how many total years of service do you expect to have?

_____years

I don't know

21. When you finally leave the military, what position do you think you will be in?

_____ I don't know

22. What are the chances that you will participate in combat in future?

Does not apply, I plan to retire

(0 in 10) No chance

(1 in 10) Very slight possibility

(2 in 10) Slight possibility

(3 in 10) Some possibility

(4 in 10) Fair possibility

(5 in 10) Fairly good possibility

(6 in 10) Good possibility

(7 in 10) Probable

(8 in 10) Very probable

(9 in 10) Almost sure

(10 in 10) Certain

Don't know

23. What do you think your chances are of being promoted to the next higher position (class)?

Does not apply, I plan to retire

(0 in 10) No chance

- (1 in 10) Very slight possibility
 - (2 in 10) Slight possibility
 - (3 in 10) Some possibility
 - (4 in 10) Fair possibility
 - (5 in 10) Fairly good possibility
 - (6 in 10) Good possibility
 - (7 in 10) Probable
 - (8 in 10) Very probable
 - (9 in 10) Almost sure
 - (10 in 10) Certain
 - Don't know
24. What do you think your chances are of being promoted to female general during your career?
- Does not apply, I plan to retire
 - (0 in 10) No chance
 - (1 in 10) Very slight possibility
 - (2 in 10) Slight possibility
 - (3 in 10) Some possibility
 - (4 in 10) Fair possibility
 - (5 in 10) Fairly good possibility
 - (6 in 10) Good possibility
 - (7 in 10) Probable
 - (8 in 10) Very probable
 - (9 in 10) Almost sure
 - (10 in 10) Certain
 - Don't know

III. INDIVIDUAL AND FAMILY CHARACTERISTICS

25. How old were you on your last birthday?
26. Where were you born?
 _____ Province _____ City _____ County
27. Are you a minor nationality?
 No
 Yes => what nationality: _____
28. When you first entered the military, what was the highest grade or year of regular school or college you had completed?
 Middle school ___ Grade
 High school ___ Grade
 High school graduate
 College ___ Grade

College graduate

Other _____

29. Your current educational level:

Middle school ___ Grade

High school ___ Grade

Middle school graduate

High school graduate

College ___ Grade

College graduate

Master's degree _____ year

Ph. D. _____ year

Other _____

30. If you have college education, what college you have been to?

_____ university

_____ college

Have you graduated?

No

Yes => which year? _____

31. Your parents' educational level:

Mother _____

Father _____

32. Your parents' work unit:

Mother _____

Father _____

33. When you first entered the military, what was your marital status?

Married

Single, never married

34. As of today, your marital status?

Married

Never married

Divorced

Other: Remarried

Widowed

Separated

35. How old were you when you first married?

_____ years old

36. Have you ever been divorced since entering the military?

No

- Yes =>How many years were you in the military prior to your first divorce?
 _____ years
 =>How many years were you married prior to this divorce?
 ----- years
 =>Has your former spouse of this marriage remarried?
 No
 Yes
 Don't know
 =>To what extent do you feel that your serving in the military contributed to your divorce?
 To some extent
 Not at all
 Don't know
37. Your spouse's educational level:
 Middle school__Grade
 High school__Grade
 Middle school graduate
 High school graduate
 College__Grade
 College graduate
 Other_____
38. Where was your spouse born?
 _____Province_____City_____County
39. Is your spouse a minor nationality?
 No
 Yes
40. What kind of married life do you have?
 Live together No
 Yes
 Live at two geographic locations
 No
 Yes
41. Does your spouse support your service in the military?
 No
 Yes
42. Do you have children?
 No
 Yes =>How many?

43. In the past year, how many months were you completely

separated from your spouse or dependents because of
your military assignment?

_____ months

44. When you were separated from your dependents, who
took care of them?

45. During last month, if you were separated from your
dependents, who took care of them while your spouse
worked?

46. Were/are you satisfied with the quality of education
your child(ren) received?

No => Why?

Yes => Why?

47. As of last month's salary/wages, how much was your
total income?

_____ Y

48. Does your income include any allowance for military
activities?

No

Yes

49. Suppose you were in the process of retiring from the
military, what do you think are the chances that you may
find a good job in civilian sector?

- (0 in 10) No chance
- (1 in 10) Very slight possibility
- (2 in 10) Slight possibility
- (3 in 10) Some possibility
- (4 in 10) Fair possibility
- (5 in 10) Fairly good possibility
- (6 in 10) Good possibility
- (7 in 10) Probable
- (8 in 10) Very probable
- (9 in 10) Almost sure
- (10 in 10) Certain
- Don't know

50. Last year your spouse's monthly income:

_____ Y

51. As of today, do you think you are in debt?

- No
- Yes =>How much?
 _____Y
52. How much is your family's monthly expenses?
 _____Y
53. Are you satisfied with your family income?
 No =>Why?

- Yes =>Why?

IV. MILITARY LIFE

54. How much do you agree or disagree with each of the following statements about military life?
- A. Life in the military is about what I expected it to be.
- Strongly Agree
- Agree
- I don't know
- Disagree
- Strongly Disagree
- B. My living standard in the military is higher than in the civilian section.
- Strongly Agree
- Agree
- I don't know
- Disagree
- Strongly Disagree
- C. I have many friends in the military.
- Strongly Agree
- Agree
- I don't know
- Disagree
- Strongly Disagree
- D. I am satisfied with my income.
- Strongly Agree
- Agree
- I don't know
- Disagree

- Strongly Disagree ()
- E. I am satisfied with my promotion opportunity.
Strongly Agree ()
Agree ()
I don't know ()
Disagree ()
Strongly Disagree ()
- F. I am happy working together with male colleagues.
Strongly Agree ()
Agree ()
I don't know ()
Disagree ()
Strongly Disagree ()
- G. I am satisfied with the quality of my children's education.
Strongly Agree ()
Agree ()
I don't know ()
Disagree ()
Strongly Disagree ()
- H. I have well-defined and stable work assignment.
Strongly Agree ()
Agree ()
I don't know ()
Disagree ()
Strongly Disagree ()
- I. I have many opportunities to take business trip.
Strongly Agree ()
Agree ()
I don't know ()
Disagree ()
Strongly Disagree ()
- J. My general welfare will not be bad after my retirement.
Strongly Agree ()
Agree ()
I don't know ()
Disagree ()
Strongly Disagree ()
- K. I am satisfied with my recent assignment.
Strongly Agree ()
Agree ()
I don't know ()

- Disagree ()
- Strongly Disagree ()
- L. I have job security.
 - Strongly Agree ()
 - Agree ()
 - I don't know ()
 - Disagree ()
 - Strongly Disagree ()
- M. I am serving my Motherland.
 - Strongly Agree ()
 - Agree ()
 - I don't know ()
 - Disagree ()
 - Strongly Disagree ()
- N. My job has provided me training and educational opportunities.
 - Strongly Agree ()
 - Agree ()
 - I don't know ()
 - Disagree ()
 - Strongly Disagree ()

APPENDIX III

THE CHINESE 1992 SURVEY QUESTIONNAIRE

一九九二年中国女军人 问卷调查纲要

1. 基本服役情况
2. 服役预测
3. 个人情况
4. 军队生活

美国马里兰大学社会系
李晓林

1. 基本服役境况

(1) 何时入伍? 19____

(2) 兵种: 陆军 海军 空军 总后 总政 总参

(3) 军阶: _____

文职级: _____

文艺级: _____

技术级: _____

(4) 服役时间: _____年____月

(5) 现职称: _____

我不知道

(6) 是否调动? 否

是 → 从何兵种、何职位调往何兵种、何职位?

(7) 如您是军官, 何时何地何故您被提拔为干部?

何故: 学位: _____ 何时: _____

表现: _____ 何地: _____

军龄: _____

(8) 您的配偶是军人吗?

未婚

否

是 → 何兵种? 何任职?

(9) 您从何地参军? 城市: 省 _____ 市 _____

农村: 省 _____ 县 _____

(10) 以今天为界, 您在现职工作了多久? _____月

(11) 您估计在现职位还得工作多久? _____月

不知道

(12) 您是否参加过战斗? 否

是 → 何时 _____年____月

何地 _____(地区)

何职 _____

(13) 您是否到过战区? 否

是 → 何时 _____ 年 _____ 月
何地 _____ (地区)
何职 _____

(14) 您的评功授奖记录: 何时 _____ 年 _____ 月
何故 _____

(15) 此项仅由医务人员回答:
您是医生吗? 否 是 → 提拔原因: 护士 学校 其它
您当过护士吗? 否 是 → 何地 _____
您是护士长吗? 否 是 → 您当过多少年护士? _____ 月
您在护士长的位置上工作了多久?

(16) 此项仅由科技人员回答:
您的学历: 大专; 研究生
地方培训学院:
军队培训学院:

您的职位:
您在此职位工作了多久? _____ 月

(17) 此项仅由文艺工作人员回答:
您上过专业培训学校吗? 否 是 → 何地? _____
多久? _____ 月

您在现职位工作了多久?

您预计还要工作多久?

您上过前线吗? 否 是 → 何时 _____
何地 _____
多久 _____
次数 _____

(18) 在您服役期间, 您更换过驻地吗? 否 是 → 多少次? _____

(19) 如您的配偶是军人, 他(她)在您的同一地区吗? 否 是

2. 服役预测

(20) 您预测在您退役(退休)时, 您一共服役多少年? _____ 年
不知道

(21) 您估计将在何职位退役(退休)? _____
不知道

(22) 您估计未来参战的可能性

1) 此项不适于我, 我已计划退役

- | | | | |
|------------|--------|----------|---------|
| 2) 没有可能 | (0) | 8) 可能性很大 | (6/10) |
| 3) 可能性很小 | (1/10) | 9) 很有可能 | (7/10) |
| 4) 可能性小 | (2/10) | 10) 非常可能 | (8/10) |
| 5) 有些可能 | (3/10) | 11) 几乎肯定 | (9/10) |
| 6) 相当可能 | (4/10) | 12) 肯定 | (10/10) |
| 7) 相当大的可能性 | (5/10) | 13) 不知道 | |

(23) 您预测晋升(调级)的可能性

- | | | | |
|-------------------|--------|----------|---------|
| 1) 此项不适合我, 我已计划退役 | | | |
| 2) 没有可能 | (0) | 8) 可能性很大 | (6/10) |
| 3) 可能性很小 | (1/10) | 9) 很有可能 | (7/10) |
| 4) 可能性小 | (2/10) | 10) 非常可能 | (8/10) |
| 5) 有些可能 | (3/10) | 11) 几乎肯定 | (9/10) |
| 6) 相当可能 | (4/10) | 12) 肯定 | (10/10) |
| 7) 相当大的可能性 | (5/10) | 13) 不知道 | |

(24) 您有可能当女将军吗?

- | | | | |
|-------------------|--------|----------|---------|
| 1) 此项不适合我, 我已计划退役 | | | |
| 2) 没有可能 | (0) | 8) 可能性很大 | (6/10) |
| 3) 可能性很小 | (1/10) | 9) 很有可能 | (7/10) |
| 4) 可能性小 | (2/10) | 10) 非常可能 | (8/10) |
| 5) 有些可能 | (3/10) | 11) 几乎肯定 | (9/10) |
| 6) 相当可能 | (4/10) | 12) 肯定 | (10/10) |
| 7) 相当大的可能性 | (5/10) | 13) 不知道 | |

3. 个人情况

(25) 您上次过生日时的年龄?

(26) 您在哪里出生? _____省 _____市 _____县

(27) 您是少数民族吗? 否 是 → 何民族? _____

(28) 您参军时的文化程度: 初中____年级 高中毕业 大学毕业
 高中____年级 大学____年级 其它____

(29) 您今天的文化程度: 初中____年级 初中毕业
 高中____年级 高中毕业
 大专____年级 大专毕业
 硕士____年 其它
 博士____年

(30) 如果您上过大学, 请问: _____大学 _____学院

是否毕业 否
是 → 哪一年? _____

(31) 您父母的文化程度? 母 _____

父 _____

(32) 您父母的互作单位? 母 _____

父 _____

(33) 参军时您的婚姻状况? 已婚 _____ 未婚 _____ 离婚 _____

(34) 以今天为界, 您的婚姻状况? 已婚 _____

其它(再婚) _____

(寡居) _____

(分居) _____

(35) 您第一次结婚时的年龄? _____ 岁 是 → 您第一次离婚时服役了多少年?

(36) 参军后您是否离过婚? 否 是 → 结婚了多少年?

您的配偶再婚了吗?

服役影响您的婚姻吗?

不影响 有影响 不知道

(37) 您的配偶的文化程度: 初中 _____ 年级 初中毕业
高中 _____ 年级 高中毕业
大专 _____ 年级 大专毕业
其它 _____

(38) 您的配偶出生地: _____ 省 _____ 市 _____ 县

(39) 您的配偶是少数民族吗? 否 是

(40) 您的夫妻生活情况? 同居一地 否 是
分居两地 否 是

(41) 您的配偶支持您在军中服役吗? 否 是

(42) 您有子女吗? 否 是 → 几个?

(43) 在过去一年的时间里, 您有多少个月因互作原因与您的配偶及子女分离? _____ 月

(44) 与子女分离时, 何人照顾他(她)的生活?

(45) 上个月, 您若与子女分离, 您的配偶上班时, 何人照顾您子女的生活?

(46) 您对子女的教育环境满意吗? 否 → 为什么?

是 → 为什么?

(47) 上个月发工资时, 您的总收入是_____元?

(48) 您的收入里, 包括军事活动补贴吗?

(49) 如果您在办理退役手续, (复员/转业) 您预测在地方上找到一个好工作的可能性。

- | | | | |
|------------|--------|----------|---------|
| 1) 没有可能 | (0) | 7) 可能性很大 | (8/10) |
| 2) 可能性很小 | (1/10) | 8) 很有可能 | (7/10) |
| 3) 可能性小 | (2/10) | 9) 非常可能 | (8/10) |
| 4) 有些可能 | (3/10) | 10) 几乎肯定 | (9/10) |
| 5) 相当可能 | (4/10) | 11) 肯定 | (10/10) |
| 6) 相当大的可能性 | (5/10) | 12) 不知道 | |

(50) 去年您的配偶月收入情况_____元。

(51) 以今天为界, 您认为自己有债务吗? 否
有_____多少?

(52) 您的家庭一个月生活开销是多少?_____元。

(53) 您对家庭收入状况满意吗? 否 → 为什么?

4. 军队生活

(54) 您任下列描述适合的的具体情况吗?

认为 信 非常同意 同意 不知道 不同意 非常不同意

- A. 军队生活正象我想象的那样
- B. 我在军队里生活水平比在地方高
- C. 我在军中有很多朋友
- D. 我对自己的收入情况很满意
- E. 我对自己的普升机会很满意
- F. 我和男性战友同事很愉快
- G. 我对子女教育环境很满意
- H. 我的工作任务很明确、稳定
- I. 我出差的机会很多
- J. 我退役后的待遇不会太差
- K. 我对现任工作很满意
- L. 我的工作有保障
- M. 我在为祖国服务
- N. 我的工作给我提供了受教育的机会

APPENDIX IV

A Brief Chinese Chronology

Xia		21th-16th BC		Northern Qi	550 - 577	
Shang		16th-11th BC		Western Wei	535 - 556	
Zhou	Western Zhou	11th-771 BC		Northern Zhou	557 - 581	
	Eastern Zhou	770 - 256 BC	Sui		581 - 618	
	Spring and Autumn	770 - 476 BC	Tang		618 - 907	
	Warring States	475 - 221BC	Five	Later Liang	907 - 923	
Qing		221 - 207BC		Later Tang	923 - 936	
Han	Western Han	206 BC- 24 AD		Later Jin	936 - 946	
	Eastern Han	25 - 220	Later Han	947 - 950		
Three Kingdoms	Wei	220 - 265	Song	Later Zhou	951 - 960	
	Shu Han	221 - 263		Northern Song	906 - 1127	
	Wu	222 - 280		Soutnern Song	1127 - 1279	
Western Jin		265 - 316	Liao		916 - 1125	
Eeastern Jin		317 - 420	Jin		1115 - 1234	
Northern and Southern	Southern	Song	420 - 479	Yuan		1271 - 1368
		Qi	479 - 502	Ming		1368 - 1644
		Liang	502 - 557	Qing		1644 - 1911
		Chen	557 - 589	Republic of China		1912 - 1949
	Northern	N. Wei	386 - 534	People's Republic of China		1949-
		E. Wei	534 - 550			

APPENDIX V

A Simplified Table of Chinese Population in the Past Two Thousand Years

Dynasty	Year	Population (million)
Han 汉	2	59.59
	156	56.49
Jin 晋	280	16.16
Sui 隋	609	46.02
Tang 唐	740	48.14
	755	53.00
Song 宋	1080	33.30
	1110	46.73
Yuan 元	1290	58.84
Ming 明	1393	60.55
	1578	60.69
Qing 清	1764	205.59
	1795	297.00
	1819	301.26
	1849	412.99
The Republic of China 民国	1912	405.81
	1928	474.79

APPENDIX VI

PICTURES OF QIU JIN AND SOME PLA WOMEN



Qiu Jin -- picture taken around 1905



**General Li Zhen -- born in 1908.
This picture was taken at her
designation in 1955.**

**General Nie Li -- born in September
1930. She studied in Soviet Union
from 1955 to 1960. The last position
she held was the Deputy Director and
General Secretary of the Technology
Committee of the Defense Science
and Industry Commission.**



**General Liao Wenhai -- born in
June 1934. She joined the army in
December 1950. Now she is the
president of the General Hospital
of the Army.**



General Wu Xiaoheng -- born in March 1932. She joined the army in January 1951. Now she is the Vice President of the First Military Medical University.

General Li Xikai -- born in March 1932. She joined the army in September 1950. Now she is the Vice President of the Third Military Medical University.



General Hu Feipei -- born in December 1930. She joined the army in August 1949. The last position she held was the Vice President and Professor of the Military Foreign Language Institute.





**A Picture of Three Generation of the PLA Women
from the left: Colonel Ma, the Author,
the Author's Mother, General Nie Li**

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"A Discovery of Rock Painting in Ya Bu Lai Cave in Inner Mongolia: Twenty Thousands Years Added to the History of Chinese Painting".

____. 7/20/93.

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"Analysis on the Social Phenomenon of Sale of Women in Our Country" Sociology
Study, No. 35, 5th Issue.

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EDUCATION

Ph.D., Sociology <i>Dissertation defended on November 16, 1994</i> <i>Military Sociology, Social Psychology, and Mental Health</i> University of Maryland, College Park	8/95
M.A., Sociology University of Maryland, College Park	5/90
B.A., Western Languages and Literature Beijing University	1/74

EXPERIENCE

Business

Vice President Songbin System International Corporation	10/92-present
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As an exclusive representative of the China Technology Park Investment Project for Charles Percy and Associates (CPA) since March 1993; and an exclusive China projects representative for Westmoreland Energy, Inc. since July, 1993.

Research

Consultant The Arlington Institute, Arlington, VA	6/92-3/93
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For a research project conducted on behalf of the US Coast Guard, assist the President in reviewing and analyzing a wide range of materials in identification of driving forces which cause dramatic technological and sociological changes in the world. Two final products of this project are published: The Road to 2012: Looking Towards the Next Two Decades published in March 1993, and The Road to 2015: Profiles of the Future published by Waite Groups Press, 1994.

Research Assistant The Center for International Security Study at Maryland (CISSM)	8/91-6/92
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Assisted the Executive Director in conducting a CISSM faculty profile survey, conducted research and focus interviews for a research project on US-Vietnam normalization process, drafted a preliminary report for the research proposal, coordinated the organization of a Vietnam Roundtable, a group of public and private sector experts, administrators, and other citizens working to develop collaborative projects in Vietnam.

Visiting Fellow 9/85-6/86

The Center of International Studies, Princeton University
Conducted face-to-face interviews of 56 Princeton students, 14 Chinese graduate students and various young American adults in the New Jersey and New York areas for a comparative study of young adults in America and China.

Council Member
10/84-8/87
The China Association for International Friendly Contact

As the initiator and one of the founders of this national organization, drafted the proposal, managed the fundraising, structured the system, coordinated the opening ceremony, and made connections with its American counterparts at various academic institutions.

Research Fellow 8/81-9/84
The Chinese Association for International Understanding

Led Chinese governmental delegations in visits to Japan, the U.S.A, Britain, Germany and France, and conducted research on US-China relations, Soviet military affairs and national security, Soviet youth movement, and Soviet manpower policy.

Teaching Experience

Teaching Assistant 9/87-6/93
Department of Sociology, University of Maryland

Military Sociology (SOCY464), Statistics (SOCY201), Family Demography (SOCY343), Demographic Techniques (SOCY411)

Assistant Lecturer 2/74-6/79
Beijing University

Military Experience and Intelligence Research

Research Staff 6/79-8/87
General Political Department (GPD) of the People's Liberation Army of China
(PLA)

Conducted research on Soviet defense policy and security issues, American defense policy and security issues, the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan, American military manpower policy, psychological warfare, utilization of civilians in military system, relations between officers and enlisted personnel, studies on combat fatigue, and strategic balance in Pacific region.

Interpreter & Translator 10/74-5/79
Air Force of the PLA

Interpreted for top level negotiations between the British Trident Team and the Civil Aviation Administration of China, assisted in flight crew instructions and training, translated and edited the Chinese "Flight Manual of Trident", "Crew Manual of Trident" and other documents for the Chinese Trident fleet.

Speeches and Invited Lectures

- "Once a Hundred Years' Opportunity"* 10/20/93
Meridian International Center
- "A Chinese Perspective of American Roles in New World Order: Pacific Rim"*
CISSM Annual Graduate Student Conference
3/27/92
- "Chinese Culture"* Fall/91
Dept. of Sociology, U. of Maryland
- "The People's Liberation Army of China"* Fall/91
Dept. of Sociology, U. of Maryland
- "Chinese Family Demography"*
Dept. of Sociology, U. of Maryland
Spring/91
- "Military Social Psychology in China"* Spring/86
Water Reed Army Institute of Research/Washington, DC

"Chinese College Students" Spring/86
Fudan U/New York City

"Higher Education in China" Fall/85
St. Anselm C./Manchester,NH

"Chinese Red Guard and Cultural Revolution" Fall/85
Princeton U.

ACHIEVEMENTS AND AWARDS

Pacific Cultural Foundation Research Grant Summer, 1993
Taipei, Taiwan

CISSM MacArthur Scholarship Academic Year 1992-1993
School of Public Affairs, UMCP

Departmental Scholarship Academic Year 1987-1993

Department of Sociology, UMCP Academic Year 1991-1992

CISSM Junior MacArthur Scholarship
School of Public Affairs, UMCP Summer, 1989

CISSM Summer Internship
School of Public Affairs, UMCP Summer, 1988

Departmental Summer Research Grant
Department of Sociology, UMCP Academic Year 1987-1988

Senior MacArthur Fellowship
School of Public Affairs, UMCP Academic Year 1985-1986

Visiting Fellowship
The Center of International Studies,
Princeton University

OTHER AFFILIATIONS

Member, Women in International Security (WIIS)

Fellow, the Inter-University Seminar on Armed Forces and Society (IUS)

Member, the China Association for Social Psychology

Vice President, Songbin Systems International Corporation

PUBLICATIONS AND CONFERENCE PAPERS

English

"Chinese Women Soldiers: A History of 5,000 Years", Social Education, Vol.58, No.2, February, 1994, pp.67-70. Reprinted in Global Studies: Japan and Pacific Rim, Guilford, CT: The Dushkin Publishing Group, Inc., 1995.

"Chinese Women in the People's Liberation Army: Professionals or Quasi-Professionals?", Armed Forces and Society, Vol.20, No:1, Fall, 1993, pp. 69-83

"Patterns of Chinese Women's Participation in Military Operations in Ancient Times", presented at the Section on the Sociology of Peace and War, American Sociology Association Convention, Pittsburgh, PA, August, 1992

"The Role of Women in the Chinese People's Liberation Army", co-authored with Mady W. Segal and David R. Segal, in Eberhard Sandschneider and Jurgen Kuhlmann (eds.) Armed Forces in the USSR and the People's Republic of China, Forum International, Munich 1992. This article was reprinted in MINERVA: Quarterly Report on Women and the Military, Vol. X, No.1, Spring, 1992 pp. 48-55. And, this article was also published in Johanna Hurm. Ruth Meyer Schweizer. J.Peter Fluekiger. Jurg Stussi-Lauterburg (eds.) Women in Armed Forces, Proceedings of the International Symposium held 15th to 17th October 1990 at "Wolfsberg", training center of the Union Bank of Switzerland, CH-8272 Ermatingen, organized by the Swiss Department Defense in commemoration of 50 years of Swiss Women's Service in the Army, Verlag Effingerhof AG, 1992

"Chinese Women in the People's Liberation Army", presented at the IUS Biennial Conference at Baltimore, Maryland, October, 1991

"Establishing Unit Cohesion in the US Army: A Half-century of Applied Research", co-authored with David. R. Segal and J. Daniel Schubert, Sociological Practice Review, Jan. 1991, pp. 9-14

"Different Types of Primary Group Bonds: Comparative Study of American and Chinese Armies in Korean War", presented at the Conference on "The Korean War and Its Legacy: Prospects for Peace in the 1990s", at the Center for East Asian Studies, Pennsylvania State University, July, 1990

"Military Cohesion in America and China", presented at the Section on the Sociology of Peace and War, American Sociology Association Convention, Washington, DC, August, 1990

"Unit Cohesion of the People's Liberation Army of China", presented at the 96th American Psychological Association Convention, Atlanta, Georgia, August, 1988

Chinese

"A Comparative Study of Military Cohesion in America and China", presented at the "First Annual Conference of Chinese Young Scientists", China Association for Science and Technology, Beijing, China, April, 1992. This article is published on SOCIAL PSYCHOLOGY STUDY, winter 1992

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