

INFORMATION TO USERS

This manuscript has been reproduced from the microfilm master. UMI films the text directly from the original or copy submitted. Thus, some thesis and dissertation copies are in typewriter face, while others may be from any type of computer printer.

The quality of this reproduction is dependent upon the quality of the copy submitted. Broken or indistinct print, colored or poor quality illustrations and photographs, print bleedthrough, substandard margins, and improper alignment can adversely affect reproduction.

In the unlikely event that the author did not send UMI a complete manuscript and there are missing pages, these will be noted. Also, if unauthorized copyright material had to be removed, a note will indicate the deletion.

Oversize materials (e.g., maps, drawings, charts) are reproduced by sectioning the original, beginning at the upper left-hand corner and continuing from left to right in equal sections with small overlaps. Each original is also photographed in one exposure and is included in reduced form at the back of the book.

Photographs included in the original manuscript have been reproduced xerographically in this copy. Higher quality 6" x 9" black and white photographic prints are available for any photographs or illustrations appearing in this copy for an additional charge. Contact UMI directly to order.

UMI[®]

Bell & Howell Information and Learning
300 North Zeeb Road, Ann Arbor, MI 48106-1346 USA
800-521-0600

**Chinese Women: Active Revolutionaries or Passive Followers?
A History of the All-China Women's Federation, 1949 to 1996**

Justina Ka Yee Tsui

A Thesis

in

The Department of History

Presented in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements

for the Degree of Master of Arts

Concordia University, Montreal, Quebec, Canada

©Justina Ka Yee Tsui

August 1998



National Library
of Canada

Acquisitions and
Bibliographic Services

395 Wellington Street
Ottawa ON K1A 0N4
Canada

Bibliothèque nationale
du Canada

Acquisitions et
services bibliographiques

395, rue Wellington
Ottawa ON K1A 0N4
Canada

Your file *Votre référence*

Our file *Notre référence*

The author has granted a non-exclusive licence allowing the National Library of Canada to reproduce, loan, distribute or sell copies of this thesis in microform, paper or electronic formats.

The author retains ownership of the copyright in this thesis. Neither the thesis nor substantial extracts from it may be printed or otherwise reproduced without the author's permission.

L'auteur a accordé une licence non exclusive permettant à la Bibliothèque nationale du Canada de reproduire, prêter, distribuer ou vendre des copies de cette thèse sous la forme de microfiche/film, de reproduction sur papier ou sur format électronique.

L'auteur conserve la propriété du droit d'auteur qui protège cette thèse. Ni la thèse ni des extraits substantiels de celle-ci ne doivent être imprimés ou autrement reproduits sans son autorisation.

0-612-39428-X

Abstract

Chinese Women: Active Revolutionaries or Passive Followers?

A History of the All-China Women's Federation, 1949 to 1996

Justina Ka Yee Tsui

This study centers on the history of the All-China Women's Federation (ACWF) from 1949 to 1996. The ACWF was the first nation-wide women's organization in the People's Republic of China and has been the official leader of the Chinese women's movement. By reviewing the origins, ideology, structure and functions of the ACWF, this study examines how the Federation has worked to liberate Chinese women from tradition, to involve them in the socialist revolution and to promote their welfare, as well as their social status in China. Emphasis is placed on tracing how the dual roles of the ACWF as government agency and as representative of Chinese women's interests were at times incompatible, and consequently affected the growth of the Chinese women's movement. In conclusion, this study suggests that both the ACWF and the Chinese women's movement entered new stages of development when Chinese society began to undergo fundamental changes as a result of its economic reforms during the 1980s and the 1990s.

Acknowledgment

This project presented many overwhelming challenges and unexpected difficulties. At times, I felt intimidated. Dr. Martin Singer, my thesis supervisor, has always been resourceful and inspiring. Without his help and encouragement, I would not have been able to conduct research in China and to finish writing a thesis. I shall never forget those friends that I've made in Beijing. They taught me many things about China and its people that I could never find in or fully comprehend by reading any book. Lastly, I want to thank my parents, my husband, my siblings and my sister-in-law. With a lot of love, they have truly shared my dreams, stress and satisfactions in the entire process of doing this study.

Table of Contents

Introduction	1
Chapter One: Historiographical Analysis	6
Chapter Two : Origins	23
Chapter Three: Ideology	30
Chapter Four: Structure	42
Chapter Five: Functions	
The ACWF: A Government Agency	47
The ACWF: Official Leader of the Chinese Women’s Movement	56
The ACWF: The Protector of Children’s Welfare	67
The ACWF: International Representative of Women in China	72
Chapter Six: Cadres	79
Conclusion	84
Endnotes	90
Bibliography	106

Introduction

Similar to women in other great civilizations, Chinese women were oppressed for centuries. The dawn of their emancipation came together with the collapse of the last dynasty of China. At the turn of the century, Western science and technology, political ideas and systems were increasingly appealing to Chinese intellectuals who were becoming more and more enthusiastic about modernizing China. The practices of women's segregation and foot-binding which were symbols of China's backwardness and women's oppression were part of the past that Chinese revolutionaries wanted to eliminate. However, in the first half of the twentieth century, China experienced constant political turmoil which was generated consecutively by warlords' partition of the country, power struggles between the Guomindang (GMD) and the Chinese Communist Party (CCP), Japanese invasion (1931-1945), and the Civil War (1945-1949). Women's issues, similar to many others, were largely not dealt with systematically and comprehensively.

Chairman Mao Zedong's (1893-1976) proclamation of the establishment of the People's Republic of China (PRC) in 1949 marked a new phase of Chinese history. The CCP leaders envisioned a socialist China in which imperialism, wars, and class exploitation would be replaced by stability, peace and equality. Among many promises made and goals set, women's liberation stood out as one of the most revolutionary and anti-traditional. In order to govern and control China's huge population and vast territory, the CCP developed a very complex political structure within which economic and social activities, including the Chinese women's movement, were highly centralized. The All-China Women's Federation (ACWF) is a vehicle with which the CCP has led and supervised the Chinese women's movement. The importance of the ACWF lies not only in its originality,

but also in its contribution to Chinese women's liberation and what it symbolizes. The All-China Democratic Women's Federation, the predecessor of the ACWF, which was the first nation-wide women's organization in China, was officially established in 1949. To mobilize women to build a socialist China and to promote Chinese women's social and political status have been the two main responsibilities of the ACWF. Its work has touched almost every aspect of the lives of women in China since 1949. Ironically, many women in China do not know about the Federation's significance and contribution. This is mainly because the ACWF has had multiple roles which may not always have been compatible, but also because it has lacked consistency in representing women's interests. In short, the ACWF symbolizes not only the desire of the CCP to liberate women and the unprecedented large-scale political participation of Chinese women, but also the paternalistic and bureaucratic nature of the Chinese government since 1949.

Generally speaking, all cadres in the ACWF are engaged in so-called *fumu gongzuo* which is the main focus of this study. The term *fumu gongzuo* is commonly used in China. Literally, it means "women work" or "women's work." Perhaps, "work concerning women" reflects more the actual meaning. This term appears to be generated first by an assumption that since women had been inferior, they needed guidance, help and self-improvement in order to become equal to their male counterparts. This was precisely the ultimate goal of the Chinese women's liberation movement. As the official leader of the Chinese women's movement, the ACWF is responsible for providing such assistance. All of its major and minor undertakings to help Chinese women to improve their situations and to acquire equality is regarded as "women's work," and therefore as the content of the

Chinese women's movement. The substance of women's work varies in different periods of time because Chinese women's needs have evolved as Chinese society has developed.

This study is mainly the result of research that I conducted in Beijing from February to July 1996. Through the arrangements of the Quebec Education Ministry and the Chinese Education Ministry, I was able to stay in Beijing University (Beida) for one semester. The experience was extraordinary and very precious. In the course of the research, I encountered many difficulties and received a lot of help. With the help of the Cultural and Scientific Affairs office of the Canadian Embassy in Beijing and the State Education Commission of China, I had opportunities to interview two women cadres of the ACWF. Both of them work at the international office of the ACWF where visiting students, like me, are usually hosted. Unfortunately, many questions, especially those related to statistics and to the results of their activities, were not answered in these two interviews. They attempted to persuade me to put more emphasis on the current achievements, rather than on the history of the ACWF. One of the possible reasons for what happened could be the fact that the requirements for a master's thesis in China are not the same as those in Canada. Therefore, the cadres did not understand why I wanted to know more about certain subjects. Nevertheless, it was very interesting to meet with these two women cadres who appeared to be very enthusiastic about their work. On the other hand, with the help of the History Department of Beida, I was able to visit and use some of the materials in the Women's Studies Institute of the ACWF. I also interviewed three staff members of this Institute and a professor of women's studies at Beida. As opposed to the interviews with the women cadres, all these interviews were much deeper and more inspiring. The conversation I had with these experienced women who are indeed

activists in the Chinese women's movement enabled me to understand more about the past of the ACWF, the current situation of Chinese women and their concerns. I am indebted to Hu Yuehun and Professor Dai Ying-hua for their generosity and openness.

The source material for this study is largely derived from Funu Gongzuo which is the internal journal of the ACWF; and from Chinese secondary sources, including books and magazines which were mostly published by the publishing house of the ACWF, Zhongguo Funu Chubanze. Many of its major publications are collections of official documents concerning the Chinese women's movement. This includes letters and speeches of prominent leaders such as Soong Chingling, (1893-1981) and Deng Yingchao, (1904-92), directives from the CCP and from the government, significant articles that had been published in Renmin Ribao¹ and reports of crucial meetings and of the annual congress of the ACWF. The most outstanding collections of works are Zhongguo Funu Yundong Yundongshi² (1840-1949) and the Zhonghua Funu Yuandong Wenxian Ziliao Huiji (1949-83).³ Another example was Funu Jiefang Luncong which is a collection of speeches, reports and articles that Luo Qiong (b. 1911) made or wrote from 1952 to 1980.⁴ She was the vice-president of the ACWF from 1978 to 1988. These collections are essential sources for further studies on Chinese women's emancipation movement. ZhongHua Quanguo Funu Lianhehui Xishinian is another important reference. This book is indeed a very detailed chronological table which lists all the historical events and activities of the ACWF spanned from 1944 to 1989.⁵ Written material in China, as in many other countries, has often been used to serve certain political or ideological purposes. It is evident that the pictures, statistics and reports that these sources contain reveal only part of the reality. This problem is particularly serious with material that was published before

the Cultural Revolution. Nevertheless, these sources undoubtedly provide much important information and some insights.

This study centers on the history of the ACWF. Chapter One looks at the accomplishments and limitations of previous studies, both in English and in Chinese language, about Chinese women's history. Chapter Two focuses on the origins of the ACWF. Chapter Three traces its ideological development. Then, the following Chapter investigates its structure. Chapter Five examines its functions and activities. Chapter Six explores the satisfactions and frustrations of its cadres. Lastly, an evaluation of the effectiveness of the ACWF as the leader of the Chinese women's movement is provided. By looking at the history of the ACWF, this study aims to explore how effective the CCP has been in promoting women's status and in anticipating the future development of the Chinese women's movement.

Chapter One: Historiographical Analysis

Western scholarship on Chinese women's history began to appear in the 1970s. This is primarily attributable to the western feminist movement. The second-wave of feminism (beginning in the 1960s) has had a strong impact upon the western academic world. In the case of history, having become aware of the fact that women have been omitted from historical records throughout the ages, western scholars have been striving to write "herstory" in order to understand the oppression of women which has been unquestioned, institutionalized and deeply rooted in our civilizations. Consequently, many studies have come out about women of the past. Chinese historians in the west have been greatly influenced by this development. On the other hand, women's history started to interest Chinese intellectuals, initially mainly women, only in the mid-1980s. Gradually, they have also recognized the need to recover the place of women in Chinese history. The history of Chinese women is a history of oppression and liberation. Chinese women have reacted to and challenged repression in the context of rapid social, political and economic changes in China since the turn-of-the-century. Chinese women's battles against various forms of oppression and their attempts to achieve liberation have been inter-woven with the larger revolutionary movements in China. Although Chinese women have improved their social status to a remarkable extent, China is still far from the ideal of gender-equality. Many historians of Chinese women attempt to analyze the progress that Chinese women have made and the current challenges that they face. The following historiographical analysis will examine how fifteen English language books and articles, as well as twelve Chinese language books and articles trace and evaluate the Chinese women's emancipation movement.

The Chinese women's emancipation movement was always blended with larger revolutionary movements. Since the turn-of-the-century, except for the women's suffrage movement in the early republican period (early 1910s), Chinese women have rarely organized themselves to fight for their own rights and to protest against their oppression. Even the suffrage movement was just an ad hoc and isolated episode in modern Chinese history. In order to uncover the history of the Chinese women's emancipation movement, western scholars have investigated the causes of women's oppression, including traditional ideologies and government policies; evaluated the progress that Chinese women have made within the context of national revolutions prior to 1949 and subsequent notable mass political movements; and discussed theories that could explain the failure of the communist victory to liberate Chinese women completely.

In order to provide historical context for the Chinese women's emancipation movement, western scholars have traced the origins of women's oppression in Chinese tradition. In this regard, K. P. Gupta's "Emancipation and Enslavement of Women in China: Confucian and Communist Variations" (1975) investigates the source of discrimination against women in ancient times. It traces how legalist and moralist ideologies caused institutional changes in the state, in the family and in gender relations during the Han Dynasty (20 B.C.-A.D. 220).⁶ Kay Ann Johnson's Women, the Family, and Peasant Revolution in China (1983) and Judith Stacey's Patriarchy and Socialist Revolution in China (1983) include detailed discussions about the patriarchal nature of Confucianism. The former explores how the traditional, patrilineal and patrilocal kinship system kept women's social status inferior.⁷ The latter examines how patriarchal authority

was implemented and exercised through economic, social and ethical aspects of the Confucian family.⁸ Patricia Stranahan's Yan'an Women and the Communist Party (1983) also looks at women's position in traditional peasants' family in Northwest China prior to 1930.⁹ This study is significant because it is probably the only work which presents the characteristics of Chinese women's lives in the Shaan-Gan-Ning border region prior to 1949. Several western scholars argue that some policies of both the Guomindang (GMD) and the CCP governments contributed to the oppression of Chinese women. Elizabeth Croll's Feminism and Socialism in China (1978) examines how the Guomindang's New Life Movement (1934) attempted to restore Confucianism and the traditional sexual division of labor.¹⁰ Similarly, many works study how the CCP's economic and land reform policies reinforced Chinese women's inferior social and economic status. Phyllis Andors's The Unfinished Liberation of Chinese Women 1949-80 (1983) looks at how the First Five Year Plan (1953-57) strengthened the traditional pattern of the gender division of labor, which kept women dependent on their male relatives. Elizabeth Croll's Chinese Women Since Mao (1983) examines how the economic reforms generated by the goal of "four modernizations" put women back to work in the household. Ellen R. Judd's Gender and Power in Rural North China (1994) explores how the decollectivization of land in 1979 and the emergence of the notion of socialist commodity production in the 1980s have led to the commercialization and feminization of agriculture. These phenomena continue to tie women in rural areas to the family and prevent them from being more active in the public sphere and competitive in the economy.¹¹

According to some western scholars, the CCP's Marriage Regulations of 1931 and its Marriage Laws of 1950 and of 1980 can be seen as a source of Chinese women's

oppression. The effectiveness and implications of the marriage law is a very controversial topic. The marriage law abolished the practice of arranged marriages and ostensibly enabled both men and women to have an equal right to initiate divorce. But many western scholars maintain that since most women did not have equal social, political and economic power, they were unable to benefit from the marriage law. Yan'an Women and the Communist Party discusses the failure of the marriage law during the Yan-an period (1936-45) . It argues that the objective conditions and men's hostile reaction to the CCP made it impossible for women to initiate divorce.¹² Margery Wolf's Revolution Postponed: Women in Contemporary China (1985) assesses the effectiveness of the Marriage Law of 1953. It maintains that traditional marriage practices were still prevalent, especially in rural areas where young men and women had relatively less chances to meet, and match makers and parents continued to play a crucial role in marriage. Emily Honig and Gail Hershatter's Personal Voices: Chinese Women in the 1980s (1988) examines how Chinese women could be abused by the Marriage Law of 1980. It also looks at the limited alternatives that divorced women have and the social pressures that they face in modern China.¹³

The CCP birth control policies are very controversial as well, but western scholars have not reached a consensus about whether these policies are sources of Chinese women's oppression or liberation. Andors's The Unfinished Liberation of Chinese Women 1949-80 (1983) argues that the CCP's population control policies should be regarded as a setback for the women's emancipation movement in China because they emphasize women's predominant role in contraception and because the practice of forced abortions endanger mothers' lives. On the other hand, having investigated the effectiveness of the one-child family policy, Croll's Chinese Women Since Mao (1983) argues that the success

of this policy released women from responsibility for child care and enabled them to work outside their households.¹⁴ Wolf's Revolution Postponed: Women in Contemporary China (1985) provides a comprehensive and objective discussion about the negative implications of the CCP's population control policies for women's welfare and about the seriousness of female infanticide.¹⁵

Apart from specific government policies, such as the birth control policies, western scholars have also focused on the conflicting implications of different CCP policies for Chinese women. Many works talk about the CCP's dilemma and about how women became victims of the CCP's decisions which prioritized different revolutionary goals and the party's interests. For example, Kay Ann Johnson's Women, the Family and Peasant Revolution in China (1983) clearly traces how Mao Zedong (1893-1976) was caught in the contradictions that were generated by multiple goals during the Yan-an period, including the liberation of Chinese women from traditional familial bondage and the need to gain support from poor male peasants. Since the dignity and sense of manhood of the male Chinese peasant were based in large part upon their ability to establish families and to keep their wives subordinate, it was with great reservations that the CCP enacted its marriage regulations, which enabled Chinese women to have unprecedented rights to initiate divorce, in the Soviet areas.¹⁶ Moreover, Stacey's Patriarchy and Socialist Revolution in China (1983) includes a discussion on how land reform restored patriarchy. The CCP's land reform of the 1950s promised women equal rights to land. However, according to this study, since land was distributed to the head-of-the household, who was typically a male, women, except the divorced and widowed, did not receive land. Thus, economic power was still in the hands of men during the first decades of the People's

Republic.¹⁷ Andors's The Unfinished Liberation of Chinese Women 1949-80 (1983) and Croll's Chinese Women Since Mao (1983) both discuss the contradictions between two national goals of communist China: economic development and women's emancipation. They maintain that the tensions between the two center on keen competition for resources and on unequal pay and ineffective job allocation in the labor market and gender division of labor in the family.

Since Chinese women have not had a separate emancipation movement, western scholars have found it very important to examine the extent to which mass political movements in China since 1949 have brought about changes to the lives of Chinese women. The implications of women's participation in the Great Leap Forward (1958-61), the Cultural Revolution (1966-76) and the Anti- Confucius Campaign (1973-76), their gains and losses in these movements have been studied in great detail. In this regard, Johnson's Women, the Family, and Peasant Revolution in China (1983) is outstanding. According to Johnson, during the Great Leap Forward, although women's participation in production significantly increased, they were burdened by double workloads. In the Cultural Revolution (1966-1976), women's problems were not recognized as separate issues and they were not fully understood because the conception of class was used as the primary analytical tool to explain social problems. In the Anti-Confucius Campaign, although the traditional roots of the oppression of women in China were identified, there was no subsequent redefinition of gender roles.¹⁸ Other works such as Croll's Feminism and Socialism in China (1978), Gupta's "Emancipation and Enslavement of Women in China: Confucian and Communist Variations," (1978) Andors's The Unfinished Liberation of Chinese women, 1949-1980 (1983) and Croll's Chinese Women Since Mao (1983)

basically come to the same conclusion that all these mass movements failed to liberate Chinese women completely. Among them, Gupta's argument provides a unique insight into the pattern of development of the Chinese women's emancipation movement. She maintains that every time that the women's movement made a progressive step through mass movements, male domination subsequently reasserted itself in new forms. As Andors points out, within mass movements, sex interests were dialectical.¹⁹ In the same vein, Croll urges Chinese women to start their own revolution.²⁰

In order to present the achievements of the Chinese women's emancipation movement, western scholars have also compared and contrasted the conditions of Chinese women in different periods of time and traced Chinese women's changing status in both family and society. In this regard, Vibeke Hemmel and Pia Sindbjerg's Women in Rural China: Policy Towards Women Before and After the Cultural Revolution (1984) assesses women's educational opportunities; their representation in the government and in the CCP; their living and working conditions; their job nature and positions as compared with those of men's, and gender division of labor within the family before and after the Cultural Revolution. They argue that the status of Chinese women improved after the Cultural Revolution. Claudie Broyelle's La Moitie du Ciel: Women's Liberation in China is a first-hand account of women's conditions in communist China during the Cultural Revolution. It describes how the collectivization of child-care and domestic work such as cooking and production, liberated women from traditional and conventional conception and definition of femininity.²¹

The theoretical discussion about Chinese women's emancipation movement is also important for some western scholars of Chinese women. Croll's Feminism and Socialism in

China (1978) traces the incompatibility of feminism and socialism on both ideological and practical levels in China. Andors' The Unfinished Liberation of Chinese women, 1949-1980 (1983) traces the irrelevant arguments of Marx, Engels and other western theorists' about the causal relationship between economic and industrial advancement and the promotion of women's status. By looking at the complex causes of Chinese women workers' militancy, Emily Honig's Sisters and Strangers: Women in the Shanghai Cotton Mills, 1919-1949 (1986) questions the relevance to China of the Marxist revolutionary framework, which suggests the sequential relationship between industrialization, the formation of the working class, the rise of class consciousness resulting from economic exploitation and workers' revolutionary activities.²² Stacey's Patriarchy and Socialist Revolution in China (1983) discusses how far the theories of western feminists, family scholars, neo-Marxist scholars, sociologists and sinologists can be applied to Chinese women's experience. She also argues that the patriarchal nature of the Chinese familial and social structure determined to a significant extent the development of the Chinese socialist revolution.²³

Women's organizations are an indispensable element of the Chinese women's emancipation movement, but western scholars appear to know very little about Chinese women's organizations prior to 1949 and there are only a few studies about women's organizations in PRC. Vibeke Hemmel and Pia Sindbjerg's Women in Rural China: Policy Towards Women Before and After the Cultural Revolution (1984) sheds light on the first two national conferences of the National Women's Federation of China, but provides little information about the structure of the Federation.²⁴ Li Xiaojiang and Zhang Xiaodan's "Creating Space for Women: Women's Studies in China in the 1980s" (1994) discusses the

role of the National Women's Federation in promoting Women's Studies in China. It also looks at the activities of non-governmental women's studies groups in different universities and how they tie in with Chinese feminist movement.²⁵

To provide a more in-depth analysis about one of the most important Chinese women's organizations was the first intention of this study. As this work was in progress, Naihua Zhang and Wu xu's "Discovering the Positive Within the Negative: The Women's Moment in a Changing China" (1997) was published.²⁶ This article traces the role and development of the ACWF.²⁷ With regard to the Chinese women's movement, the authors argue that either to stress the improvement of Chinese women's condition after 1949 or only to emphasize the failure of socialism to fulfill the promise of gender equality is inaccurate. It concludes that "the impact of the CCP's approach to women's issues is a mixed legacy."²⁸ Another recent and important article is Wang Zheng's "A Historic Turning Point for the Women's Movement in China." This article provides many interesting insights about how the Fourth World Conference on Women (FWCW, 1995) first enhanced and then hindered the Chinese women's movement. It claims that as the FWCW was approaching and became a main focus of international media, the Chinese government began to watch closely over the activists of the Chinese women's movement. Strong foreign interests in human rights and in the issues concerning Tibet's sovereignty, as well as the demonstration plans of many western Non-governmental organizations (NGO) alarmed the Chinese government. It decided at the last minute to change the site for the NGO forum to a very remote area and to impose many restrictions on admission. Consequently, many activists of the Chinese women movement were not able to participate in the forum. Zhang and Xu's first-hand account of the development of the

ACWF since the Fourth World Conference on Women are precise and accurate.²⁹ It serves as an indispensable source for future studies about the Chinese women's movement, especially about the ACWF. It is very encouraging to see that more attention is given to this topic by devoted scholars in the West.

Western scholarship about the Chinese women's emancipation movement is inadequate. Many aspects of the women's movement remain unexplored. First and foremost, western historians of Chinese women need to have a clearer conception of and provide explanations for such terms as "women's emancipation movement," "liberation of women" and "feminism" to Chinese women. It is important to avoid being ethnocentric. Very few works seem to be aware of the significance of distinctive definitions of these terms in China as opposed to western preconceptions. Second, the relationship between western feminism and the Chinese women's movement is rarely mentioned. For example, during the republican era (1911-49), a sizable number of Chinese women had opportunities for contact with western ideologies. The impact of the first-wave of western feminism (1910s) upon women students and women revolutionaries in China is still an unknown. Finally, more studies about women's organization are needed. For example, the YWCA was a very significant organization in republican China and its contributions to Chinese women's education and welfare are not yet fully explored.

More in-depth Chinese language literature on Chinese women's emancipation movement emerged only in the late 1980s and early 1990s. The number of works remains trivial. Chinese scholars have used very different approaches to study and present Chinese women's struggle against repression and inequality. These works can be categorized into two kinds: official studies which are supervised by the Chinese government and usually

focus on the relationship between the socialist revolution and the Chinese women's liberation; and unofficial studies which appear to be more objective and tend to concentrate on the conditions and current challenges that Chinese women face. The following paragraphs examine the strengths and weaknesses of some literature, including both English and Chinese language, that are published in China in studying the source of women's oppression; the development of the Chinese women's movement; the changing status of Chinese women; and the theories of the women's movement in China.

By examining the source of women's oppression in China, Chinese scholars provide an historical context for the Chinese women's movement. In this regard, Third International Conference on Women's Studies Peking University: Papers (1995) is an important work in which the roots and forms of women's oppression in different dynasties, including the Han dynasty (20 B.C.-220 A.D.), the Sung dynasty (960-1279), the Ming dynasty (1368-1644), and the Qing dynasty (1644-1912) are explored separately by several articles.³⁰ Zheng Bijun's "Reflections on the Spirit of Upright Conduct of Ancient Chinese Women" (1995) provides a comprehensive thematic overview of how Confucianism has made Chinese women increasingly subservient in all aspects of life since the Han Dynasty. It clearly explains the moral standards and behavioral rules which were set by Chinese classical literature for women to follow.³¹ Moreover, Ma Yinan's "Women's Status in Ancient Chinese Laws of Marriage and Family" (1995) examines how Chinese women were deprived by the practice of bride price, unequal relationships between husbands and wives, the tradition of concubinage and men's exclusive rights of initiating divorce.³² Many other works also provide brief and general accounts about Chinese women's oppression. Most of them remain superficial as they tend to generalize

source of women's oppression and to blame solely Confucianism without acknowledging variations and changes in different periods of times.

The development of the Chinese women's movement is often presented in two parts: the corrupted and stagnant past prior to 1949, and the successful and progressive era after 1949. Most studies, especially the official ones, follow a similar structure of writing. They first identify the source of women's repression from the Chinese tradition, then provide a sound justification for Chinese women to take part in the socialist revolution and portray a positive image of the CCP. A quote from The Situation of Chinese Women (1994) illustrates particularly well this format; it claims

For the women of China, the founding of the People's Republic of China ended the thousands of years of feudal oppression and enslavement... With an entirely new face, they (Chinese women) have stood up and become the masters of new China like all citizens of the country.³³

This book traces how the Chinese government has empowered Chinese women with equal legal, political, economic, social and domestic rights. In Zhongwai Funu Yundong Gaikuang, (1992), having provided an account of the development of the Chinese women's movement prior to 1949, the author highlights how the GMD failed to improve women's status and how the CCP did the opposite by adopting marriage laws and land reform, as well as carrying out rehabilitation programs for prostitutes.³⁴ Similarly, many other studies focus merely on the unprecedented and revolutionary content of the Chinese government's policies, and see no importance in examining how Chinese women were benefited or affected by the new policies in concrete terms. Some unofficial studies try to provide more substance in their accounts for the Chinese women's movement. For example, Jiao Runming's "Lun Jiandai Zhongguode Funu Jiefang Sixiang" (1994)

examines the ideas and thoughts that prominent reformers, such as Liang Qichao (1873-1929), and revolutionaries, such as Li Dazhao (1889-1927), had with regard to women's liberation. These thoughts were the driving forces for the early women activists to struggle against oppression, especially during the May Fourth Movement (1919) and the subsequent students' patriotic movements.³⁵ "Modern Chinese Women's Liberation Movement under the Influence of Western Culture" (1994) sheds light on how western imperialism compelled Chinese men to advocate Chinese women's liberation which was considered as a significant part of the Chinese national revolution.³⁶

Another way for Chinese authors to reflect the progress of the Chinese women's movement in the PRC has been to depict Chinese women's involvement in political, economic and social activities. Women's involvement in mass movements was regarded as progress for the Chinese women's movement in the sense that Chinese women were not anymore solely domestic beings as they used to be. In this regard, Dangdai Zhongguo Funu (1994) is an exceptional official study. It is one of the few books which contain some important details, pictures, and relatively more information about Chinese women's participation in national mass movements, including the Three-Antis campaign (1951), the Resist-American and Aid-Korea campaign (1951) and the Five-Antis campaign (1952).³⁷ Besides, this study contains brief biographical information on successful and prominent Chinese women in different fields in order to illustrate the achievements of the Chinese women's movement. But, more importantly, it is one of the few official studies which provides unusual details about the setbacks that the Chinese women's movement suffered during the Great Leap Forward (1952) and the Cultural Revolution. The Situation of Chinese Women (1994) also provides statistics concerning women's participation in state

administration and women's education to prove that women's status has been improving since 1949.³⁸ However, these studies are inadequate in the sense that they fail to examine how Chinese women were empowered by participating in public activities, or what impacts these events had on their lives.

Some recent Chinese studies examine women's changing status since the establishment of the PRC. DangDai Zhongguo Funu Jiating Diwei Yanjiu: Women's Domestic Status in Contemporary China (1994) evaluates Chinese women's domestic status in terms of their marital autonomy, rights in fertility decisions, rights regarding resources control, rights concerning their own and their children's future and sexual division of labor in the households. It is a relatively more sophisticated demographic and sociological study which is based on survey data of six provinces, municipalities and autonomous regions.³⁹ Its attempts to reveal the differences between the situation and behavioral pattern of Chinese women in urban and rural areas are quite impressive. However, it fails to relate and explain different phenomenon in the context of China's political and social development since 1949. Nevertheless, it is a ground-breaking work in Chinese women's studies. Another pioneering work of this kind is Gaige Dachaozhong de Zhongguo Nuxing. (1994) This work examines the impact of the four modernizations policies and that of the subsequent economic reforms upon Chinese women in both urban and rural areas. It traces both difficulties and opportunities that drastic social and economic changes brought to women in urban areas during the 1980s and 1990s and examines the choices that they had concerning work, marriage, family, divorce and fertility before and after the Cultural Revolution. It provides unique insights about the phenomena that Chinese women lack femininity. It claims that this is attributable to the Cultural

Revolution during which femininity was regarded as women's weaknesses and hindrance from the socialist revolution.⁴⁰ It further argues that current official attempts to encourage Chinese women to become independent and self-confident reinforce this notion in the sense that the publicity somehow undermines women's sentimental and feminine qualities.⁴¹ This work undoubtedly questions and tries to provide answers to many interesting and controversial issues. However, the part about women's conditions in rural areas appears inadequate as it centers almost exclusively on their marriage pattern. Thousands of women in rural areas have been affected or have their lives fundamentally changed by the economic reforms. Their experiences are crucial to the understanding of the current development of the Chinese women's movement and deserve much more attention.

Another important area that Chinese scholars recognize is the theoretical foundations of the Chinese women's movement. Prior to the 1980s, official directives and reports were the only sources which contained any theoretical discussions about the Chinese women's movement. Most of these works aimed at justifying the mutually beneficial relationship between the socialist revolution and the Chinese women's movement. These works lack context and in-depth analysis. The Ma Kesi Zhuyi Funuguan (1990) is one of the most systematic official attempts to present a theoretical framework for the Chinese women's movement from the Marxist perspective. Having traced the pattern of women's militancy in ancient times, in different dynasties and during the Republic era, this work argues that women, like the proletariat, need to join together and to struggle against their oppressors until they are fully liberated through the ultimate success of the socialist revolution.⁴² Contrary to the official study, Zhongguo Funu Lilun

Yanjiu Shinian: Women's Theoretic Studies In China 1981-1990 attempts to address the theoretical aspect of many women's issues, including prostitution, education, sexuality, fertility, political involvement, economic status, from different perspectives. This book examines how these issues have been studied, questions their rationales, and explores what it is actually meant by women's advancement and their future in these aspects in relation to the Chinese women's movement at large.⁴³ It is a ground-breaking attempt to put the most important theoretical discussions and articles into one book.

Despite the facts that more books have recently been written about Chinese women and that the quality of these studies has improved tremendously, Chinese scholarship about Chinese women's movement remains inadequate. Many issues need to be addressed. First of all, Chinese scholars need to acknowledge that sweeping generalizations are inadequate to explain Chinese women's past and their current conditions. Chinese women in different regions may share a number of similar experiences; but they also face many different realities. Perhaps more importantly, there is virtually no study which examines the relationship between Chinese women in different regions. Regional heritage continues to play a very important role in shaping the life and the identity of Chinese people. Conflicting regional interests have possibly prevented Chinese women from sharing one collective goal of women's emancipation or have contributed to the uneven development of the Chinese women's movement. Moreover, most studies fail to recognize the fact that tradition continues to shape, although on a decreasing scale, Chinese people's mentality and women's lives, and that the Chinese government has not been capable of enforcing all the policies to protect women's rights. A critical examination of these issues will reveal more truly the state and development of the Chinese women's

movement. In short, significant parts of Chinese women's history are still hidden and need to be recovered.

Chapter Two: Origins

During the first half of the twentieth century, China's domestic and international political development had a significant impact on Chinese women's organizations. The origins of the ACWF was closely linked with the CCP whose existence reflected a strong urge for fundamental social and political revolution in China. Different forms of women's organizations within the party had been established from the very beginning of the CCP. The subsequent Japanese invasion also stimulated more immediate and severe nationalistic reasons for women to participate in aiding the country and thus for the rise of both official and civilian women's organizations, apart from those linked to the CCP. The political cooperation and struggles between the CCP and the GMD during different periods of times had significant impacts on the relationship between women's organizations of different origins. Despite their differences in political convictions or principles, these organizations often shared the common concerns of saving China and of promoting women's status. After the establishment of the PRC, many women's organizations were merged with or became members of the All-China Democratic Women's Federation (ACDWF), the women's organization of the CCP and the predecessor of the ACWF. The following paragraphs examine how the ACWF came into existence.

Chinese women's problems and their liberation have always been among the Chinese Communist Party's (CCP) main concerns. During its second national congress in 1922, the CCP issued a statement which advocated the abolition of repressive Chinese traditions against women, such as footbinding and women's unequal rights with men in politics, economy, society and education.⁴⁴ In 1923, the CCP's Third National Congress approved a document which stated that the CCP's obligations included the need to

maintain legal equality between men and women and to ensure that women receive equal pay.⁴⁵ During the first “united front” between the CCP and the GMD (1924-1927), a women's department was established in the central government; Soong Chingling (1893-1981) together with several of the CCP's important women members, such as Deng Yingchao (1904-92) were put in charge of this department. However, the GMD government was not driven by an ideology which was particularly geared to uphold equality for women. In order to provide continuity and stability for the new order, the GMD government decided to restore and revive Confucian values.⁴⁶ Consequently, the women's department had very limited achievements both in terms of attacking traditional Chinese repressive values and practices and in helping Chinese women to cope with extensive social and economic changes in concrete ways in the new republican era. On the other hand, CCP leaders started to mobilize women workers to demand better and equal pay, better working conditions and the right to form unions. However, the results of these attempts were minimal.⁴⁷

When CCP members were purged by Chiang Kai-shek (1887-1975) in 1927, radical ideas about what the further “liberation” of Chinese women could be pursued only in the communist soviets. In order to evade capture by the GMD after 1927, many CCP members retreated to the rural areas. One of the established bases was headed by Mao Zedong and Zhu De (1886-1976) at the border areas of Jiangxi, Fujian and Guangdong where attempts were made to include women in the political arena mainly in two ways. First, women's representation at each level of the CCP could not be less than 25% of the total number. As well, special women's committees were set up at each level of the CCP structure. This inclusion of women in politics was to make sure that women's interests

were reflected and respected.⁴⁸ Other fundamental steps were taken to ensure women's equal rights by making new regulations and laws. In November 1927, the Land Law was first introduced. The confiscation and redistribution of land among hired laborers and peasants was to be carried out regardless of sex. In other words, women could own land. Then, the Marriage Regulations of 1930 were introduced. Rights were given to women to marry according to the principle of free choice, to initiate divorce and to have their interests considered as equal to those of their husbands. The divorce rate consequently increased. In the months of April, May and June of 1932, the rate of divorce which was initiated by women increased from virtually nil to 809 cases.⁴⁹ Undoubtedly, the men in the communists soviets reacted negatively as the Marriage Regulations challenged their superior positions over their wives. Shortly after, the CCP leaders became alarmed and put pressure on the women activists to stop encouraging women to initiate divorce. As a result, more emphasis was stressed on mobilizing women in production. 80% of the male population aged 16 to 49 joined the Red Army in most of the soviets. As the Red Army was occupied with the GMD's annihilation campaigns, women replaced men and became an essential labor force.⁵⁰ The women cadres mobilized women to take up farming tasks such as spring plowing, fertilizing and harvesting which were formerly regarded in that part of China as men's works and harmful to the crops if they were done by women because female were unclean.⁵¹ All these experiences of mobilizing women in the political arena and production within the tolerance of the local male population laid a foundation for the CCP's future women's work.

The first women's federations of the CCP was established in Yan-an in 1938. Upon the arrival of the Long Marchers in 1935, northwestern China was very poor and its

economy was chiefly agrarian.⁵² The social and cultural heritage were not at all upset by the 1911 revolution because of the remoteness of the area. In 1935 the Red Army led by Mao and Zhu De arrived at Yan-an which was to become the capital of the Chinese Communist government for more than a decade. To organize women's activities and to introduce revolutionary ideas to women were always part of the CCP's political objectives at Yan-an. In March 1938 the Women's Federation of the Shan-Gan-Ning border region was established and held its First Women's Congress. This Women's Federation then became the headquarters of women associations in other parts of the soviets. The primary aims of these associations were to unite women from all walks of life to work for the liberation of China; to resist Japanese invasion; to mobilize women to take part in political, economic, military and cultural activities; and to lead women's liberation from repressive tradition.⁵³ By 1937, they had about 130,000 women members, 80,000 of whose were actively involved in public meetings and work projects. These associations could be regarded as forerunners of the current ACWF.

Chinese women in the communist soviets were organized by the women's associations to take part in various public activities on an unprecedented scale. Women's associations attempted to implement the new laws with which the new government intended to safeguard women's rights. Their activities included protecting women from domestic violence and footbinding; saving women from various forms of abusive marriages;⁵⁴ removing superstition and prejudices against women's sickness and the death of children; and enacting women's inheritance rights.⁵⁵ Cadres of the women's associations formed publicity teams to go to villages to promote the content and meaning of women's rights. During the winter time when not much work could be done in the

fields, women cadres also organized training courses to establish relationships with the local women; to teach them how to read and some political ideas such as election and nationalism; and to encourage them to practice their rights. In the winter of 1939, 140,000 women students participated in courses offered by the CCP.⁵⁶ During the Sino-Japanese War (1937-45), Chinese women became much more involved in, or at least aware of the activities of the Federation. First of all, the Women's Federation ran three child-care centers in the soviets to serve local families and to receive children refugees from other parts of China. As well, in 1943 large number of women were organized to produce cotton in order to meet the Red Army's needs.⁵⁷

The effectiveness of the women's associations and their activities is hard to measure, but the fact that women cadres who were originally from the urban areas carried out duties in the rural areas was revolutionary. More young people were able to have a greater say in their marriages; more scientific and hygienic methods were introduced to women for the delivery of children; women had a possible way to voice their discontents and to receive governmental support; and women were organized to take part in production and education⁵⁸ These revolutionary phenomena were largely attributable to the efforts of women cadres. This development consequently entailed the fact that women could no longer be excluded from the agenda of the new political system after 1949.

Apart from the women's organizations in the soviets, women cadres of the CCP were also active in collaborating with women's organization in other parts of China, especially after the establishment of the Second United Front (1938-45) between the CCP and the GMD. In 1938, Soong Meiling transformed her women's committee, which had been part of the Department of the New Life Movement, into a new national women's

institution. It was meant to lead Chinese women's war-resistance and nation-building activities. A congress was held at Lu Mountain. Deng Yingchao, a women CCP member, was one of the guest speakers. At the congress, several left-wing politicians and some CCP members, including Deng, were recruited as committee members of the Directive Commission of Women 妇女指导委员会 (Funu Zhidao Weiyuanhui) stationed at Chongqing, the capital of China during the Second World War. This organization had several departments or teams whose work included providing shelters and care for homeless children and women, raising money for purchasing medical supplies and training volunteers to serve in hospitals and clinics.⁵⁹ The CCP women members remained in regular contact with the Women's Federation in Yan-an and established close links with women's associations in areas controlled by Chiang's government.⁶⁰ Through many exchanges in conferences, campaigns and daily cooperation, the positions and perspective of the CCP with regard to the problems of China and that of the Chinese women were often presented and appeared relatively more promising, modern and systematic. This paved the way for smoother collaboration between many women organizations and the CCP after 1949.

During the civil war period (1945-49), by establishing a preparatory committee of the Women's Federation, the CCP attempted to gain political support from Chinese women in newly liberated territories. The preparatory committee was responsible for publicity related to CCP policies, the involvement of women in land reform and collaboration with other women activists in the political realm.⁶¹ As the CCP liberated more and more regions during the civil war period between 1945 and 1949, the underground communist women's organizations and other local women' charitable and

patriotic organizations merged with the Women's Federation of the CCP. On March 24th 1949 the first congress of the All-China Democratic Women's Federation, the predecessor of today's ACWF, was held in Beijing.⁶² The initial important organizational members included the Directive Commission of Women which had been stationed in Chongqing; the Young Women Christian Association of China (YWCA) and the Chinese Women Thrift Association, both of which had had their headquarters in Shanghai.⁶³ These organizations had been active in improving women's conditions and promoting sexual equality by providing skills training for women who could thus become more economically independent and by attacking prostitution, opium-smoking and concubinage.⁶⁴ Except for the YWCA, which still exists on its own, the other two died out gradually as their leaders became increasingly involved with the All-China Democratic Women's Federation in the 1950s. Their operation stopped in 1958.⁶⁵ The All-China Democratic Women's Federation changed its name to All-China Women's Federation in 1957. This was due to the belief that China had completed the stage of democratic revolution after land reform and the nationalization of all industries as well as of all economic activities.

Chapter Three: Ideology

The ACWF's ideology refers to the guiding principles of the Chinese women's movement. This ideology is intended to provide legitimacy, vision and continuity for the work of the ACWF. However, the ACWF's ideology has not been stable but instead has shifted dramatically several times and has been reshaped by the ideological and political development of the country in the past five decades. The evolution of the ACWF's ideology can be divided into three phases. The first stage (1949-66) was characterized by constant and enthusiastic attempts to apply Marxism-Leninism in order to explain the past and the current phenomena of the Chinese women's movement, as well as to provide philosophical direction for the future. In the second phase (1966-75) the ideology of the ACWF ceased to exist on its own as it was absorbed, modified and dominated by that of the Cultural Revolution (1966-76). The third stage (since the 1980s) has been characterized by an openness to other thoughts or ideologies, especially western feminism. This chapter traces the development of the ideology of the ACWF through these three stages.

The First Stage (1949-1966)

The ideology of the ACWF was built solely on Marxism-Leninism in the early phase of the PRC (1949-1966). During this period of time, the ideological aspect of the women's liberation movement itself was rarely the center of discussion or treated as a separate subject. This was due to the assumption of the Chinese communist leaders, both men and women, and consequently of the ACWF, that Marxism-Leninism provided adequate guidelines and theories for Chinese women's liberation. Chinese Marxist thinkers

believed that Chinese women's liberation was closely related to the Chinese revolution at large. Based on Lenin's argument on the likelihood of women becoming a strong opposition force to the revolution if they were left out and if their interests were neglected by the new system. Marxist thinkers claimed that women had to be included in the new revolutionary order in order to consolidate a socialist victory. Ways to include women were to recruit them into the fields of agricultural and industrial production.⁶⁶ These thinkers also maintained that women's liberation struggles were indeed part of the proletarian revolution in the sense that when the exploitative private ownership system was removed and when all aspects of society were nationalized, women could then be released from household duties and could involve themselves in political, economic and cultural activities, as men were. Also, Marxist thinkers were convinced that if half of the population, the women, was still suffering from oppression, the success of the proletarian revolution would be only nominal.⁶⁷ But the Marxist thinkers claimed that women themselves had to work on their own full liberation by zealously participating in the economy in order to have equal status with their male counterparts.⁶⁸ Lastly, new meaning was given to marriage. Men and women had to be equal in the matrimonial relationship. Based on common political and ideological beliefs and their sense of responsibility towards one another, as well as towards their children, couples could achieve authentic loving relationships and more effectively contribute to socialism. Sentimental manipulation and extra-marital affairs were regarded as capitalistic behavior and were unacceptable as they diverted people's energy from building a socialist country.⁶⁹ In short, the women's liberation movement and the revolution of the proletariat shared a mutually beneficial relationship as the socialist system provided favorable conditions for

women's struggles against oppression and as women provided human resources to build and reinforce the new system.

During this period a question arose as to whether Chinese women were really liberated if their role continued to be primarily domestic in the PRC. Chinese Marxist thinkers argued that women were liberated since the GMD government had been overthrown; private property rights had been abolished; and repressive laws against women had been canceled. They suggested that inequality had been generated, justified and reinforced by Confucianism prior to 1949; however, as the Confucian cultural, economic and social framework had lapsed, inequality had lessened and women could be equal to men in the PRC. Women's role had remained domestic due to the fact that China needed to concentrate its resources on developing a socialist economic system; therefore it was incapable of providing public services to reduce women's domestic duties.⁷⁰ Perhaps more importantly, Marxist thinkers clearly spelled out that although socialism was the prerequisite for women's liberation, it itself did not guarantee women's equality with men. It was obvious to Marxist thinkers that China was going through a transitional period during which women's position in building socialism was to carry out domestic duties, including child-care, cooking, and other household management tasks. In the future when labor demand increased and job opportunities became more plentiful after industrialization, most women would be involved in the labor force; the current phenomena of women working domestically and men working outside was just a matter of division; they were both important labor as they contributed to socialism."⁷¹ Women's involvement in the labor force had to increase according to the growth and the needs of the economy.⁷² In short, Marxist thinkers tried to give the same recognition to women's labor that was

dedicated to household tasks as men's labor to industries. For the moment, in order to promote women's status and enable them to acquire full equality, work had to be done on eradicating traditional values and customs of society in general and of men in particular, as well as on motivating women to get actively involved in public activities which were organized by mass organizations. These were indeed the responsibilities of the ACWF.⁷³ Obviously, this issue concerning the genuineness of women's liberation continued to stir up extensive discussion. Even in the conference on national women's work of the year 1958, Dong Bian, editor of the *Zhongguo Funu* at the time, gave a speech on a similar question of whether Chinese women were liberated. He maintained that women had been victimized by tradition, that they appeared backward and less competent in public activities and that they would be truly and fully liberated when communism was fully realized.⁷⁴

During the 1950s controversies which centered on the bond between women and domestic work continued to arise and indeed reflected the struggles between two political strains: those who believed that the adoption of socialist social and economic models could be beneficial if it was gradually done, and those who wanted to accelerate the pace of the Chinese revolution. The former focused on resuming the operation of established enterprises and on developing industry strategically. They also encouraged people, especially women, to give a revolutionary meaning to the task, that they had been doing. The latter maintained that to increase production rapidly was the way to extend and intensify the revolution and should be regarded as the first national priority. Therefore, to release women's labor from the household was crucial and should be done as soon as possible. They argued that domestic duties should be addressed by public enterprises. The

urge for revolution became dominant in the late 1950s when Mao Zedong initiated the Great Leap Forward (1958-61). During this period, extensive involvement of women in production took place as many domestic duties were socialized and publicly organized.⁷⁵

Prior to 1966 the ideology of the ACWF was characterized by constant attempts to use Marxism-Leninism to explain women's situation, or actually, to fit the women's movement into the framework of Marxism-Leninism. The Chinese understanding or interpretation of the Marxist-Leninist perspective on women's liberation was rather simplistic; owing to the assumptions that traditions were dying as a result of constant denunciation and the passage of time and that objective conditions now allowed women to become as educated and trained as men, equality was feasible and guaranteed by the future. Women could enjoy equality with men when they could make same achievements and prove themselves to be as competent as their male counterparts. Therefore, women had to work on improving themselves. On the other hand, since the objective conditions were not yet ripe and industrialization was not extensive enough to provide jobs for all women, they could be good housekeepers, wives and mothers for the moment in order to contribute to socialism. However, all these arguments tended to neglect and undermine women's uniqueness, both their physical qualities and specific needs. Nevertheless, this explanation undoubtedly provided a positive direction for the women communist leaders and all the Chinese women.⁷⁶ Moreover, the ACWF found a comfortable and justifiable position in the political framework at large.⁷⁷

The Second Stage (1966-76)

The ideology of the ACWF developed into its second phase as the Cultural Revolution (1966-75) was raging. This period was characterized by people's devotion to Mao Zedong who was portrayed as the symbol of the Chinese revolution. Mao's thoughts were regarded as the only legitimate source of direction for the Chinese revolution and for the women's movement. Based on Mao's writing, people questioned, criticized and attempted to eradicate the residue of the so-called "capitalist past" in extremely intensive ways and on an extensive scale. By so doing, they believed that they were deepening the revolution. During this period, the concept of class conflict was used to explain all social relations and phenomenon; "class struggle" was the way to resolve contradiction.

During the Cultural Revolution, the debates of the 1950s about the ties between women and domestic work became almost irrelevant. Whether Chinese women were liberated or to what extent they were liberated was not any longer measured only by how much they were actively involved in production, or by how much they were free from household chores, or by how much rights and opportunities that the socialist system could offer them. Women were to liberate themselves from tradition, the capitalist past and practical constraints by devoting themselves to production and by giving new meaning to what they had been doing. With regard to women's double work load, women themselves were responsible for adopting a correct attitude. This argument was built upon the idea that all work, including domestic duties, was important and worth the same if it was carried out for the revolution. Women who were determined to build socialism would be able to work, to manage household chores, to study Mao's thoughts and to be active in political activities. In other words, the bond between women and domestic duties was not

viewed as problematic. Moreover, women's self-interests, including any pursuit of happiness or satisfaction from career or/and from family, were regarded as bourgeoisie-originated and therefore to be eradicated. The extent of such liberation was dependent on the pureness or correctness of women's political thought. The more selfless and collectively conscious a woman could become, the more she could be equal with men. In other words, the women's movement had to lose itself within the revolution. Since there was no more need for leading or organizing a separated women's movement, the ACWF ceased to function during the Cultural Revolution.

The ideology of the Chinese women's movement was hardly enriched by the Cultural Revolution. The sole emphasis on the concept of class conflict did not add a new dimension to the explanation of women's oppression. If women's unique experiences and different needs were neglected in the 1950s, they were totally denied during the Cultural Revolution. The impact of the Cultural Revolution on Chinese women's liberation was crucial in the sense that it undermined the credibility of the CCP and that of the ideology which it stood for.

The Third Stage (Since the 1980s)

The ideology of the Chinese women's liberation movement developed into a new phase in the 1980s. At that time, efforts were first made to recognize the significance of the CCP, that of Marxist-Leninism and of Maoism in the history of the Chinese women liberation movement in order to consolidate the position of the CCP. An important article entitled "If there was not the CCP, there would not be the liberation of the Chinese women" was written by Kang Keqing (1911-1992). Besides narrating how the CCP had

changed the position of the Chinese women “from slavery to the master of the country,”⁷⁸ Kang pointed out that it was a mistake to rush the process of socializing or nationalizing household tasks and to degrade women’s characteristics during the Cultural Revolution. Blame was put on the ‘Gang of Four.’ Kang further argued that the allocation of work to women should take into consideration their physical strength and special talents.⁷⁹ Division of labor between the sexes was viewed as necessary, appropriate and good for individuals and for the country. Also, the collective good was emphasized; once again, women were encouraged to make sacrifices. It is obvious that to recuperate from the ‘ten years disaster,’ as the Cultural Revolution is still described by the Chinese and to reestablish stability were the main goals of this period.

In the mid 1980s, Chinese Marxist thinkers provided justifications to support the interdependent relations between China’s “four modernizations” and Chinese women’s complete liberation. Deng Xiaoping’s (1904-1997) four modernizations of agriculture, industry, science and technology, as well as national defense marked a new era for the PRC during which China was reopened to the outside world. According to the Marxist argument, women’s position in China’s four modernizations was to utilize their qualities in order to enrich the country and to safeguard the fruits of the revolution from which Chinese women were benefiting; simultaneously, women’s liberation would be extended. As China became modernized, women would become economically independent when jobs were generated by economic revival after a prolonged stagnation during the Cultural Revolution; they could then be released from heavy-labor production which could cause severe harm to their health as industrialization became extensive. Moreover, Marxist thinkers claimed that modernization could generate sufficient resources and material

means to provide public services which would carry out household tasks; consequently, women would be released from domestic responsibilities and able to be fully involved in public activities. The rationale of these arguments were indeed very similar to those of the 1950s.⁸⁰ But the whole idea of modernization gave a new and positive direction to the Chinese who had been exhausted by mass movements and were bitter about the Cultural Revolution during which the government and the economy had been paralyzed, all aspects of life had been politicized and class struggle had been the only acceptable way to live. The policies of the four modernizations provided space, time and opportunities for Chinese, both men and women, to experience and explore further the validity of Marxist-Leninism. Through this, the ideological setup of China was brought into contact with and challenged and enriched by western ideologies, including feminism.

In the late 1980s as a result of the more open and tolerant political atmosphere, Marxist thinkers and other intellectuals were able to carry out more systematic, sophisticated and critical discussions on the ideology of the Chinese women's movement. It was commonly agreed that although Marxist views on women's liberation had laid down important fundamental principles, they should not be regarded as dogma because the theories of women's movement had not been fully articulated and should continue to be developed in line with Marxism and its analytical methods.⁸¹ In addition, as some Chinese intellectuals began to be interested in women's studies in other countries, new perspectives emerged to affect the development of the Chinese women's liberation movement in the 1980s. The nature, state and future of the Chinese women's movement were the subjects of discussions.

On the one hand, Chinese Marxist thinkers again attempted to draw a linear ideological pattern for the Chinese women's movement. They insisted that the women's movement was in pace with the revolution at large. They argued that oppression took different forms in capitalist societies. The capitalist private ownership system which generated class exploitation; the labor intensive production model of a pre-industrial economy which made women's labor inferior; the sex division of labor which solely reinforced women's roles as wives and mothers were all considered to be the sources of women's oppression. Women were liberated in socialism and would be completely emancipated in communism.⁸² They believed that when their situation was compared to women in other developing countries, Chinese women enjoyed higher social status. This is due to the socialist system of China. They argued that Chinese women should continue to struggle for full participation and realization in politics, economy and society after being liberated from their families.

On the other hand, new insights and new questions emerged in the 1980s and shaped the ideological development of the Chinese women's movement. With regard to the source of oppression, some intellectuals realized how cultural and historical factors in China which had contributed to the subordinate position of women were overlooked or underestimated.⁸³ They argued that the abolition of the private ownership system and the establishment of a socialist system were insufficient to guarantee women's equal status. This was due to the fact that China had been a patriarchal state for centuries and that the unequal relation between men and women was part of the self-perpetuating culture. Although changes had deliberately been made in the social and economic systems in the first two decades of the PRC, the cultural heritage continued to form the mentality of

people and to shape their way of living. In other words, women might enjoy equal rights in the society and the economy of China; yet, they remained subordinate. This led to questions about what women's liberation meant and what the standard of measurement of such liberation was. Chinese women were to struggle for equal opportunities between the sexes in all aspects of society; or for the transformation of Chinese women's self-perception and self-image of being less capable, less intelligent and worth less; or for restoring the recognition and celebration of women's qualities and culture; or for all of these goals.⁸⁴

New perspectives which emerged in the 1980s challenged the official position of the Chinese government concerning the status of Chinese women. Unconventional arguments were raised about the relationship between the Chinese women's movement and the Chinese revolution at large. Some scholars suggested that women's liberation was granted from above by the CCP, long before such need was felt by most Chinese women; therefore, Chinese women remained dependent on the established authority and incapable of obtaining a genuine and full liberation. Moreover, Chinese women might appear to have higher social status; however, this was mainly due to the fact that the possibility of working and thus contributing to the familial income was provided and institutionalized by the socio-political system, as well as reinforced by economic needs. Critics argued that their relative higher status might be superficial and was not necessarily a reliable sign for how far Chinese women had been liberated especially when they were still burdened by a double workload.⁸⁵ Also, it was evident that equality was true only on paper in most cases because the mentality of people, both men and women, had not been changed and consistent with the principles of the laws.⁸⁶

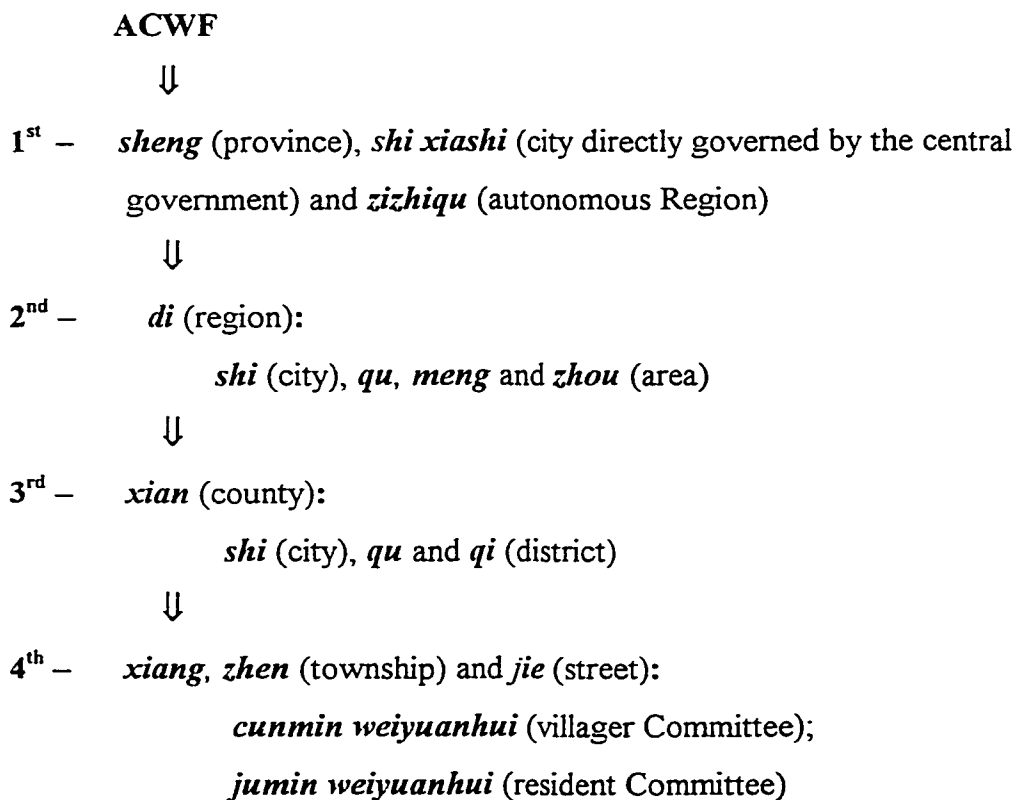
The ACWF faced unprecedented challenges and pressure in the 1980s. It was caught in the turbulence of debates which were no longer limited by the parameters set by the CCP. Strictly speaking, the ACWF owed loyalty to Marxism. On the other hand, it needed to come up with sufficient ideas and means to cater to both the ideological challenges posed by Chinese and foreign intellectuals, to perform its duties as the link between the government and the Chinese women and to serve as the official leader of the Chinese women's liberation movement. To make the ACWF's position more difficult, almost all of these new inputs into the women's movement were urban-based; 70% of Chinese women lived in the rural areas and their issues were largely excluded. The ACWF, as the only organization with such national scale, undoubtedly faced the challenge of reconciling the gap between the urban and rural. Nevertheless, the ideological development of the past two decades has affected the ACWF to a considerable extent in terms of its nature, sense of mission and functions.

Chapter Four : Structure

The ACWF is the largest women's organization in China. Its membership is limited to organizations and other units, rather than individuals. In order to reach every part of China, the ACWF has a very elaborated structure in which cadres work closely with the CCP committees and the government. The following paragraphs map out the ACWF's internal structure, both vertical and horizontal, its network which is formed by its members and affiliated organizations.

The ACWF has bureaus spread across the country. The headquarters of the ACWF has always been located in Beijing. Under the ACWF, there are four levels of women's federations: *sheng*, *shi xiashi*, and *zizhiqu*; *di*; *xian*; *xiang*, *zhen* and *jie* (See figure 1).

Figure 1



These four levels correspond to the state administrative structure. In 1988, there were altogether 30 *sheng*, *zhi xiashi* and *zizhiqu*; 370 *di*; and 2810 *xian*⁸⁷ Also there were 65,145 *xiang*, *zhen* and *jie*. Under them, the so-called women's representative committees of the grass-roots level (*jiceng fumu daibiahui*) were formed in 771,437 villager committees and 88,498 resident committees. At this level, every thirty persons would usually choose one representative. The representatives were under the leadership of the CCP committees of the same level.⁸⁸

The highest body of the ACWF is the National Congress of women. The Congress meets every five years to study and approve the reports of the Executive Committee; to decide the principal guidelines for the women's work of the coming session; to amend the constitution if it is necessary; and to elect the Executive Committee which then elected a Standing Committee. When the Executive Committee is in recess, the Standing Committee exercises leadership with the help of its secretariat in order to administer the daily operation of the ACWF. At each level of the women's federation, there is a congress of women. At the *xian* level and above, the congresses meet every five years. Below the *xian* level, women's congresses meet every three years. According to official reports, except in some isolated mountainous areas and minority regions, most congresses have been conducted regularly since 1978. At each of these levels, the women's federations have their executive committees and standing committees formed with the same election methods as the ACWF. However, besides following the guidelines set by the ACWF, these committees also have to carry out the directives of and to report to the CCP committees of the corresponding administrative level.⁸⁹

Women's federations at all levels set up different departments to carry out various functions. The number and precise functions of the departments that women's federations at all levels have set up are not uniform throughout the country. In 1989 the ACWF consisted of eight departments: the General Affairs Department; Personnel Department; International Liaison Department; Urban-Rural Department; Children's Affairs Department; Women's Rights and Interests Protection Department; Publicity Department; and Retired Cadres Department. They all reported to the Standing Committee. These departments were not permanent. Adjustments were made according to the changing emphasis on different functions in different periods of time. Moreover, a CCP committee has always been present in the ACWF. Women's federations at the *di* level usually have five to nine departments. At the *xian* level, there are usually three to five departments. The numbers vary and are dependent on the priorities, resources and needs of different areas.⁹⁰

Besides its formal and separate structure, one part of the ACWF penetrates into the state administrative machinery. First and foremost, there are women's committees in the CCP, in the government and in the systems of education, science, arts and medicine 党政机关, 教科文卫系统妇女委员会 (*dangzheng jiguan, jiaoke wenwei xitong funu weiyuanhui*). They are elected also by the national and local women congresses. Besides following the guidelines of the ACWF, these committees work under the established leadership and report to the CCP committees of their own units. Their specified responsibilities include to represent and protect women's legal rights and interests in their own units; to promote women's status and sexual equality; to recommend competent women to the CCP, the government and the ACWF; to organize recreational activities to their fellow women cadres; and lastly to help conducting women's work with minority

women and with Chinese women whose husbands or families are in Taiwan or overseas in their own working environment.⁹¹

In addition, the ACWF has several affiliated departments or organizations. For example, the Chinese Women Cadres Management College; the Women's Studies Center of the ACWF; the Chinese Women's Traveling Agency; the Chinese Women's Publishing House; and Women's Activities Center which were financed by the government via the ACWF, especially in their earlier phase, and are supposed to be independent in their administration. However, even after becoming financially self-sufficient, they are still being supervised by the ACWF to a certain extent. People who work in these affiliated departments are cadres and receive salaries and other benefits from the state. Moreover, the ACWF has numerous group members. They include the All-China Federation of Trade Unions, Chinese Women Scientific and Technological Workers Association, All-China Women Lawyers Association, Beijing Women Journalists Association and many other professional and interest groups. There are at least 23 national and regional organizations of this sort.⁹²

With a vast network formed by its nation-wide offices, representatives at the grass-root level, maturing affiliated departments and numerous organizational members, the ACWF, at least in theory, is able to reach and to provide leadership to all women in every sector of China. This also requires the ACWF to carry out different activities and perform different functions to cater to the needs and interests of women from all walks of life. In addition, the fact that the ACWF has a similar structure and close working relationship with the CCP committees and the government of different levels has significant implications. The ACWF is capable of imposing the party directives or government

policies on women and of revealing women's interests to the government or lobbying for women's rights. In fact, this is the dual-mission of the ACWF. However, the former mission always appears to override the latter, despite the fact that the mass organizations were officially recognized in the early 1990s as supervisory bodies of the effectiveness of the government on behalf of the people. Nevertheless, the ACWF has become increasingly active in protecting women's right since the mid 1980s.

Chapter Five: Functions

The functions of the ACWF refer to tasks that it has performed and activities that it has organized or in which it has been involved. The ACWF has had a wide variety of functions which can be classified into four categories. First and foremost, the ACWF is a political tool of the Chinese government. Being referred as “the ties and bridges” that the CCP and the Chinese government have to link with Chinese women, the ACWF, similar to all other mass organizations in China, has been pre-destined to follow the direction of the government. The ACWF is responsible for implementing government policies concerning Chinese women. Secondly, the ACWF is the official leader of the Chinese women’s movement. The ACWF mobilizes Chinese women to struggle for their rights and represents women’s interests. Thirdly, the ACWF safeguards the welfare of children in China. Lastly, the ACWF is the international representative of Chinese women. The following part of this chapter thematically and chronologically examines the functions of the ACWF in these four categories from 1950 to 1990.

The ACWF: A Government Agency

Being a political arm of the Chinese government, the ACWF has been responsible for indoctrinating Chinese women with Marxist and other official political thoughts and for mobilizing Chinese women to follow government policies and programs. In the 1950s, the government initiated several mass movements such as the Resist-American Aid-Korea Campaign (1951), the Three-Antis Campaign (1951) and the Five Antis Campaign (1952) to achieve different political ends. Moreover, economic policies such as the land reform (1950-52), the collectivization of land (1953-57), the nationalization of private industry

(1953-58) and Mao Zedong's Great Leap Forward (1958-61) also needed massive public involvement and support. The CCP believed that through these mass movements or campaigns people could experience revolution and undergo socialist transformation. Violence, brutality and humiliation were often part of this form of education. Besides, mass movements also reflected the different ideological and political orientation and beliefs of CCP leaders. Mass campaigns might have goals, directives and content which conflicted with the other mass campaigns. The duties of the ACWF in these mass movements, followed a pattern: to indoctrinate women with any political propaganda that was generated; to ensure that women were not excluded from the agenda of various campaigns at each administrative level; to popularize the campaigns by pervasive propaganda or publicity; and to involve women in mass campaigns by providing concrete directives and organizing large-scale parades, demonstrations and meetings in which intense discussions were often conducted. These tasks reveal the dual-nature of the ACWF: its duty to follow the party and the government; and its responsibility to represent women by ensuring that women and their interests are not neglected. In order to understand more about this particular political function of the ACWF, the following paragraphs examine its work during the nationalization of private industry in the urban areas during the early 1950s and the collectivization of land (1953-57) in the countryside. Then the focus will shift to examine how the ACWF easily re-oriented its work and ideological direction which basically contradicted its previous stand on certain issues concerning women's welfare during the Great Leap Forward (1958-61). Such change tends to indicate the possibility that national priorities and CCP's directives could overwhelm women's interests for the ACWF.

The pattern of the ACWF's political function concerning mass movements in the urban areas was revealed during the nationalization of private industries in the early 1950s. Immediately after the establishment of the PRC, the ACWF attempted to gain the support of Chinese women from all walks of life, especially those from the merchant class families and those who were well-educated in the newly liberated cities. Such efforts became particularly important and forceful after 1953 as the government launched its first Five Year Plan (1953-58) which included incorporation of private industry. In this regard, the ACWF was responsible for publicity about the campaign in order to provide ideological education and directives to women, especially to those who were to be affected. The publicity aimed at criticizing the previous political and economic systems as sources of oppression against women and convincing women who were successful in the commercial sector and financially independent that their privileged status was not genuine, as imperialism continually exploited the country and as society never truly respected women's capabilities and their achievements outside the household.⁹³ The publicity explained how the CCP's political beliefs and its policies could lead to a real liberation for women. The ACWF urged Chinese women to reform their mentality by renouncing capitalistic ideas, such as enriching oneself by exploiting others, by cultivating patriotism and by adopting socialist ideas, such as the primacy of the collective good.⁹⁴

Having explained the political framework for the nationalization of private industries, the ACWF outlined the position and the duties of Chinese women in this campaign. For example, women were to encourage themselves and their relatives to cooperate with the nationalization of their own and of their families' businesses. Also, women were to be responsible for building united and harmonious families by being

diligent and thrifty household managers.⁹⁵ Women were to stop under-estimating the importance and value of physical labor and to stop depending on maids or servants to carry out household chores. Labor that was put into domestic duties was to be seen as honorable and rewarding. All women, including housewives were to continue their political studies.⁹⁶ Apparently, the regional women's federations played an important role in compelling women of the merchant class to adapt to the new era and to the revolutionary changes which were brought by the incorporation of private industry. "Relatives study committees" were set up in the capital cities of many provinces to provide help and instruction to women who had been relying on maids to coordinate their housework, study and social and political activities, including public meetings.⁹⁷ In short, the ACWF was the "mouthpiece" of the Chinese government and was responsible for persuading women in the newly liberated cities to accept and cooperate with the new policies.

In the rural areas, although the ACWF used similar methods to involve women in the campaign for the collectivization of land which was becoming increasingly intensive and extensive during the 1950s, it appeared to have made greater efforts to protect women's welfare. The ACWF maintained that land reform was the way to achieve women's liberation and the improvement of the peasantry.⁹⁸ On the one hand, to the Chinese women, the ACWF provided political education in order to promote their enthusiasm about and understanding of the importance of the mutual-aid teams and the producers' cooperatives.⁹⁹ The ACWF publicized the work of the cooperatives and women's responsibility to become members of the cooperatives and women's right to receive equal pay; the propaganda encouraged women to take part in production and to

achieve the target of working for 120 days or more annually.¹⁰⁰ Considering the nature of these duties, the ACWF was a government agency which implemented government policies concerning women. On the other hand, the ACWF attempted to reduce women's double-workload by urging the producers' cooperatives to make realistic target and production plans,¹⁰¹ the ACWF further suggested that the allocation of work for women should take their age, household responsibilities and health conditions (especially during menstruation, pregnancy, and the aftermath of childbirth) into consideration. Moreover, the ACWF maintained that women should be assigned to tasks, such as piggery and silkworm keeping, the schedules for which were more flexible; therefore, they could manage household duties.¹⁰² The idea was that household management should not be secondary to production. Moreover, by trying to ensure that the division of work between men and women was fair in the sense that tasks assigned to women were less demanding physically, the ACWF assumed the role of protecting women's rights.¹⁰³

The functions and principles of the ACWF appeared to alter fundamentally as a result of sudden national political changes. During the campaigns for the nationalization of private industries and the collectivization of land in the first half of the 1950s, the ACWF identified women closely with family and household. In the urban areas, women were to be good and thrifty household managers in order to enable the country to concentrate its resources on industrialization. In the rural areas, women were encouraged to take part in production only after household duties were well managed. These ideas were upheld as women's ways to build socialism. In the same light, the ACWF insisted that household duties should not be socialized or centralized and that women were more suitable to carry out those duties. Although initiatives were made by some rural cooperatives to provide

day-care and other services to reduce the burden of household work during harvest seasons, such endeavors were not encouraged by the ACWF.¹⁰⁴ However, towards the end of the 1950s, the importance of production enhancement became superior. Therefore, the ACWF had to shift its focus to encourage women to be more involved in production. The responsibility for providing social services to reduce the burden of household chores was handed to the ACWF and later became its primary duty.

The ACWF changed its view on the socialization of household services as the Great Leap Forward (1958-61) was introduced. In early 1958, the Chinese government claimed that as the collectivization of land was completed, China became more and more ready for socialism. Mao launched the Great Leap Forward which aimed at increasing steel and coal production in order to surpass British industrial capacity by 1972. Immediately, to increase production became the first priority of all mass campaigns and government policies in China. In early 1959 the ACWF maintained that its primary function should be to mobilize women to carry out the party-line which was to build socialism by rapidly increasing production. It attempted to explain that although the directives which had been set at the 3rd National Women's Congress (1957) did not focus on production enhancement, they were consistent with the spirit of the Great Leap Forward as they had also aimed at accelerating the revolution.¹⁰⁵ However, the welfare of women appeared to become secondary. The functions of the ACWF were greatly changed.

In order to increase production rapidly, which was the main goal of the Great Leap Forward, the ACWF worked to involve more women in the labor force by providing services to reduce their domestic workload in households. The ACWF underlined the importance of providing training for women to use agricultural tools and to become more

involved in certain stages of the production process, such as fertilizer accumulation and production, seedling cultivation, field management and insect prevention. Perhaps more importantly, the ACWF initiated the idea of “organizing daily life by developing collective social services” to further liberate women’s labor.¹⁰⁶ During this period, the ACWF became increasingly involved in providing leadership for and coordination of day-care centers, kindergartens, public bathrooms and cafeterias. Under the leadership of women’s federations at different levels, teams for sewing, washing, hair cutting, and flour grinding were set up in the *People’s Communes* of many *xian* across the county¹⁰⁷ According to official statistics, by the end of 1959 there were altogether 390,000 cafeterias and 390,000 day-care centers in the country.¹⁰⁸ Yet, the ACWF underlined that such endeavors had to be carried out in the light of Marxist-Leninism theory concerning the value of domestic labor in a socialist society. Women leaders were aware of the possibility of down-playing the value of domestic labor if the publicity made a direct link between women’s emancipation and socialization of household chores. Women cadres were reminded that the publicity had to avoid leading to a belief that the establishment of People’s Communes was equivalent to communism.¹⁰⁹ From 1949 to 1957, the total number of women workers increased by only 2 million. From 1958 to 1959, it increased by 4 million.¹¹⁰ But, much less effort and attention were given to the struggle for women’s rights, such as equal-pay with their male counterparts.

However, this trend of getting more and more women involved in production did not last long. As the Great Leap Forward lost its momentum towards the end of the 1950s, the ACWF’s enthusiasm for running public enterprises to reduce women’s domestic workload diminished. Some enterprises which had become well-established,¹¹¹

especially day-care centers in urban areas continued in operation. But, most of them were quickly closed down. In fact, in 1961 Deng Xiaoping criticized the ACWF for neglecting its own responsibilities and blindly following the general directives at the risk of disconnecting itself from realities during the Great Leap Forward. He claimed that much work of the ACWF had been impractical and useless. Immediately, the ACWF re-adopted the principle of thrift as the guideline for women's work.¹¹²

Since the ideology of the Chinese women's movement was incompatible with that of the Cultural Revolution, the ACWF was basically paralyzed from 1968 to 1978. When Mao Zedong first launched the Cultural Revolution in 1966, the ACWF responded very enthusiastically. Cadres of the Federation were strongly encouraged to study Mao's thoughts and to internalize the spirit of revolution. However, as the Cultural Revolution developed the Chinese women's movement became irrelevant and the need to have an individual women's organization was questionable to both the CCP and the Chinese government.¹¹³ Women's work, which was supposed to serve mainly women's interests was considered as bourgeois-originated, divisive and anti-revolutionary. Consequently, the ACWF was closed down in 1968 and its offices were occupied by the army. Many women cadres were sent to the rural areas to do labor-intensive work. Only after the "gang of four" was arrested and the Cultural Revolution was officially ended in 1976, was the preparatory committee for the Fourth National Women's Congress able to rehabilitate the cadres of the federations, to restore the operation of the ACWF and to organize the National Women's Congress which took place in September 1978. Immediately, the ACWF announced its full support to the government and its reform policies concerning the four modernizations.

Owing to the fact that the ACWF is a government agent, its operation is bound to be affected by political development in the country. The content of its political functions varied according to the political development in the PRC. From the 1950s to the 1960s, the ACWF was greatly involved in many mass movements which were initiated by the Chinese government. In the 1980s and the 1990s, as the Chinese government worked to maintain political stability in order to facilitate the economic development of the country, political activities ceased to be the dominant function of the ACWF. In fact, the ACWF has never become directly involved in any of the subsequent mass political campaign, as happened during the Great Leap Forward. Since the Cultural Revolution, the Chinese government has stopped launching similarly large-scale mass movement to achieve political goals. As a result, the ACWF has been able to concentrate more on its other duties, especially those related to the welfare of women and children. But the ACWF continues to be the “mouthpiece” of the Chinese government and to be responsible for publicity about government policies and ideologies. For example, in the 1980s there was a “Five Stresses, Four Beauties” Campaign which aimed at restoring the courteous culture, positive spirit and comradeship among the Chinese people.¹¹⁴ In the early 1990s, the CCP introduced the idea of building a socialist country with Chinese characteristics. Overall, the ACWF has continuously and strongly supported the party-line.¹¹⁵ In the aftermath of the Chinese student movement in 1989, the ACWF openly criticized the movement as an anti-revolutionary and anti-government turmoil, as what the CCP claimed.¹¹⁶ In a nutshell, the ACWF has always remained faithful to the CCP and the government.

The ACWF: Official Leader of the Chinese Women's Movement

The second category of the ACWF's functions centers on the Chinese women's movement. To enhance Chinese women's consciousness about sexual inequality and to cultivate their self-confidence was always among the ACWF's main concerns. Perhaps, the ultimate goal of its attempts prior to the Cultural Revolution could be summarized by one of the publicity campaigns which aimed at removing the traditional beliefs that women were inferior and that their incapability was a virtue. The slogan of this campaign was "women could do everything."¹¹⁷ The ACWF saw women's participation in production as the key to change people's mentality. Therefore, to depict women as competent, productive and effective worker became the most commonly used publicity approach. This led to wide circulation of elaborate reports on the first group of women pilots, women tractor drivers, or women miners in the 1950s and the early 1960s.¹¹⁸ Their experiences of becoming professionals in fields which had been primarily male-dominated were portrayed and romanticized as breakthroughs for the Chinese women's movement and as a proof for the well-known slogan that women are "half of the sky in China."¹¹⁹ This idea of promoting Chinese women's self-awareness and of motivating them to strive for sexual equality has increasingly become the core of the ACWF's mission since its resumption of operation after the Cultural Revolution. This strong urge was fully revealed by the so-called "four self" slogan which was first introduced at the 5th (1983) and then adopted again at the 6th National Congress of the Chinese women (1988); the slogan urged Chinese women to enhance their sense of self-respect, self-confidence, self-improvement and self-reliance.¹²⁰ Since then, the "four-self" slogan has served as the principal guideline for the work of the ACWF.

The celebration of International Working Women's Day, March 8th, has been one of the main annual activities that the ACWF organized to promote the Chinese women's movement. To give the "March 8th Red Flag Bearer" awards to successful women in different fields became an indispensable part of the celebration. Awards have been given to workers, peasants, cadres, professionals, politicians, as well as to members of the people's army. Besides looking at their accomplishments at work, the criteria for the awards extended to women's political profile and to their decisions concerning family planning.¹²¹ In addition, the award of "March 8th Red Flag Organization" have been given to enterprises or units which usually had women as the majority of the staff members and were outstanding in their performances. Obviously, no fixed quota on these awards were made. According to Zhongguo Funu Tongji Ziliao, in 1979 "March 8th Red Flag Bearer" award was given to 8,960 women while "March 8th Red Flag Organization" award was given to 1,042 units.¹²² A decade after, the former award was given to 1,948 women and the latter award was given to only one unit.¹²³ Nevertheless, by providing evidence to prove that women could be as capable as men, the ACWF has intended to promote Chinese women's self-confidence and to reduce public prejudice against women.

The ACWF organized the "Five Good Family" campaign to integrate the Chinese women's movement into Chinese families. This campaign was first introduced in 1956. At the time "five good" referred to good at establishing mutual-aided relationship with neighbors; managing family life; educating children; keeping the cleanliness and hygiene of households; and studying.¹²⁴ This campaign undoubtedly aimed at acknowledging women's contributions to families and at reinforcing the idea that domestic duties and the stability of family were crucial to the building of a socialist state. Perhaps more

importantly, it was intended to make women more conscious of the political and social implications of the efforts that they put into family. After the Cultural Revolution, the “Five Good Family” campaign was launched again in a format of competition. It strongly emphasized the importance of acknowledging good wives, good mothers and good daughters-in-law in order to revive Chinese familial values and bondage which had been severely undermined and destroyed during the Cultural Revolution.¹²⁵ Decisions concerning birth control were considered as an important criteria. Besides, the ACWF decided that there was no need to establish a standard criterion for the whole country. Consequently, each region set its own requirements and conducted its own selection.¹²⁶ Model families would be chosen and awarded certificates. In the year 1981-82, 3.8 million families were designated as “Five Good Families.”¹²⁷ By giving public acknowledgment to successful or “good” families, the ACWF highlighted the fact that women continue to play a crucial role in family and that women’s contribution is important for the Chinese women’s movement and for the state.

The ACWF has also concretized the Chinese women’s movement by introducing vocational training programs and campaigns to improve women’s abilities and their competitiveness. The most basic training that the ACWF has provided has been “Chinese character learning” classes which aim at reducing the number of illiterate young women mainly in the rural areas. This service was started in the 1950s and has become the responsibility of the local women’s federations. However, it appears that no systematic program was adopted and that sporadic efforts were obviously inadequate and ineffective. According to the official statistics, there were more than 230 million illiterate people in China in 1983. Of those, 70% were women¹²⁸ The introduction of the “*double learning*

and double competing campaign” which was launched in 1989 brought the campaign of eliminating illiteracy to a climax.¹²⁹ The “*double learning and double competing campaign*” aimed at promoting literacy, increasing the technical knowledge of women, and bringing relief to poverty in the rural areas. New approaches were used in this campaign to enable women in rural areas to share in the prosperity of the economy. The local women’s federations in many provinces actually established enterprises and played the role of entrepreneurs to run business in fields of the primary industries, including agriculture, forestry, fishery and animal husbandry, etc. Women were hired and trained to become skillful workers in one or two tasks.¹³⁰ Some women’s federations came up with investment proposals and cooperated with both private and public investors. Other women’s federations collaborated with government ministries to run enterprises. In most cases, the women’s federations were responsible for providing “Chinese character learning classes” and skill-training programs to women workers.¹³¹ The most revolutionary initiative was undoubtedly that the women’s federations acted as financial guarantors for skilled women workers who wanted to start their own business and did not have enough capital or credibility. Consequently, these women were able to obtain loans from banks.¹³² Besides, the ACWF applied for and obtained financial assistance from various international funding sources which were geared to help developing countries. There are at least 38 multilateral and bilateral projects which can be linked in one way or other to the “*double learning and double competing campaign*” in the province of Gansu.¹³³ The results of this campaign seem promising. According to official statistics of 1996, 120 million women took part in the campaign and over 90 million of them became capable of mastering one or more skills. Moreover, over 3 million women became literate.¹³⁴

The ACWF needed new strategies to deal with setbacks suffered by the Chinese women's movement in the early 1990s as the result of China's economic reforms. Because of the four modernizations, the Chinese economy was transforming drastically from a highly centralized and protective model to a increasingly decentralized and competitive model. Consequently, Chinese women workers in the urban areas faced unprecedented challenges. Working conditions became complicated and unfavorable to women who were still generally less educated and less skillful. In order to increase efficiency and competitiveness, many enterprises had to find ways to cut their production costs. Women workers, especially those who were in their 40s and 50s, were the first to be laid-off.¹³⁵ On the other hand, many enterprises, especially those that had been financed by the state, simply could not survive the economic changes. Consequently, thousands of women workers became unemployed. Many of them encountered a great deal of difficulty finding similar jobs elsewhere as many manual tasks had been replaced by machines.¹³⁶ The situation was worsened by the fact that many enterprises started to violate women workers' rights and discriminate against women workers in their hiring processes. Maternity leave and other related benefits were perceived as additional expenses. Enterprises' managers saw women having a stronger tendency to take more days off to attend their familial needs, such as to take care of a sick child at home. Therefore, managers tended to avoid hiring women in general.¹³⁷ Consequently, Chinese women became increasingly financially dependent on the male members of their families in many cases. Women leaders saw these phenomenon as setbacks to the Chinese women's movement.

The ACWF made efforts to help urban women workers to meet the new challenges and demands of the labor market in the late 1980s and early 1990s. The ACWF introduced “*rendering meritorious services*” activities which aimed at promoting urban women workers’ competitiveness so that they could avoid being left out of the technological and economic progress of the country. This campaign concentrated on maximizing women’s talents and their opportunities to be involved in developing tertiary industries in China. By providing various kinds of vocational and technical training, including garment design, cosmetics, cookery, clerical tasks, and management of small business, the women’s federations encouraged unemployed women to start their own business and to look for job opportunities in the tertiary sector of the economy. Small restaurants and businesses which provide services, such as word-processing, typing, photocopying, flower arranging, custom-made clothing, hair-dressing and cosmetics styling grew quickly in cities.¹³⁸ Some women’s federations established affiliated agencies to play the role of middleman between unemployed women and employers. Agencies of this kind have been particularly successful in helping laid-off women to become full-time nannies or household helpers.¹³⁹ According to official statistics, 37.26 million urban women took part in the “*rendering meritorious services*” activities.¹⁴⁰

The most important outgrowth of the new approaches, such as the “*double learning and double competing campaign*” and “*rendering meritorious services*” activities is the fact that the ACWF was officially approved to run profit-making enterprises. In 1992 the State Council released a document which explained in detail practical issues concerning the ACWF’s efforts to develop tertiary industries. Directives which ranged from the source of capital to the obligation to pay taxes were included.

According to this document, the objectives of the ACWF in this regard should be to promote job opportunities for women, to strengthen the ACWF, and to provide service to the mass.¹⁴¹ These new developments have had very important implications. Firstly, the content of women's work has been greatly diversified. Economic functions in terms of engineering investment projects, recruiting women workers and generating profits are carried out in an unprecedented scale. Moreover, being able to retain part of the profits to finance the ACWF and the women's federations at all levels, the ACWF has become less dependent on the government and stronger on representing women's interests.

In order to promote the Chinese women's movement, the ACWF has not only organized activities and publicity campaigns, it has also attempted to safeguard Chinese women's rights and to represent their interests. As has been discussed earlier, during the first decade of the PRC the ACWF tried to ensure that opportunities for women's participation in politics, production and all kinds of social activities were guaranteed and that women's welfare was not ignored in political movements such as the Great Leap Forward. Apart from this, the achievements of the ACWF in improving legal protection for women's rights and interests in China were also evident.

One of the prominent examples to show that the ACWF was the representative of women's interests relates to the marriage law. The marriage law of the PRC was first promulgated in 1950. Its content was very similar to the Marriage Regulations that had been used in the previous communist soviets.¹⁴² The ACWF played a particular role in assisting in the execution of the marriage law. The People's Court, together with the ACWF, established a so-called "jury system" in many provinces. With such a system, cadres of women's federations could become members of juries in divorce lawsuits.¹⁴³

Perhaps more importantly, by conducting private talks with women who were involved in divorce cases and intimidated by the court procedure, women cadres of the ACWF were able to have a more comprehensive understanding of the situations and to help those women to claim what they were entitled to according to the marriage law.¹⁴⁴

Aside from their direct involvement in the legal process of divorce, the women's federations played an important role in executing one part of the marriage law which stated that "when one party insists on divorce, the organizations concerned may try to effect a reconciliation..."¹⁴⁵ Having received complaints from women who suffered from difficult marriages, cadres of the women's federations would carry out investigations of the situations. Cadres always attempted to help the couples to resolve their problems and to improve their relationships mainly by re-educating couples with the content and spirit of the marriage law which was founded on the notion of sexual equality.¹⁴⁶ By criticizing the absurdity of traditional Chinese marriage norms, including the superiority of husbands in households, the dependence of wives, and the general acceptance of violence against women as well as of polygamy, federation cadres tried to convince couples, and especially husbands, to give up their traditional views on and related behavior in marriage relationships.¹⁴⁷ Lastly, women's federations of all levels were responsible for publicity about the marriage law. Women cadres were constantly reminded that both men and women were target audience of the publicity campaign and that the emphasis should not be placed solely on the section relating to divorce.¹⁴⁸

Partly due to the efforts of the ACWF, in 1981 certain amendments were made to increase the flexibility of the marriage law. The ACWF had continuously reflected the limitations of the original marriage law with regard to helping women to escape from

problematic marriages. With almost no or very little social and familial support and being mostly financially dependent on their husbands, many women remained victims of unhappy marriages. Applications for divorce were never easily and smoothly accepted, as many personnel in the legal system, including judges and lawyers, who were mostly men, continued to have strong prejudices against divorce. Very often, requests for divorce were refused by the People's Court. As a result, many women resorted to suicide to escape from their marriages.¹⁴⁹ The new Marriage Law of 1981 contains important amendments with regard to divorce. Article 25 of chapter four of the marriage law was changed; instead of "divorce may be granted," it has become "divorce should be granted in cases of complete alienation of mutual affection and when mediation has failed." This change drastically reduced the power of people who work in the legal system to hinder divorce.¹⁵⁰ By playing a particular role in the execution of the marriage law, women's federations has been able to provide assistance to women who are caught up in problematic marriages in various concrete ways.

The responsibility for protecting women's rights and interests took a new shape as women's safety was seriously threatened in the 1980s. As a result of the four modernizations policies and the subsequent open door policy, the Chinese economy began to grow on an unprecedented scale. The living standard of the coastal areas was greatly enhanced as commercialization developed at a rapid pace. However, another result of this development was that women and children were treated as commodities by some people. The practice of selling and buying women has its roots in the past and had virtually ceased during the first three decades of the PRC. The trade became rampant again in the 1980s during which the public has been often shocked by reports about women being tricked or

abducted. Most of these women were then sold to old peasant bachelors as wives or forced to become prostitutes in big cities or lured to participate in other illegal endeavors. Tens of thousands of cases of this kind were reported by the Chinese official press.¹⁵¹ The ACWF was urged to promote and protect women's legal rights. The ACWF responded to the situation by firstly intensifying the publicity about the fundamental principles of sexual equality which was guaranteed by the constitution of the PRC and then attacking the idea that women were men's property and could be legally transferred. Moreover, it established numerous legal advisory bureaus at different levels of the women's federations throughout the country to provide legal consultation and assistance to women in need.¹⁵²

Due to the efforts of the ACWF, in the 1990s a new committee was established in the State Council and new set of laws was adopted to protect women's rights. It was obvious to the ACWF that the existing system and laws, which were mainly set up since the beginning of the PRC, were inadequate to protect women's rights from the current abuses and new challenges of the 1980s and the 1990s. In 1989, the ACWF suggested to the State Council that it should establish a coordinating committee to improve the current work concerning women and children. Consequently, a committee on women and children was established in the State Council in 1990.¹⁵³ Being at the top level of the administrative structure, this committee actually has had much more influence than the ACWF. In addition, mainly due to the efforts and lobbying of the ACWF, a committee which consisted of cadres of many organization, ministries and units, such as the ACWF, the People's Court, the Labor Ministry, was formed to work on a draft of laws to protect women's rights in 1989.¹⁵⁴ In 1992 the "Law of the People's Republic of China on the Protection of Rights and Interests of Women" was adopted. There are altogether 54

articles in eleven chapters which articulate the principle of equality between men and women; the responsibility of the state to protect women's special rights and interests; and the prohibition of any kind of discrimination against or maltreatment of women.¹⁵⁵ Moreover, the ACWF is designated by the law to be the representative of all Chinese women's rights and interests.¹⁵⁶ However, it is still too soon to evaluate the effectiveness of this law.

Being the leader of the Chinese women's movement, the ACWF has worked to enhance Chinese women's consciousness about sexual inequality and to motivate them to improve their situation by organizing many activities. The ACWF has also been committed to represent and safeguard women's rights and interests in marriages, workplaces and in society at large. It is fair to say that the ACWF has been consistent in its goals to lead the Chinese women's movement. However, the approaches of the ACWF vary at different periods of times. Prior to the Cultural Revolution, publicity was the major part of the ACWF's work. This was attributable to the belief that a new culture and mentality could be implanted effectively by pervasive and constant indoctrination. During this period, symbolism and appearance were more important as they verified certain beliefs. It was in this context that campaigns, such as the March 8th Celebration and Five Good Families Competition were launched. Model women workers and model mothers symbolized the success of socialism and that of the CCP. In the 1980s, the ACFW became more mature in its work concerning the promotion of women's welfare. The fact that it advocated the modification of the marriage law and that it lobbied for the need of adopting and helped drafting the "Law of the People's Republic of China on the Protection of Rights and Interests of Women" shows that the ACWF was aware of the limitations of the existing

system. In addition, instead of solely praising government policies, the ACWF openly addressed the problems that economic reforms were bringing to women and attempted to help them in very concrete terms. Consequently, the “Learning and Competing Campaign” and the Rendering Meritorious Services” activities were introduced. Moreover, the ACWF has been trying to be more responsive to the new needs of the Chinese women since the late 1980s. Following the successful example of another women’s group, the ACWF opened a women’s hot-line to the public in Beijing in order to provide assistance and consultation to the callers who were usually troubled by familial disputes, unhappy marriages, their husbands’ extra-marital affairs. New approaches and initiatives provoke self-examination among the cadres. Many of them began to identify the goals of improving women’s welfare and of establishing sexual equality as the primary duty of the ACWF.

The ACWF: The Protector of Children’s Welfare

Another important responsibility of the ACWF relates to the welfare of children in the country. In this regard, the first duty was to educate Chinese women with modern and scientific knowledge about child-care. To remove Chinese women’s deep-rooted superstition and their traditional methods for birth giving and child-care was a big challenge, especially in the 1950s and 1960s.¹⁵⁷ The ACWF assisted the Health Department in training mid-wives whose skills and methods were considered unhygienic and dangerous. According to official statistics, 100,000 mid-wives went through training courses in 1951. Moreover, 10,000 child delivery centers and health care centers for the newborns were established. The goal was to set up a child-delivery center for every five villages by the end of 1952. The ACWF was also responsible for publicizing the

importance of immunizing children against smallpox and tuberculosis and the absurdity of superstition.¹⁵⁸

In the 1950s, the ACWF was mainly responsible for ensuring that day-care facilities were available in China. Prior to the Great Leap Forward, women's federations at all levels tried to reflect to different units such as factories and bureaus the needs of working women in terms of day-care services for their children. In the urban areas, day-care centers and rooms for breast-feeding were set up at workplaces. In the rural areas, the women's federations assisted the cooperatives in taking care of children during the harvest seasons when women's labor was needed in the fields. In fact, the ACWF was trying to ensure that substantial efforts were made to welcome or include women in the labor force and that women's involvement in production would not be hindered by maternal duties.¹⁵⁹ The nature of this particular function was changed during the Great Leap Forward during which women's federations, especially those in the countryside, became very involved in running day-care centers at the people's communes.¹⁶⁰ After 1962, the ACWF returned to its original role to assist or at times, to pressure different units to establish day-care facilities. The ACWF regularly conducted investigation into the conditions and development of different day-care facilities. Statistics of the total number of day-care centers and the enrollment rate of children always appeared in its annual reports.

In the 1980s and 1990s, the ACWF became very involved in the promotion of children's welfare. In February 1981, the central committee of the CCP released a directive which assigned the ACWF to be the leader in "nurturing, cultivating and educating" children and adolescents of the country. This meant that the ACWF was to link

up and coordinate different departments and units concerned. Shortly after, the ACWF set up three new committees. The first one was responsible for enriching the cultural and educational materials, including television programs, movies, books and songs, for children and adolescents.. The second committee was responsible for the living conditions of children. It took care of the availability and accessibility of food, clothes, toys and other daily necessities for children. The last committee included members from the first two committees, cadres from the Central Committee of the CCP, and cadres from the ACWF to evaluate and discuss the current situation in order to make plans for future development.¹⁶¹ In 1992 the program for the development of children in China in the 1990s was released.¹⁶² Moreover, since 1981 the ACWF has organized the annual celebration of children festival on June 1st. A large publicity campaign was always part of the celebration which promoted the importance of the younger generations and the importance of their welfare for the country.¹⁶³ As a result of the ACWF's lobbying, the Central Committee of the CCP approved the proposal of building a Chinese Children and Adolescents Activity Center in 1982.¹⁶⁴ Moreover courses on working with children and adolescents were introduced in the women cadres' school.¹⁶⁵

Certain aspects of the one-child policy apparently caused tension between the ACWF and the Chinese government in the 1980s. The one-child policy which was introduced in 1979 was intended to be a carrot-and-stick approach to limit the population of China to 1.2 billion by the year 2000. Families which complied with the one-child policy would be rewarded. Additional benefits such as maternity leave up to six months for mothers and subsidized or free education and health care for the child would be granted. If the couples had a second child, all the benefits would be withdrawn. Moreover, the second

child would not be entitled to any public welfare services, including medical and educational benefits. Couples with of a third child would have to pay penalties and have their salaries reduced in many cases. In the early 1980s, abortion was often forced on women with two or more children, regardless of the length of pregnancy. Moreover, sterilization was compulsory for these couples. The ACWF was responsible for publicizing the rationale, importance and content of the one-child policy, and promoting the use of different contraceptive measures. Women cadres also assisted the birth control bureaus which were set up throughout the country to persuade couples to comply with the policy. The ACWF underlined the important role that men should play in family planning and criticized the absurdity of the general assumption that women were solely responsible for such matter.¹⁶⁶ However, the ACWF faced a dilemma when thousands of women were traumatized and their health was jeopardized by severe and punitive measures. On the one hand, it had to support and reinforce the government's policy. On the other hand, it was obvious that the victims of the one-child policy were primarily women whose interests were ACWF's main concerns. All that the ACWF could do was to repeatedly emphasize that cadres of women's federations at all levels would first comply with the one-child policy themselves in order to set a good example; then strive to promote the policy to the largest scale possible; but strongly protest against any coercive approach.¹⁶⁷ This was indeed a subtle way to question the government's policy and one of its most fundamental rationales which maintained that the collective good always surpassed individuals' rights.

The principles of protecting women's and children's rights and welfare compelled the ACWF to protest against abuses to female infants and their mothers. The one-child policy fully reflected the fact that the Chinese population, especially those from rural

families, continued to have very strong desire to have at least one son. Great disappointment was almost certain if the first born happened to be a daughter as the possibility of having a second child was low or at least costly. This led to a dramatic increase in instances of female infanticide and abuse of women who had given birth to female babies. The ACWF was alarmed and determined to intensify its publicity campaign to attack the mentality of valuing sons more than daughters and the practice of killing female babies.¹⁶⁸ In addition, it carried out an extensive investigation into the conditions of women who were affected by the one-child policy in any way. The results of the investigation uncovered how the one-child policy caused severe harm to women's health, maltreatment of female babies and their mothers, and the widespread public resentment. The ACWF openly reported on and criticized the prevalent practice of female infanticide which had been officially denied; consequently, tension was created between the government and the ACWF. However, the ACWF was not able to provide help to women and female babies who were victims of the one-child policy. It appears that the effectiveness of its protests was very limited.

The functions that the ACWF has performed with regard to children's welfare have had significant implications. Having assumed that the largest women's organization would be the best care-giver to children, the Chinese government appointed the ACWF as the protector and promoter of children's welfare in the country. The ACWF has become an embodiment of the close association or linkage between womanhood and motherhood that the Chinese continue to perceive. Ironically, the coercive measures of the one-child policy pushed the ACWF to confront the government. The ACWF's criticisms of certain aspects of the population control policy demonstrate that the ACWF has started to act as a

pressure group which speaks on behalf of women's and children's interests and rights. Also, additional responsibilities, especially those which were assigned after 1981, put a greater strain on the women's federations at all levels. Some cadres actually expressed their concerns about the lack of consistency in their duties and about how to set priorities between women's work and children's work. In the mid 1980s these issues triggered wide-spread discussions about the limitations of the ACWF and the need for its reforms.

The ACWF: International Representative of Women in China

International activities belong to the fourth category of functions that the ACWF carries out. The ACWF has been the official international representative of Chinese women since the establishment of the PRC in 1949. The ACWF's international activities have been largely shaped by China's international relations and foreign policies. During the early phase of the PRC, the ACWF was often used as an instrument to make first contacts with other countries, especially those that were less-developed. The nature of these activities was mainly bilateral. The ACWF has become increasingly involved in multilateral activities since the Cultural Revolution. The following paragraphs trace ACWF's liaison activities with other countries and its involvement in the United Nations, especially its participation into World Conferences On Women.

The ACWF has played an important role in creating and diversifying China's relationships with other countries. In the early phase of the PRC, U.S. sanctions against the PRC made it very difficult for the Chinese government to establish diplomatic relationships with many countries, especially those in Western Europe. In this context, the ACWF first organized the "Asia Women's Representatives Conference" in December

1949. One hundred ninety-seven representatives from 23 countries participated in this event.¹⁶⁹ In 1953 and 1954, the ACWF hosted women's delegation from Japan. In 1955, women's delegations from France and Italy expressed the willingness of their governments to support the establishment of normal diplomatic relationships with the PRC.¹⁷⁰ The success of the ACWF in making contacts with women's organizations in other countries enabled China to break through its diplomatic isolation in the 1950s. This tactic remained useful after the Cultural Revolution. For example, the restoration of Sino-Soviet diplomatic relations started with exchanges between women's delegations of the two countries in the early 1980s. Another example is that when the U.S. imposed sanctions on China after the Tiananmen Square Incident of 1989, the ACWF invited American women's organizations to take part in a conference on women's issues in Beijing in 1990. There were altogether 250 American women and 200 Chinese women participants.¹⁷¹ In short, by making unofficial contacts with women's organizations overseas, the ACWF has been able to open up different possibilities for the Chinese government to break diplomatic ice.

The foreign activities of the ACWF were greatly affected by the Cold War. Being one of the biggest communist countries, the PRC played an important role in strengthening and expanding the communist camp by making alliance with many so-called "third world" countries. In this context, the ACWF always put a great deal of emphasis on its liaison activities with the less-developed countries in Asia, Africa and Latin America, especially those which were at odds with the United States.¹⁷² For example, the ACWF hosted a delegation from Algeria in 1957 and a delegation from countries of South-Western Africa in 1964. In these activities, the ACWF often tried to demonstrate how

socialism enabled Chinese women to take part into the revolution and to enjoy higher social status in a socialist society.¹⁷³ In addition, token supplies were sent to women's organizations in Korea, Vietnam and Palestine to support their struggles against "American imperialism" during different periods of time.¹⁷⁴ Moreover, the ACWF sent delegations to 26 countries in Africa and 5 countries in Asia between 1978 and 1983.¹⁷⁵ Most of these activities were centered on strengthening the relationships between China and these countries.

The ACWF has become increasingly involved in the United Nations since the 1980s. In 1971, the PRC officially became a member of the United Nations. In the following year, China was elected as a member state of the UN Commission on the Status of Women. Since then, China has always been very active in participating in UN activities related to women.¹⁷⁶ One of the first important international events in which the ACWF participated was the First World Conference on Women which took place in Mexico City in 1975. Later, the ACWF also participated in the following two World Conferences on Women which took place in Copenhagen (1980) and in Nairobi (1985) respectively.¹⁷⁷ These conferences had significant implications for the Chinese women's movement. By signing the "World Program of Action" (1975), the "Convention on Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women" (1980) and the "Nairobi Strategies" (1985), China committed itself to improve the status of Chinese women with reference to an international standard.¹⁷⁸ Moreover, China became a member of two very important committees in the 1980s: the Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination Against Women (1982-94) and the International Research and Training for the Advancement of Women (1985-88).¹⁷⁹ Perhaps more importantly, the ACWF was successful in acquiring

financial support from United Nations Children's Fund and United Nations Women's Development Fund to carry out production projects in China, such as those of the "*double learning and competing campaign*."¹⁸⁰ Consequently, Chinese women benefited greatly. Through ACWF's involvement in the United Nations and its constant contacts with many governments and numerous non-governmental women's organizations, its foreign activities have become much more multilateral and diverse.

The ACWF played an exceptional role in the Fourth World Conference on Women (FWCW) (1995) as China was the host country. First and foremost, Chen Muhua, Head of the Executive Committee of the ACWF, was the head of the Chinese government delegation and elected as the president of the FWCW.¹⁸¹ Besides, the ACWF was particularly involved in the preparation for the non-governmental organizations (NGO) Forum on Women which took place in Huairou from the 30th August to the 8th September 1995. There were more than 30,000 participants.¹⁸² The ACWF was a member of the NGO Forum's Planning committee which set the overall direction of the program.¹⁸³ On the other hand, the China Organizing Committee (COC) for the FWCW had an NGO Forum Committee which worked closely with and assisted the Facilitating Committee and the Secretariat of NGO Forum to implement and organize the Forum in Beijing. Huang Qizao, Vice President of the ACWF, was the Director of the NGO Forum Committee. The ACWF was a member of this committee as well.¹⁸⁴ In other words, the ACWF actively participated in both the planning part and the executive part of the NGO Forum. Moreover, together with other members of the NGO Forum Committee, the ACWF prepared and coordinated forty-seven panels, sixty-three workshops, twelve performances

and thirty-five exhibits which were presented by and about Chinese women in the NGO Forum.¹⁸⁵

The FWCW had a significant impact on the ACWF. First and foremost, in order to show its support for the Chinese women's movement and for the FWCW, the Chinese government built a new and spacious office building in downtown Beijing for the ACWF.¹⁸⁶ The building is so big that surplus offices are rented to affiliated departments or organizations, such as Women's Studies Institute. Consequently, the headquarters of the ACWF has become a resource center in which many activities that are apart from the regular operation of the ACWF, but related to the Chinese women, are carried out. In addition, with the financial support of the Chinese government, the Zhongguo Funu Chubanze, the affiliated publishing house of the ACWF, was able to publish a number of books about Chinese women, including Women's Domestic Status in Contemporary China and More or Less Half the Sky: Chinese Women Parade.¹⁸⁷ Some of these books were ground-breaking Chinese language works in the field of women's studies in China. Lastly, in spite of much discontent and frustration which was aroused by the late site change from Beijing to Huairou, the final success of both the FWCW and the NGO Forum not only guaranteed the fact that the ACWF can continue or expand its foreign activities, but also strongly encouraged the ACWF to be more open to other feminist perspectives and empowered the ACWF to urge the Chinese government to implement the Beijing Declaration and the Platform of Action.¹⁸⁸ Articles about women's conditions, feminism and different aspects of women's studies have become an indispensable part of the ACWF's publication, including newspaper and internal magazine. Undoubtedly, the ACWF is in a better position to represent Chinese women's interests since the FWCW.

The international activities of the ACWF have been very important to China and to the Chinese women's movement. Being the official international representative of the Chinese women, the ACWF has had major achievements in establishing rapport, making exchanges and working with other countries through both its bilateral and multilateral activities. Obviously, its success and experiences have had a positive impact on China's diplomatic relationship with other countries. Perhaps more importantly, the ACWF has become a vital part of the network of the international women's movement. By committing itself to international cooperation which was one of the primary objectives of the UN World Conference on Women, the ACWF has heightened Chinese women's awareness of and their interest in global women's issues and experiences in relation to their own concerns. Consequently, the Chinese women's movement has definitely been greatly enriched.

To sum up, the functions of the ACWF center on four categories: implementing Chinese government policies relating to women; leading the Chinese women's movement; promoting children's welfare; and being the international representative of Chinese women. The contents of these functions continue to evolve and are greatly shaped by the political, social and economic development of the country. However, although each of these aspects was assigned as the most imperative duty of the women's federations at one point, they were not given equal importance. Very often, women's federations, especially those under the *xian* level could manage to perform only a few functions. In general, the ACWF acted more like a government department or agent and its activities were highly politicized prior to the Cultural Revolution; the ACWF has increasingly worked to

represent women's interests and gradually become more independent from the CCP and the government since the Cultural Revolution. Such shifts have been made possible by the relatively stable political conditions in China and were triggered by critical discussions and major self-reflection among the cadres of the women's federations in the mid-1980s. These discussions provide not only some explanation for the change that the ACWF made, but also interesting insights into the cadres themselves.

Chapter Six: Cadres of the ACWF

It is not an easy task to contact the cadres of the ACWF and to encourage them to reveal their thoughts and feelings about their organization. Attempts were made to interview some cadres during the course of research for this study; but the results were not very fruitful. The internal journal is another source to discover more about the cadres of the women federations. Prior to the Cultural Revolution, the internal journal of the ACWF occasionally published letters from cadres. However, most of their letters simply echoed the political propaganda of the government. This situation changed in the 1980s when Deng Xiaoping decided to make some fundamental changes to the structure of the Chinese government. Cadres of the ACWF started to reveal their opinions and perceptions of their own organization. Controversial issues such as women's federations' relationships with the CCP and the government, the limitations of the women's federations and its role in the Chinese women's movement were subjects for debate. These debates certainly reflect the frustration and vision of the cadres.

Cadres of the women's federations openly discussed the state of women's work in a forum which was set up in Funu Gongzuo, the internal journal of the ACWF, in 1986. The focus of the forum was whether there was a leader and structure for women's work.¹⁸⁹ For at least six months, cadres from different parts of China wrote articles to voice their opinions about the limitations of the women's federations and their suggestions for reforms. Their criticisms consisted of three aspects. First and foremost, cadres were dissatisfied with their own organizations. They maintained that women's federations lacked authority, independence and flexibility. The ACWF tended to follow closely the directives of the CCP and tried to be in tune with the Chinese government. Consequently,

women's federations became rigid and lacked initiative.¹⁹⁰ Secondly, cadres were discontent with their work. They characterized their duties as being excessive and miscellaneous, as well as suffering from a lack of coherence. They suffered from an insufficiency of resources. New duties were often assigned without increasing the number of staff members and funding. This made it very difficult for cadres to perform all the duties equally well. Therefore, many projects and duties were dropped or left unfinished.¹⁹¹ Lastly, women cadres maintained that the CCP and the Chinese government did not attach enough importance to women's work. Women cadres felt that they did not share equal political, social and economic status with their counterparts in other mass organizations, and claimed that it was because women's work was looked down upon and neglected.¹⁹² These feelings and opinions were again reflected by the results of a survey which was conducted by the women's federations in Sichuan in 1986. 74.8% of the participants, claimed that women's work was not recognized and supported by CCP committees.¹⁹³ These criticisms revealed that women cadres were frustrated with the operational aspect of the women's federations and suffered from the lack of political and social recognition.

Cadres of the women's federations also made suggestions about how to improve the quality of women's work. Cadres argued that they needed to have clearer parameters for the functions of women's federations. It was important for the cadres to concentrate on their current duties and to make this clear to the CCP and the Chinese government.¹⁹⁴ Cadres of the federations also asked for structural reforms which would enable lower level women's federations to be flexible enough to cater to local needs.¹⁹⁵ Moreover, cadres demanded that the ACWF should adopt a more comprehensive management system to

centralize certain tasks, including the retirement plan for cadres, recruitment and benefits of cadres.¹⁹⁶ Lastly, some cadres claimed that the time had come for women's federations to put more effort into studying the Chinese women's movement. Since women's federations had focused mainly on the practical concerns of Chinese women, analytical studies of the experiences of women's work in the past four decades virtually did not exist. Women cadres believed that theoretical studies of the past and present of the Chinese women's movement could provide a better direction for women's work of the future.¹⁹⁷ These suggestions primarily centered on the internal reforms that the women's federations could make in order to improve its effectiveness.

The forces demanding the reform of the women's federations gained momentum again after the 13th National People's Congress (1987). Several fundamental changes were introduced during the 13th Congress. One of the most important resolutions was that the CCP would slowly separate itself from the administration of government.¹⁹⁸ A forum was again set up in Funu Gongzou. Discussions were no longer simply about internal reforms of the women's federations; controversial issues such as the nature of the ACWF, its relationship with the CCP and the relevance of its existing functions in relation to its original mission were to become subjects of debate. Some proposals were quite radical. For example, many cadres discussed the need for the ACWF, as a mass organization, to differentiate itself from the CCP and from the government in order to be a true representative of women's interests. The argument was that the CCP should remain as the leader of the women's federations, but that the CCP would provide only overall directives and guidelines to the ACWF and avoid directly supervising the daily operation of the

women's federations at all levels. Therefore, the ACWF had to take initiatives to formulate its own plans and to become more independent.¹⁹⁹

Suggestions were also made about clarifying the nature of the ACWF, as a mass organization, and its relationship with the Chinese government. The cadres of the federations maintained that the ACWF should have a distinctive structure and functions different from that of the government. The ACWF and the Chinese government would share an equal and collegial political relationship, in the sense that the government would always consult the ACWF in its policy making process to ensure that women's interests would not be at risk. On the other hand, the ACWF would continue to assist and cooperate with the government.²⁰⁰ In addition, many cadres argued that the responsibilities of the women's federations should be solely limited to the promotion and protection of Chinese women's welfare and rights. In other words, by carrying out other directives of the government, the ACWF, as one of the mass organizations, had been exceeding its power and responsibility. Therefore, tasks which were not directly related to women and had been assigned to the ACWF should be re-allocated to other government departments.²⁰¹ This idea led to the question about the ACWF's role in the promotion of children's welfare. Some cadres argued that it would be more effective and appropriate if all the tasks that were related to the welfare of the younger generations were centralized and supervised by the Chinese Education Ministry.²⁰² Lastly, many cadres suggested that the ACWF should increase the transparency of its operation and the recruitment of cadres should be opened to the public.²⁰³ Discussions concerning the public image of the ACWF were aroused in the early 1990s. Women cadres openly examined why the Chinese public kept perceiving them as government officials and the impacts of such perception upon

their work.²⁰⁴ Many cadres concluded that all cadres of women's federations needed to adopt an attitude and an image that they were serving the public and to eliminate any form of bureaucracy.²⁰⁵

Suggestions that were made by cadres of women's federations from all parts of China have significant implications. First and foremost, the fact that a forum was set up for discussion reflects the maturation of the ACWF. Cadres' experiences in doing women's work enabled them to provide concrete ideas for reforms. Moreover, cadres' constant requests for clarifying the identity and the ultimate purpose of the ACWF show that they themselves had probably been confused in the past about their roles and duties. If this is the case, the Chinese public undoubtedly could not have had a very clear understanding of the ACWF. Lastly, the content of these discussions was indeed nothing less than cadres' visions of how the future ACWF should evolve. Obviously, there is a strong tendency for the ACWF to channel more and more of its resources to enhance women's status and to protect women's rights. Other political and social responsibilities will be gradually reduced or eventually eliminated from the regular operation of the ACWF.

Conclusion

Generally speaking, the ACWF went through three stages of development from 1949 to present. Its development has always centered on its relationship with the Chinese government and the latter's relationship with Chinese women. In the early phase of the PRC during which the entire society, including the life of people, was re-organized according to a new ideology, the ACWF acted primarily as a government agent. It upheld the belief that the Chinese women's movement would advance if Chinese women followed the leadership of the CCP and the directives of the government. Concerning this period, one can easily criticize the ACWF for its submission to the CCP and the government, or for its inconsistency in representing women's interests, or for its bureaucratic outlook. But, it appears to have been unavoidable for the ACWF to lead the Chinese women's movement in such ways. Considering the fact that Chinese people had had a paternalistic political structure for ages; and that the forerunners of the ACWF which had been set up in the soviets had no experience or previous example to follow in operating a nation-wide organization of this sort; and that its ultimate goal of ending women's oppression was the most challenging and revolutionary, it was almost inevitable for both the ACWF and the mass to rely on the CCP and on the government.

The ACWF entered its second stage of development in the aftermath of the Cultural Revolution. The Cultural Revolution halted the operation of the ACWF. But this period was very important for the future development of the ACWF. The traumatic aspects of the Cultural Revolution confused many cadres and brought them to question the CCP and the government. Consequently, the devotion and faithfulness of the cadres

towards the CCP and the government were diluted. It was in such a context that the ACWF resumed its operation in 1976.

In the late 1970s and the early 1980s, similar to other government departments and mass organizations, the ACWF found itself in a position to evaluate its activities and functions of the past and to anticipate its role in the current situation of China. With the benefit of hindsight, many cadres realized that the Cultural Revolution was really a series of power struggles among the leaders at the highest level. These struggles were carried out at the expense of the Chinese people. Consequently, cadres tended to avoid controversial political issues as much as possible and to focus on their daily tasks. This tendency was reinforced by the fact that the Chinese government itself found it extremely important to let the Chinese people recuperate from the Cultural Revolution during which life in general was highly politicized. As a result, a more relaxed political and social atmosphere was generated. For the ACWF, the responsibility of promoting women's welfare and status became more appealing and important than ever. In this regard, the amendments to the marriage law were a most remarkable achievement. The ACWF made significant contributions on behalf of Chinese women during this period.

Although it became increasingly clear that the ACWF should specialize its work in representing Chinese women's interests and protecting women's rights, the ACWF was not mature and strong enough to set its own parameter of work. This explains why the ACWF accepted to be the leader of "nurturing, cultivating and educating" children and adolescent of the country in 1981, despite the fact that this duty seemed to be totally irrelevant to the original goal and the structure of the ACWF. The subsequent responsibilities concerning children's welfare arouse much dissatisfactions among the

cadres. The one-child policy was also fully implemented in the early 1980s. The conflicting perspectives between the ACWF and the Chinese government have been discussed.²⁰⁶ The response of the ACWF to the adverse impacts of severe birth control policies and infanticide upon women's welfare shows that the ACWF was increasingly prepared to confront the government, although only in subtle ways at first, in order to protect women's welfare. In a nutshell, it appears that the relationship between the ACWF and the government started to become uneasy, if not tensional, during this period. As the self-identity of the ACWF as the leader of the Chinese women's movement grew stronger, it appeared to be awkward when the government attempted to achieve certain national goals at the expense of women's interests.

The ACWF entered a new stage of development in 1987 as the 13th National People's Congress recognized the achievements of China's economic reforms, confirmed that China would continue to follow the four modernizations policies, and adopted certain fundamental changes in the constitution and the political structure of the PRC. These new political developments provided favorable conditions for the ACWF to become more mature in its work, especially in those activities related to enhancing the economic and social status of women. The consequences were startling. Firstly, cadres of women's federations demanded internal reforms. They insisted that they should concentrate solely on promoting women's welfare in opposition to the traditional practice of accepting unquestionably other kinds of responsibilities from the government. In other words, cadres began to attempt to set parameters for the duties of the women's federations and to be distinct from the government. Secondly, unprecedented opportunities for running enterprises made it possible for the ACWF to become more resourceful and financially

independent from the government. Thirdly, the ACWF took an active part in providing new job opportunities for unemployed and laid-off women by organizing vocational training programs in cooperation with both Chinese and foreign investors. As a result, the ACWF became more autonomous in helping women. In short, the nature, content and scale of women's work were greatly transformed. Since the late 1980s, the idea that the ACWF has to represent and protect women's interests seems to have taken root in the organization and will continue to shape its daily operation and its future. The maturation of the women's work undoubtedly paves the way for the possibility of the ACWF to become a genuine leader of the Chinese women's movement in the future.

The history of the ACWF provides significant insights in our understanding of the Chinese women's movement. The constitution of the PRC has guaranteed equal rights and status to women since the very beginning. But, after almost fifty years sexual equality is still a far ideal in China. The reality of women's inferiority leads to certain concerns about the Chinese women's movement. Similar to the growth and development of the ACWF, the Chinese women's movement was always fostered by the CCP and the Chinese government. If the ACWF, the official and the most established institutional leader of the Chinese women's movement, has started to articulate more clearly its goals only recently, it is reasonable to assume that the Chinese women's movement is still in an early stage of its development. Although many Chinese women have probably heard about the idea of sexual equality from different sources, most women are still burdened by double-workloads and tend to remain passive in acting on problems concerning discrimination, abuses and other issues that are related to their gender. It appears that the existing laws and systems are somehow disconnected from the realities that Chinese women face, and

fail to provide practical solutions or alternatives to them. As the ACWF went through a stage of disillusionment and adjustment in the aftermath of the Cultural Revolution, perhaps the Chinese women's movement also needs to take steps to become more focused on its cause and to avoid being directed by the orders and policies of Chinese authorities.

In fact, there are some encouraging signs concerning the development of the Chinese women's movement. China's four modernizations policies facilitated the growth of the Chinese women's movement in various ways. The relatively relaxed political atmosphere of the 1980s and the 1990s made it possible for Chinese intellectuals to form small groups and to establish new departments in universities to study about Chinese women. Some arguments that are contained in the publications of these groups are not necessarily in tune with the official interpretations of certain subjects and events. Economic reforms provided opportunities for many young women to improve their economic status. To be financially independent from their parents or husbands could be an empowering experience. The pattern of relationship between genders are definitely being altered by the economic reforms and the subsequent social changes. Although new challenges, including keen competition, job insecurity and social discrimination, put many women in difficult position, they also compel Chinese women to be more militant and to break out of the protection which had been given by the state. Moreover, international exchanges which were strongly encouraged in the 1980s and the 1990s have enabled Chinese women to be enriched by western feminism. Subjects, such as women's psychology, women's health and women's cultures, that are considered important to the discipline of women's studies in the west have started to gain attention from the Chinese as well. The Chinese government must have been convinced by the success of the FWCW

that exchanges among Chinese and foreign women's groups are beneficiary. These signs suggest that the Chinese women's movement has started to mature to a new stage. However, the Chinese women's movement is still lacking "bottom-up" vision, immediate goals and initiatives. Until they make a breakthrough in the women's movement and become capable of exercising their equal rights, Chinese women will remain followers of the revolution.

Endnotes

-
- ¹ Remin Ribao (People's Daily) is the official newspaper of the PRC.
 - ² Zhonghua Quanguo Funu Lianhehui 中华妇女联合会 (All-China Women's Federation). Zhonghua Funu Yundongshi Ziliao 中华妇女运动史资料 (History of the Chinese Women's Movement), (Beijing: Chunqiu Chubanshe, 春秋出版社, 1989)
 - ³ Zhongguo Funu Guanli Ganbu Xueyuan 中国妇女管理干部学院 (Chinese Women Cadres Management School), ed., Zhonghua Funu Yundong Wenxian Ziliao Huiji 中华妇女运动文献资料汇集 (Chinese Women's Movement: A Collection of Documents), Vol. 2 1949-1983, (Beijing: Zhongguo Funu Chubanshe 中国妇女出版社, 1988)
 - ⁴ Luo Qiong 罗琼, Funu Jiefang Luncong 妇女解放论丛 (Collection Essays on Women's Liberation), (Zhongguo Funu Chubanshe 中国妇女出版社, 1990)
 - ⁵ Quanguo Fulian Bangongting 全国妇联办公厅 (The Office of the ACWF) Zhonghua Quanguo Funu Lianhehui Xishinian 中华妇女联合会四十年 (The All China Women's Federation Forty Years), (Zhongguo Funu Chubanshe 中国妇女出版社, 1989)
 - ⁶ Gupta, K.P., Emancipation and Enslavement of Women in China: Confucian and Communist Variations China Report , Vol. 11, 5 (September-December 1975), pp. 50-76.
 - ⁷ Kay Ann Johnson, Women, the Family, and Peasant Revolution in China (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1983), pp. 7-26.
 - ⁸ Judith Stacey, Patriarchy and Socialist Revolution in China (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1983), pp. 39-48.
 - ⁹ Patricia Stranahan, Yan'an Women and the Communist Party (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1983), pp. 9-24.
 - ¹⁰ Elisabeth Croll, Chinese Women Since Mao (London: Zed Books; Armonk, New York: M.E. Sharpe, 1983), pp. 23-58.
 - ¹¹ Ellen R. Judd, Gender and Power in Rural North China (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1994), pp. 164-210.
 - ¹² Stranahan, Yan'an Women, pp. 25-48.
 - ¹³ Emily Honig & Gail Hershatter, Personal Voices: Chinese Women in the 1980s (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1988), pp. 206-242.
 - ¹⁴ Croll, Chinese Women Since Mao, pp. 88-103.

-
- ¹⁵ Margery Wolf, Revolution Postponed: Women in Contemporary China (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1985), pp. 88-103.
- ¹⁶ Johnson, Women, the Family and Peasant Revolution, pp. 54-55.
- ¹⁷ Stacey, Patriarchy and Socialist Revolution, p. 130.
- ¹⁸ Johnson, Women, the Family and Peasant Revolution, pp. 157-207.
- ¹⁹ Phyllis Andors, The Unfinished Liberation of Chinese Women, 1949-1980 (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1983), p. 123.
- ²⁰ Elisabeth Croll, Feminism and Socialism in China (Boston: Routledge & K. Paul, 1978), pp. 330-332.
- ²¹ Claudie Broyelle, La Moitie du Ciel: Women's Liberation in China (Atlantic Highlands, N.J.: Humanities Press, 1977), pp. 35-97.
- ²² Emily Honig, Sisters and Strangers: Women in the Shanghai Cotton Mills, 1919-1949 (Shanghai sha chang nu kang) (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1986), pp. 2-3 & pp. 245-249.
- ²³ Stacey, Patriarchy and Socialist Revolution, pp. 5-14.
- ²⁴ Vibeke Hemmel & Pia Sindbjerg, Women in Rural China: Policy Towards Women and After the Cultural Revolution (London: Curzon, 1984), pp. 8-13.
- ²⁵ Li Xiaojing & Zhang Xiaodan, Creating Space for Women: Women's Studies in China in the 1980s, Signs (Autumn 1994), pp. 137-151.
- ²⁶ Naihua Zhang and Wu xu's Discovering the Positive Within the Negative: The Women's Moment in a Changing China, in Jessie Shirley, ed., The Female World from a Global Perspective (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1987), pp. 25-57.
- ²⁷ Idid., pp. 27-34.
- ²⁸ Ibid., p. 45
- ²⁹ Wang Zheng, "A Historic Turning Point for the Women's Movement in China," Signs (Autumn 1996), pp. 192-199.
- ³⁰ Beijing Daxue Zhongwai Funu Wenti Yanjiu Zhongxin 北京大学中外妇女问题研究中心 (Women's Studies Center Peking University) Beijing Daxue Funu Wenti Disanjie Guoji Yantaohui: Lunwenji 北京大学妇女问题第三届国际研讨会: 论文集 (Third International Conference on Women's Studies Peking University: Papers) (Beijing: Beijing Daxue Zhongwai Funu Wenti Yanjiu Zhongxin, 1994), pp. 42-51; pp. 120-128; pp. 129-139; pp. 140-143.

-
- ³¹ Ibid., pp. 1-17
- ³² Ma Yinan, Women's Status in Ancient Chinese Laws of Marriage and Family Beijing Daxue Funu Wenti Disanjie Guoji Yantaohui: Lunwenji, pp. 451-451.
- ³³ Information Office of the State Council Of the People's Republic of China, The Situation of Chinese Women (Beijing: Information Office of the State Council Of the People's Republic of China, 1994), p. 3.
- ³⁴ Zheng Zhonghua 郑仲华; Chen Chunying 陈春英; Li xingzhi 李兴芝, Zhongwai Funu Yundong Gaikuang 中外妇女运动概况 (General Accounts for Chinese and International Women's Movement) (Beijing: Zhongguo Funu Chubanshe 中国妇女出版社, 1992), pp. 1-7; pp. 53-64.
- ³⁵ Jiao Runming 焦润明, Lun Jiandai Zhongguode Funu Jiefang Sixiang 论近代中国的妇女解放思想 (On the Ideas of Women's Emancipation in Modern China) Beijing Daxue Funu Wenti Disanjie Guoji Yantaohui: Lunwenji, pp. 184-187.
- ³⁶ Wang Meixiu, Modern Chinese Women's Liberation Movement under the Influence of Western Culture The Fourth World Conference on Women Non-governmental Organization Forum Women and Traditional Culture (Beijing: Women's Studies Center Peking University), pp. 112-120.
- ³⁷ Deng Liqun 邓力群; Ma Hong 马洪; Wu Heng 武衡, ed., Dang Dai Zhongguo Funu 当代中国妇女 (Contemporary Chinese Women) (Beijing: Dang Dai Zhongguo Chubanshe 当代中国出版社, 1994), pp. 36-42.
- ³⁸ Information Office of the State Council, The Situation of Chinese Women, pp. 16-24.
- ³⁹ Sha Jicai 沙吉才, ed., Dang Dai Zhongguo Funu Jiating Diwei Yanjiu 当代妇女家庭地位研究 (Women's Domestic Status in Contemporary China) (Tianjing: Tianjing Renmin Chubanshe, 天津人民出版社1994)
- ⁴⁰ Meng Xianfan 孟宪范, ed., Gaige Dachaozhong de Zhongguo Nuxing 改革大潮中的中国女性 (Chinese Women in the Wave of Reform) (Beijing: Zhongguo Shehui Kexue Chubanzhe, 1995), p. 123.
- ⁴¹ Ibid., pp. 121-122.
- ⁴² Li Jingzhi 李静之; Zhang Xinxu 张心绪; Ding Juan 丁娟, MaKesi Zhuyi Funuguan 马克思主义妇女观 (The Perspectives of Marxism in Women) (Zhongguo Renmin Daxue Chubanshe 中国人民大学出版社, The Publisher of the People's University, 1990)
- ⁴³ Beijingshi Funu Lianhui 北京市妇女联合会; Beijing Funu Wenti Lilun Yanjiuhui 北京妇女问题理论研究会, ed., Zhongguo Funu Lilun Yanjiu Shinian 中国妇女理论研究十年 (Women's Theoretic Studies in China: 1981-1990) (Zhongguo Funu Chubanshe 中国妇女出版社, 1991)

-
- ⁴⁴ Zhongguo Funu Guanli Ganbu Xueyuan, ed., Zhonghua Funu Yundong Wenxian Ziliao Huiji, Vol. 2, pp. 49-50
- ⁴⁵ Ibid., p. 61.
- ⁴⁶ For the Chinese women's movement during the Republican period (1911-1949), look at Elizabeth Croll, Feminism and Socialism in China (London; Henly; Boston: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1978), p. 153.
- ⁴⁷ Stranahan, Yan'an Women and the Communist Party, pp. 19-20.
- ⁴⁸ Luo Weyang, 罗慧羊, Tudi Geming Zhangzheng Shiqi Suqu de Funu Gongzuo 土地革命战争时期苏区的妇女工作 (Women's Work During the Land Reform and War Period Time in the Soviets), Funu Gongzuo 妇女工作 (FNGZ) (Women's Work), Vol. 4 (1987), p. 29.
- ⁴⁹ Ibid. For information on the effectiveness of the Land Law and Marriage Regulations, look at Stranahan, Yan'an Women, pp.21-22 & Croll, Feminism and Socialism, pp. 185-223.
- ⁵⁰ Ibid., p. 31.
- ⁵¹ Luo Weyang, 罗慧羊, Tudi Geming Zhangzheng Shiqi Suqu de Funu Gongzuo pp.29-30.
- ⁵² In the early 1930s, the GMD attempted to eradicate the CCP. The CCP's military power was greatly weakened by Chiang Kai-shek's Five Campaigns of Encirclement and Extermination. The communists retreated in the Long March (1934-35) which brought them from the southeast through the interior to Yan-an in northern China.
- ⁵³ Tain Xiujian, 田秀涓, Kangren Shiqi de Beiyue Funu 抗日时期的北岳妇女 (Women in the Northern Mountainous Areas During the Anti-Japanese Period) FNGZ, Vol. 7 (1987), p. 31.
- ⁵⁴ For example, the practice of little fostered daughter-in-law (童养媳). For more information, look at Johnson, Women, the Family and Peasant Revolution in China, pp. 12-14.
- ⁵⁵ Tain Xiujian, 田秀涓, Kangren Shiqi de Beiyue Funu, pp. 31-32.
- ⁵⁶ Ibid., p. 32.
- ⁵⁷ Song Xuequn 宋学群, Nongbi Xiangmo ShuXie de Lishi Pianzhang: Qingzhu Shan-Gan-Ning Bianqu Fulian Chengli Wushi Zhounian 浓笔香墨书写的历史篇章: 庆祝陕甘宁边区妇联成立五十周年 (A Chapter in History written by a Thick Brush and Fragrant Ink: To Celebrate the Anniversary of the Women's Federation of the Shan-Gan-Ning Border Areas), FNGZ, Vol.8 (1988), pp. 31-32.
For more information of the involvement of women in the textile production,

-
- look at Stranahan, Yan'an Women, pp. 74-76.
- ⁵⁸ Tain Xiujuan, 田秀涓, Kangren Shiqi de Beiyue Funu, p. 32
- ⁵⁹ Liu Jing, et al, Funujie Tongyi Zhangxian de Yikuai Zhendi: Cong Wuhan Gaizu dao Wannan Shibian Shiqijian de Xinchenghuo Yuandong Funu Zhidao Weiyuanhui 妇女界统一战线的一块阵地—从武汉改组到皖南事变时期间的新生活运动妇女指导委员会 (The Position of the Women's United Front: The Directive Committee of the New Life Movement During the Period From the Wuhan Re-organization to the Wannan Incident), FNGZ, Vol. 12 (1988), pp. 25-26.
- ⁶⁰ Ibid., p. 26.
- ⁶¹ Song Xuequn, 宋学群, Quanguo Fulian Zuizao de Tuanti Huiyuan 全国妇联最早的团体会员 (The Earliest Organization Members of the ACWF), FNGZ, Vol.8 (1988), p. 30
- ⁶² Ibid.
- ⁶³ Ibid., pp. 30-31.
- ⁶⁴ Ibid. p. 31
- ⁶⁵ Ibid.
- ⁶⁶ Kui Chang, 葵畅, Liening Lun Shehui Zhuyi Jianshe yu Funu Jiefang 列宁论社会主义建设与妇女解放 (Lenin's arguments on the Construction of Socialism in Relation to Women's Liberation) Zhonghua Funu Yundong Wenxian Ziliao Huiji, Vol. 2, pp. 204-205
- ⁶⁷ Ibid., p.205
- ⁶⁸ Ibid., p. 206
- ⁶⁹ Ibid., pp. 207-208
- ⁷⁰ Ibid., pp. 206-207.
- ⁷¹ Ibid., p. 294.
- ⁷² Ibid.
- ⁷³ Ibid., p. 295.
- ⁷⁴ Dong Bian, 董边 Zai Quanguo Funu Gongzuo Huiyishang de Fenyan, June 1958) 在全国妇女工作会议上的发言 (1958年6月) (Dong Bian's Speech on the Conference of All-China Women's Work, June 1958) Zhonghua Funu Yundong Wenxian Ziliao Huiji, Vol.2, p. 364.

-
- ⁷⁵ See pp. 33-34 above.
- ⁷⁶ Elisabeth Croll, Changing Identities of Chinese Women: Rhetoric, Experience and Self-perception in Twentieth-Century China, (Zed Books: Hong Kong University Press, 1995), pp. 69-70.
- ⁷⁷ In the late 1950s there were discussions on the use of and necessity for the ACWF.
- ⁷⁸ Kang Keqing, 康克清 Meiyou Zhongguo Gongchandang jiu Meiyou Zhongguo Funu de Jiefang 没有中国共产党就没有中国妇女的解放 (If there was no Chinese Communist Party, there would not be the liberation of Chinese women) Zhonghua Funu Yundong Wenxian Ziliao Huiji, pp. 670-672.
- ⁷⁹ Ibid., p. 673.
- ⁸⁰ Luo Qiong 罗琼, Funu Jiefang Luncong 妇女解放论丛 (Collection Essays on Women's Liberation) (Zhongguo Funu Chubanshe 中国妇女出版社, 1990), pp. 54-56.
- ⁸¹ Beijingshi Funu Lianhui 北京市妇女联合会; Beijing Funu Wenti Lilun Yanjiuhui 北京妇女问题理论研究会, ed., Zhongguo Funu Lilun Yanjiu Shinian 中国妇女理论研究十年 (Women's Theoretic Studies in China: 1981-1990) (Zhongguo Funu Chubanshe 中国妇女出版社, 1991), pp.297-299.
- ⁸² Li Jingzhi, 李静之; Zhang Xinxu, 张心绪; Ding Juan, 丁娟, MaKesi Zhuyi Funuguan 马克思主义妇女观 (The Perspectives of Marxism in Women) (Zhongguo Renmin Daxue Chubanshe 中国人民大学出版社, The Publisher of the People's University, 1990) pp. 10-12, pp. 24-32, pp. 77-81.
- ⁸³ Ibid., pp. 305-307.
- ⁸⁴ Ibid., pp. 299-301.
- ⁸⁵ Ibid., pp. 304-305.
- ⁸⁶ Beijingshi Funu Lianhui 北京市妇女联合会; Beijing Funu Wenti Lilun Yanjiuhui 北京妇女问题理论研究会, ed., Zhongguo Funu Lilun Yanjiu Shinian, pp. 301-303.
- ⁸⁷ Deng Liqun, 邓力群 et al., ed., Dang Dai Zhongguo Funu, p.556.
- ⁸⁸ Ibid., p. 558.
- ⁸⁹ Ibid., p. 557.
- ⁹⁰ Deng Liqun 邓力群; Ma Hong 马洪; Wu Heng 武衡 ed., Dang Dai Zhongguo di Renshi Guanli 当代中国的人事管理 (Personnel Management in Contemporary China)

Vol. 2, p.299.

- ⁹¹ Xu Ming 徐明 ed., Zhongguo Funu Zhishi Quanshu 中国妇女知识全书 (Chinese Women Knowledge Encyclopedia) (Beijing: Zhongguo Funu Chubanshe 中国妇女出版社, 1995), pp. 59-60.
- ⁹² ACWF, The All China Women's Federation Is Growing Newsletter'96: The All-China Women's Federation No.1 (1996), p.4.
- ⁹³ Deng Yingchao 邓颖超, Genzhao Zuguo Qianjin, Wei Shehui Zhuyi Gongxian Liliang 跟着祖国前进, 为社会主义贡献力量 (Follow the Advancement of the Country, Contribute Strength to Socialism) Zhonghua Funu Yundong Wenxian Ziliao Huiji, Vol. 2, pp. 249-250.
- ⁹⁴ Ibid., p. 250.
- ⁹⁵ Zhang Yun 章蕴, Guojia Guodu Shiqi Chengshi Funu Gongzuo de Renwu he Dangqian Jixiang Juti Gongzuo de Baogao" 国家过渡时期城市妇女工作的任务和当前几项具体工作的报告(A Report on the Responsibilities and Concrete Duties of Women's Work in the Urban Areas As the Country Is Going Through a Transition Period) Zhonghua Funu Yundong Wenxian Ziliao Huiji, p. 211 & p.214.
- ⁹⁶ Ibid., pp. 214-215.
- ⁹⁷ Deng Yingchao 邓颖超, Genzhao Zuguo Qianjin, Wei Shehui Zhuyi Gongxian Liliang, p. 253.
- ⁹⁸ Quanguo Fulian Wei Jiaqiang Hezuohua Yundongzhong de Funu Gongzuo Gei Geji de Zhishi (Yijiuwuliunian Yiyue Shiwuri) 全国妇联为加强合作化运动的妇女工作给各级的指示(一九五六年一月十五日) (The Directives from the ACWF to Women's Federation at all Levels Concerning Women's Work in the Escalating Process of cooperation, January 15, 1956) Zhonghua Funu Yundong Wenxian Ziliao Huiji, Vol. 2, p. 234.
- ⁹⁹ Ibid., p.235.
- ¹⁰⁰ Quanguo Minzhu Funu lianhehui, 全国民主妇女联合会 Quanguo Funu wei Shixian 1956 Nian dao 1967 Nian Quanguo Nongye Fazhan Gangyao' de Fendou Gangyao (caoan) (Yijiuwuliu Nian SanYue Bari) 全国妇女为实现 1956 年到1967 年 全国农业发展纲要的奋斗纲要 (草案) (一九五六年三月八日) (The Draft Plan for Women to Realize the National Agricultural Developmental Plan from 1956 to 1967) Zhonghua Funu Yundong Wenxian Ziliao Huiji, Vol. 2, p.58.
- ¹⁰¹ In order to appear truly revolutionary and enthusiastic, to set unapproachable production target and to exaggerate achievements were common practices in almost all administrative bureaus in China during the Great Leap Forward.
- ¹⁰² Cao Guanqun 曹冠群, Guanyu Heli Zuzhi yu Shiyong Funu Laodongli Wenti Quanguo

-
- Fulian Shuji Cao Guanqun 1956 Nian 12yue 25ri zai Nongcun Funu Gongzuo Zuotan Huishang de Jianghua 关于合理组织与妇女劳动力问题 全国妇联书记曹冠群 1956年12月25日在农村妇女工作座谈会上的讲话 (Cadre Cao Guanyu's Speech on Women's Work Concerning the Problem of Reasonable Organization and Utilization of Women's Labor) Zhonghua Funu Yundong Wenxian Ziliao Huiji, pp. 272-273 & p.275.
- ¹⁰³ Ibid., p. 275. Thrift had been adopted as the principle guidelines and directives for women's work. See pp. 30-32 above.
- ¹⁰⁴ Cao Guanqun 曹冠群, Guanyu Heli Zuzhi yu Shiyong Funu Laodongli Wenti, p.275.
- ¹⁰⁵ Cao Guanqun 曹冠群, Quanguo Funu Gongzuo Huiyi Zongjie Baogao 全国妇女工作总结报告 (The Final Report of the National Women's Work) Zhonghua Funu Yundong Wenxian Ziliao Huiji, Vol. 2, p.372. "Thrift in household management and in state-building" had been adopted as the principal slogan in the early 1950s to guide women's work.
- ¹⁰⁶ Ibid., pp. 373-377.
- ¹⁰⁷ TanTan Fulian de gongzuo Zhongdian Wenti 谈谈妇联的工作重点问题 (Discussion on the Focus of the work of the ACWF), FNGZ, Vol.8 (1959), pp. 2-3.
- ¹⁰⁸ Zhang Yun 章蕴, Jiasu Jiawu Laodong Shehuihua, Chongfen Jiefang Funu Laodongli 加速家务劳动社会化, 充分解放妇女劳动力 (Increase the Speed of the Socialization of Household Tasks, Adequately Liberating Women's labor), FNGZ, Vol.6 (1960), p.10.
- ¹⁰⁹ Cao Guanqun 曹冠群, Quanguo Funu Gongzuo Huiyi Zongjie Baogao, pp. 377-378.
- ¹¹⁰ Kui Chang, Gaoju Mao Zedong Sixiang de Qizhi, Jinyibu Fadong Funu wei Shixian 1960 Nian Jixu Yuejin er Fedou 高举毛泽东思想的旗帜, 进一步发动妇女为实现 1960年继续跃进而奋斗 (Uphold the Flag of Mao Zedong's Thoughts, Take one more step in mobilizing women to struggle for the realization of a continuous leap in the year 1960), FNGZ, Vol.5 (1960), p.9.
- ¹¹¹ Zhongyan Zhuanfa Quanguo Fulian Dangzu Guanyu Nongcun Funu Laodong Baohu Zhengce he Nongcun Tu'er Zuzhi Wenti de Liangge Baogao (1961Nian 7 Yue Ershi Ri) 央转发妇联 党组关于农村 妇女劳动保护政策和农村托儿问题的两个报告 (1961年 7月20日) (Two Reports about the Policies of Protecting Women's Labor in the Rural Areas and about the Problem of Children Care in the Rural Areas Are Given to the CCP committee of the ACWF from the Central Committee of the CCP) (20th July, 1961) Zhonghua Funu Yundong Wenxian Ziliao Huiji, Vol. 2, p. 411.
- ¹¹² Guanyu Yijiuliuyi Nian ShierSheng Shi Zizhiqu Fulian Zhuren Kuoda Huiyi Qingkuang Xiang Zhongyang de Baogao 关于一九六一年十二省市自治区妇联主任扩大会议情况向中央的报告 (Report Concerning the Enlarged Conference of the Directors of the Women's Federations from Twelve Provinces, Cities and Autonomous Regions), Zhonghua Funu Yundong Wenxian Ziliao Huiji, Vol. 2, pp. 413-415.

-
- ¹¹³ See pp. 15-17 above.
- ¹¹⁴ Guanyu Kaizhan Wenming Limao Huodong de Changyi 关于开展文明礼貌活动倡议 (Advocation for the Development of the Civilization and Well-manner Campaign), Zhonghua Funu Yundong Wenxian Ziliao Huiji, Vol. 2, pp. 623-625.
- ¹¹⁵ Hu Jintao Zai Quanguo Funu Liujie Wuci Zhiweihui Yaoqiu Geji Fulian-- Yi Jianshe You Zhongguo Taise Shehui Zuyi Lilun Wei Zhidao Dongyuan he Zuzhi Funu wei Jiakuai Gaige Kaifang Zuo Gongxian 胡锦涛在全国妇联六届五次执委会要求各级妇联-- 以建设有中国特色社会主义理论为指导动员和组织妇女为加快改革开放作贡献 (At the Fifth Plenary Session of the Sixth Standing Committee, Hu Jintao Asked Cadres of Women's Federations at All Levels to Establish a Marxist Philosophy with Chinese Characteristics in order to Direct and Organize Women to Contribute to the Acceleration of the Reforms), Zhonghua Funu Yundong Wenxian Ziliao Huiji, Vol. 2, p. 1.
- ¹¹⁶ Chen Muhua, 陈慕华 Shenke Linghui Xizhong Quanhui Jingshen Qieshi Gaohao Fulian Gongzuo Zai Quanguo Fulian Liujie Sanci Changwei Huishang de Jianghua 深刻领会四中全会精神切实搞好妇联工作 -- 在全国妇联六届三次常委会上的讲话 (Profoundly Understand the Spirit of the Fourth Plenary Session Concretely Improve Women's Work -- Speech that was made by Chen Muhua at the Third Session of the Sixth Executive Committee of ACWF's), Zhonghua Funu Yundong Wenxian Ziliao Huiji, Vol. 2, p. 2.
- ¹¹⁷ Deng Yingchao, 邓颖超 Guanyu Funu Xuanchuan Jiaoyu Gongzuo Wenti (Yi Jiu Wu Yi Nian Qi Yue) 关于妇女宣传教育工作问题 (一九五一年七月) (Problems Concerning Publicity and Education in Women's work), Zhonghua Funu Yundong Wenxian Ziliao Huiji, Vol.2, pp.115-116 & p.118.
- ¹¹⁸ He Xiangning, 何香凝 XinZhongguo Diyipi Hangkong Renyua di Chengjiu Zhengming Funu Neng Zhangwo Jindai di Jishu 新中国第一批航空人员的成就证明妇女能掌握近代的技术 (The Achievements of the First Group of Women Pilots Prove that Women Can Grasp Modern Technology), Zhonghua Funu Yundong Wenxian Ziliao Huiji, Vol. 2, p. 140.
- ¹¹⁹ Ibid.
- ¹²⁰ Zhang Guoying 张帼英, ZiZun Zixin Zili Ziqiang Wei Duoqu Gaige Gongjian Jieduan De Shengli Jiangong Liye Zai Zhong guo Funu Di Liuci Quanguo Daibiao Dahuishang de Gongzuo Baogao 自尊自信自立自强为夺取改革攻坚阶段的胜利建功立业 -- 在中国 妇女第六次代表大会上的工作报告 (Self-respect Self-confidence Self-improvement Self-reliance in Order to Seize the Victory, Merits and Achievements in the Critical Stage of the Reform Report of the ACWF's work at the 6th National Congress of the Chinese Women), FNGZ, Vol.10 (1988), pp.6-13.
- ¹²¹ Quanguo Fulian Guanyu 1983 Nian Baiozhang Quanguo 'San Ba' Hongqishou (Jiti) he Quanguo 'Wuhao' Jiating de Tongzhi 全国妇联关于1983年表彰全国三八红旗手 (集体) 和全国五好家庭的通知 (A Notice of the ACWF about Awarding National 'March 8th' Red Flag Bearer (Organization) and National 'Five Good' Family), Zhonghua

- ¹²² Tao Chunfang 陶春芳; Gao Shaoxian 高少贤, ed., Zhongguo Funu Tongji Ziliao (1949-1989) 中国妇女统计资料 (1949-1989) (Statistics on Chinese Women (1949-1989)) 1990) (Beijing: China Statistical Publishing House, 1991), p. 317.
- ¹²³ Ibid., p. 317. There are discrepancies between the statistics that are provided by Zhongguo Funu Tongji Ziliao and those that are provided by the annual reports which were published in FNGZ. This may be due to the possibility that the former provides the statistics of awards that the ACWF gave while the latter source provides that the Women Federations of all levels gave.
- ¹²⁴ Zhang Yun 章蕴, Qinjian Jianguo, Qinjian Chijia, Wei Jianshe Shehui Zhuyi er Febdou (Zhaiyao) 勤俭建国, 勤俭持家, 为建设社会主义而奋斗 (摘要)(Diligence and Thrifty in State Building, Diligence and Thrifty in Family keeping, Struggle for Building Socialism) (Summary), Zhonghua Funu Yundong Wenxian Ziliao Huiji, Vol. 2, p. 316.
- ¹²⁵ Luo Qiong, 罗琼 Quanguo Chengshi Funu Gongzuo Zuotanhui Xiaojie (Yi Jiu Ba Ling Nian Shiyi Yue Yi Ri) 全国城市妇女工作座谈会小结 一九八一年一月一日 (Conclusion of the Seminar on Women's Work in the Urban Areas of the Country), Zhonghua Funu Yundong Wenxian Ziliao Huiji, Vol.2, pp. 613-614.
- ¹²⁶ Quanguo Fulian Guanyu 1983 Nian Biaozhang Quanguo Sanba Hongqishou (Jiti) he Quanguo Wuhao Jiating de Tongzhi (Yi Jiu Ba Er Nian Shi Yue Liu Ri) 全国妇联关于表彰全国三八红旗手集体和全国五好家庭的通知 (一九八二年十月六日) (A Notice Concerning the Selection of March 8th Red Flag Bearers (Organization) and that of Five Good Families 1983), Zhonghua Funu Yundong Wenxian Ziliao Huiji, Vol. 2, pp. 766-767.
- ¹²⁷ Kang Keqing, 康克清 Fendou Ziqiang Kaichuang Funu Yundong Xinjiumian Zai Zhongguo Funu DiWuci Quanguo Daibiao Dahuishang de Gongzuo Baogao: Yi Jiu Ba San Nian Jiu Yue Er Ri 奋发自强开创妇女运动新局面在中国妇女第五次全国代表大会的工作报告 一九八三年九月二日 (Strive and Improve Oneself; Open and Establish a New Phase of the Women's Movement -- Report of the ACWF's work at the 6th National Congress of the Chinese Women), FNGZ, Vol.10 (1983), p.12.
- ¹²⁸ Luo Qiong, 罗琼, "Fulian Zhuzhi Ying Jianjue Weihe Funu Ertong Hefa Quanyi" 妇联主织应坚决维护妇女儿童合法权益 (Women's Organizations Should Protect Women's and Children's Legal Rights), FNGZ, Vol. 7 (1983), p.10.
- ¹²⁹ "Jiakuai Saomang Bufa Tigao Funu Suzhi-- Quanguo Fulian Shujiqu Shuji Guan Tao Zai Quanguo Saomang Gongzuo Huiyishang de Jianghua" 加快扫盲步伐提高妇女素质 -- 全国妇联书记处书记关涛在全国扫盲工作会议上的讲话 (Increase the Pace of Removing Illiteracy; Promote the Quality of Women -- The Speech of Guan Tao at the National Conference of Removing Illiteracy), FNGZ, Vol.12 (1988), pp. 2-3.
- ¹³⁰ Zhonghua Quanguo Funu Lianhehui Bangongting, 中华全国妇女联合会办公厅 Funu Gong Zuo Xinpian 妇女工作新篇 (New Chapter on Women's Work),

-
- (Beijing: Zhongguo Funu Chubanshe, 1994), p.45.
- ¹³¹ Ibid., p. 19
- ¹³² Ibid., p. 17
- ¹³³ Ibid., p. 44.
- ¹³⁴ The All China Women's Federation Is Growing Newsletter'96, p. 3.
- ¹³⁵ Meng Xianfan 孟宪范, ed., Gaige Dachaozhong de Zhongguo Nuxing 改革大潮中的中国女性 (Chinese Women in the Wave of Reform), pp. 45-48.
- ¹³⁶ Ibid., pp. 39-41.
- ¹³⁷ Ibid., p. 62.
- ¹³⁸ Zhonghua Quanguo Funu Lianhehui Bangongting 中华全国妇女联合会办公厅, Funu Gong Zuo Xinpian, pp. 50-51.
- ¹³⁹ Ibid., p.52 & pp. 54-55.
- ¹⁴⁰ The All China Women's Federation Is Growing Newsletter'96 p. 3.
- ¹⁴¹ Guanyu Fulian Fazhan Disan Chanye Xingban Jingji Shiti Youguan Wenti de Tongzhi 关于妇联发展第三产业兴办经济实体有关问题的通知 (Notice Concerning Issues Which Are Related to the ACWF's Attempts in Developing Tertiary Industries and in Establishing Enterprises), FNGZ, Vol. 11 (1992), p. 1.
- ¹⁴² See p. 6 above.
- ¹⁴³ Quanguo Minzu Fulian Funu Fuwubu, 全国民主妇联服务部 "Yi Nianlai Fulian Xiezhu Zhengfu Guanche Hunyinfade Zongjie" 一年来妇联协助政府贯彻婚姻法的总结 (The Conclusion of Women's Federations' Works in Assisting the Government to execute the Marriage Law in the Past Year), Zhonghua Funu Yundong Wenxian Ziliao Huiji, Vol. 2, pp. 108-109.
- ¹⁴⁴ Ibid., p. 109.
- ¹⁴⁵ Zhonghua Renmin Gongheguo Hunyinfade Zongjie 中华人民共和国婚姻法 (The Marriage Law of the People's Republic of China)
- ¹⁴⁶ The Marriage Law clearly states the general principles for marriage contract and family relationships, including the responsibilities that the married couple towards their natal families, children and to each other.
- ¹⁴⁷ Quanguo Minzu Fulian Funu Fuwubu, 全国民主妇联服务部 "Yi Nianlai Fulian Xiezhu Zhengfu Guanche Hunyinfade Zongjie," p. 109.

-
- ¹⁴⁸ Ibid., pp. 110-111.
- ¹⁴⁹ Zuo Yongfen 左涌芬; GeYabo 葛雅波, Zai Xuanchuan Di Yibu Hunyinfade Rizhi 在宣传第一部 <婚姻法> 的日子里 (During the Days of the Publicizing the First Marriage Law), FNGZ, Vol.8 (1989), p. 22-23.
- ¹⁵⁰ Wu Xinyu Tongzhi Guanyu Zhonghua Renmin Gongheguo Hunyinfaxiugaicaoan he Zhonghua Renmin Gongheguo Guojifade Shuoming Jielu 武新宇同志关于中华人民共和国婚姻法(修改草案)和中华人民共和国国籍法(草案)的说明(节录) (Excerpts of Cadre Wu Xinyu's Explanation on the Draft of the PRC's Marriage Law and on the draft of the PRC's Nationality Law), Zhonghua Funu Yundong Wenxian Ziliao Huiji, Vol. 2, pp. 570-571.
- ¹⁵¹ Gong'anbu 公安部; Quanguo Fulian Dangzuzi 全国妇联党组 Guanyu Jianjue Daji Guaimai Funu Ertong Fanzui Huodong de Baogao 关于坚决打击拐卖妇女儿童 犯罪的报告 (Report Concerning The Determined Strike Against the Abduction of Women and Children), FNGZ, Vol.5 (1983), p. 3 & p. 6.
- ¹⁵² Quanguo Fulian Dangzuzi 全国妇联党组 Guanyu Xianyishang Fulian Zuzhi Zhubu Shezhi Falu Guwen Jigou de Baogao 关于县以上妇联组织逐步设置法律顾问机构的报告 (Report Concerning the Gradual Establishment of Legal Advisory Board in Women's Federations of the Provincial Level and above) Zhonghua Funu Yundong Wenxian Ziliao Huiji, Vol. 2, p. 797.
- ¹⁵³ "Zhonghua Renmin Gongheguo Zhixing Tigao Funu Diwei Neiluobiqian Zhanxing Zhanlue Guojia Baogao" 中华人民共和国执行提高妇女地位内罗毕前瞻性战略国家报告 (The Report of the PRC on the Implementation of the Nairobi Forward-Looking Strategies for the Advancement of Women) Zhongguo Fuyun 中国妇运 (Women's Movement in China), Vol. 12 (1994), p. 4.
- ¹⁵⁴ Quanguo Fulian Bangongting Zhonghua Quanguo Funu Lianhehui Xishinian, pp. 352-353
- ¹⁵⁵ Guan Tao, 关涛 "Funu Quanyi Baozhangfa de Zhidao sixiang Jiben Yuanze he Zuyao Neirong" 妇女权益保障法的指导思想基本原则和主要内容 (The Directive Thoughts, Fundamental Principles and Main Content of the Law of the PRC on the Protection of Rights and Interests of Women), FNGZ, Vol. 5 (1992), p. 13.
- ¹⁵⁶ Law of the People's Republic of China on the Protection of Rights and Interests of Women (Beijing: Falu Chubanshe, 1992), p.3.
- ¹⁵⁷ Quanmian Guihua Jiaqiang Funu Ertong Fuli Gongzuo (Zhang Yun Fuzuxi Zai Quanguo Funu Ertong Fuli Gongzuo Huiyishang de Jianghua) 全面规划加强妇女儿童福利工作 (张蕴副主席在全国妇女儿童福利工作会议上的讲话) (Comprehensive Plan on Promoting the Welfare of Women and Children) (The Speech of Vice President, Zhang Yun, at the National Meeting of the Work Concerning the Welfare of Women and Children), Zhonghua Funu Yundong Wenxian Ziliao Huiji, Vol. 2, p.231

-
- ¹⁵⁸ Kangkeqing Liang Nianlai Quanguo Funu Ertong Fuli Gongzuo de Qingkuang Jingyan he Renwu 两年来全国妇女儿童福利公作的情况经验和任务 (The Situation, Experience and Responsibilities of the Works about the Welfare of Women and Children in the Past Two Years), Zhonghua Funu Yundong Wenxian Ziliao Huiji, Vol. 2, p.123 & p.125.
- ¹⁵⁹ Guanguo Tuoyou Gongzuo Huiyi Jiyao (Zhaiyao) 全国托幼工 巽嵴榧駝^a (摘要) (Excerpts of the Conference of the Works about Day Care in the Country), Zhonghua Funu Yundong Wenxian Ziliao Huiji, Vol. 2, p.492.
- ¹⁶⁰ See pp. 31-32. above
- ¹⁶¹ Quanguo Fulian Shujichu Xiang Sijie Wuci Changwei Kuoda Huiyi de Huibao 全国妇联书记处向四届五次常委大会的汇报 (The Secretariat of the ACWF Reported to the 4th Standing Committee at the 5th Conference), FNGZ, Vol.4 (1981), p. 14.
- ¹⁶² Guowuyuan Funu Ertong Gongzuo Xietiao Weiyuanhui Ertongzu, ed., 国务院妇女儿童工作协调委员会 儿童组 Jiushi Niandai Zhongguo Ertong Fazhan Guihua Gangyao 九十年代中国儿童发展规划纲要 (The 1990s' Development Blueprint for Children in China), (Beijing: 1992)
- ¹⁶³ Quanguo Fulian Dangzu Guanyu Liangge Huiyi Qingkuang ji Yijiubayi Nian Fulian Gongzuo Yaoding de Baogao 全国妇联党组关于两个会议情况及一九八一年妇联工作要点的报告 (Report Concerning Two Conferences of the ACWF and the Important Points of its works), Zhonghua Funu Yundong Wenxian Ziliao Huiji, Vol. 2, p. 663.
- ¹⁶⁴ Quanguo Fulian Bangongting Zhonghua Quanguo Funu Lianhehui Xishinian, p. 255.
- ¹⁶⁵ Quanguo Fulian Shujichu Xiang Sijie Wuci Changwei Kuoda Huiyi de Huibao, p.15.
- ¹⁶⁶ Ibid.
- ¹⁶⁷ Quanguo Fulian Tongzhi, 全国妇联通知 "Jiji Xiangying Zhongyang he Guowuyuan Tichang Yidui Fufu ZhiSheng Yige Haizi de Haozhao" 积极响应中央和国务院提倡一对夫妇只生一个孩子的号召 (Enthusiastically Support the CCP's and the State Council's Promotion on the Idea That Each Couple Gives Birth to Only One Child), Zhonghua Funu Yundong Wenxian Ziliao Huiji Vol. 2, pp. 583-584.
- ¹⁶⁸ Huyu Shehui gefangmian Zhongnanqingnu Sixiang he Xingwei Zuo Duo Zheng 呼吁社会各方面与重男轻女思想和行为作斗争 (Appeal for Every Aspect of Society to Struggle Against the Idea of Valuing Boys and Discriminating Girls), Zhonghua Funu Yundong Wenxian Ziliao Huiji Vol.2, pp. 798.
- ¹⁶⁹ Quanguo Fulian Guoji Lianluobu, 全国妇联国际联络部 Fulian zai Guoji Jiaowangzhong Fahuilao Zhongyao Zuoyong 妇联在国际交往中发挥了重要作用 (Women's Federations Performs important Function in International Exchange), FNGZ, Vol. 10 (1992), p. 5

-
- ¹⁷⁰ Ibid., p. 5.
- ¹⁷¹ Ibid., p. 6
- ¹⁷² Huang Ganying, 黄甘英 Quanguo Fulian Yinianlai Guoji Gongzuo Huibao ji Dui Mingnian Gongzuo di Shexiang 全国妇联一年来国际工作汇报及对明年工作的设想 (The ACWF's Report of the International Work for the Past Year and Ideas for the International Work of the Coming Year), Zhonghua Funu Yundong Wenxian Ziliao Huiji, Vol. 2, pp. 593-594.
- ¹⁷³ Quanguo Fulian Guoji Lianluobu, 全国妇联国际联络部 Fulian zai Guoji Jiaowangzhong Fahuilao Zhongyao Zuoyong p. 6.
- ¹⁷⁴ Ibid., p.6
- ¹⁷⁵ Zhang Jiexun, 张洁询 Fulian Guoji Gongzuo Gaikuang he Jinhou Gongzuo de Jidian Yijian 妇联国际工作概况和今后工作的几点意见 (The Situation of the ACWF's International Work and Ideas for the International Work in the future), Zhonghua Funu Yundong Wenxian Ziliao Huiji, Vol. 2, pp. 778-779.
- ¹⁷⁶ Xu Ming 徐明, ed., Zhongguo Funu Zhishi Quanshu 中国妇女知识全书 (Chinese Women Knowledge Encyclopedia), p. 961.
- ¹⁷⁷ Ibid., pp. 962-965.
- ¹⁷⁸ Ibid., p. 964.
- ¹⁷⁹ Guan Minqian, 关敏谦 Huishou Shiwunian 回首十五年 (Looking Back into the Past Fifteen Years), Zhongguo Fuyun, Vol. 11 (1995), pp. 45-46.
- ¹⁸⁰ See pp. 39-41 above.
- ¹⁸¹ Chen Muhua, Development and Peace, the Common Pursuit of Women of the World Women of China (Beijing: Women of China, 1996), p. 8
- ¹⁸² Look at the World Through Women's Eyes: NGO Forum on Women, 30 August 8 September, Final Report, p. 3.
- ¹⁸³ Ibid., p. 68.
- ¹⁸⁴ Ibid., p. 77.
- ¹⁸⁵ Ibid., p. 29.
- ¹⁸⁶ Wang Zheng, A Historic Turning Point for the Women's Movement in China Signs (Autumn 1996), p. 193.
- ¹⁸⁷ All the Staff of China Features, More or Less Half the Sky: Chinese Women Parade

-
- (Beijing: Xinhua Publishing House, 1995).
- ¹⁸⁸ Wang Zheng, A Historic Turning Point for the Women's Movement in China, p.199.
- ¹⁸⁹ Wei Funu Gongzuo You Gantou Ma? 为妇女工作有干头吗 (Is There a Leader and Struture for Women's Work?), FNGZ, Vol. 3 (1986), pp. 21-24.
- ¹⁹⁰ Ibid.
- ¹⁹¹ Wei Funu Gongzuo You Gantou Ma? 为妇女工作有干头吗 (Is There a Leader and Struture for Women's Work?), FNGZ, Vol. 5 (1986), p.20.
- ¹⁹² Ibid., p. 20.
- ¹⁹³ Sichuan Sheng Zigong Shifulian 四川省自贡市妇联, Fulian Ganbu Zai Xiangxie Shenme? 妇联干部在想什么 (What Are the Cadres of the Women's Federation Thinking About?), FNGZ, Vol. 6 (1986), p. 12.
- ¹⁹⁴ Ibid.
- ¹⁹⁵ Wei Funu Gongzuo You Gantou Ma? 为妇女工作有干头吗 (Is There a Leader and Struture for Women's Work?), FNGZ, Vol. 10 (1986), p. 22.
- ¹⁹⁶ Ibid., p. 23.
- ¹⁹⁷ Wei Funu Gongzuo You Gantou Ma? 为妇女工作有干头吗 (Is There a Leader and Struture for Women's Work?), FNGZ, Vol. 7 (1986), p. 25.
- ¹⁹⁸ "Fulian Gaige Dataolun: Fulian de Zhineng Shi Shenme" 妇联改革大讨论: 妇联的职能是什么 (Debate for the Reforms of the Women's Federation: What are the Functions of the Women's Federations?), FNGZ, Vol. 1 (1988), p. 15.
- ¹⁹⁹ "Jiji Tuijian Qunzhong Gaige" 积极推进群众改革 (Vigorously Carry Out Reforms for Mass Organization), FNGZ, Vol. 7 (1988), pp. 3-4.
- ²⁰⁰ Ibid., pp. 4-5.
- ²⁰¹ Wuhan Shifulian, 武汉市妇联, "Fulian Gaige Dataolun: Guanyu Funu Gongzuo Fangzhen Renwu di Sikao" 妇联改革大讨论: 关于妇女工作方针任务的思考 (Debate for the Reforms of the Women's Federations: Thoughts Concerning the Direction of Women's Work), FNGZ, Vol.5 (1988), pp. 18-19.
- ²⁰² Wang Xiaoying, 王晓英, "Fulian Yingzai Ertong Gongzuo Zhong Zhaozhun Weizhi" 妇联应在儿童工作中找准位置 (The Women's Federation Should Find its Right Position in Children's Work), FNGZ, Vol.3 (1988), p. 18.
- ²⁰³ Hong Zhengxiang, 洪正向, "Fulian Gaige Dataolun: Fulian Yingzai Gaige Zhong Queli Ziwo Diwei" 妇联改革大讨论 妇联应在改革中确立自我地位 (Debate for Reforms of

the Women's Federations: Women's Federations Should Identify and Establish its Position in the Reforms), FNGZ, Vol. 8 (1988), p. 15.

²⁰⁴ Du Ruoyun 杜若芸 ; Wang Naijia, 王乃家, "Qiantan Fulian Qunti Xingxiang di Suzao" 浅谈妇联群体形象的塑造 (Brief Discussion on the Establishment of a Public Image of the Women's Federation), FNGZ, Vol. 10 (1992), p. 20.

²⁰⁵ Xu Huimin. 徐慧敏, "You Ganyu 'Fulian shi Shenmo de'" 有感于'妇联干什么' (Feelings Aroused by 'What Does Women's Federations Do), Zhongguo Fuyun, Vol. 4 (1993), pp. 44-45.

²⁰⁶ See pp.67-68 above.

Bibliography

References Published in China:

All the Staff of China Features. Dedicated to the UN Fourth World Conference on Women. Beijing: Xinhua Publishing House, 1995.

Beijingshi Funu Lianhehui 北京市妇女联合会; Beijing Funu Wenti Lilun Yanjiuhui 北京妇女问题理论研究会, ed. Zhongguo Funu Lilun Yanjiu Shinian 中国妇女理论研究十年 (Women's Theoretic Studies in China: 1981-1990) Beijing: Zhongguo Funu Chubanshe 中国妇女出版社, 1991.

Deng Liqun 邓力群; Ma Hong 马洪; Wu Heng 武衡, ed. Dang Dai Zhongguo Funu 当代中国妇女 (Contemporary Chinese Women). Beijing: Dang Dai Zhongguo Chubanshe 当代中国出版社, 1994.

Funu Ganbu Xuexi Wenjianxuan 妇女干部学习文件选, ed. Quandang Quanshehui Duyao Shuli Maheshi Funuguan 全党全社会都要树立马克思主义妇女观 (The Whole CCP, the Whole Society, Needs to Establish and Adopt Marxist Perspective on Women). Beijing: 中国妇女出版社 Guangguo Funu Chubanshe, 1990.

Liu Liqun 刘力群; Ma Hong 马洪; Wu Heng 武衡, ed. Dang Dai Zhongguo di Renshi Guanli 当代中国的人事管理 (Personnel Management in Contemporary China). Beijing: Dang Dai Zhongguo Chubanshe 当代中国出版社, 1994.

Liu Zhonghua 刘仲华; Chen Chunying 陈春英; Li Xingzhi 李兴芝, ed. 女性人材 Funu Rencai (Women with Talents). Beijing: Zhongguo Funu Chubanshe, 中国妇女出版社, 1992.

Liu Zhonghua 刘仲华; Chen Chunying 陈春英; Li Xingzhi 李兴芝, ed. Funu yu Fa 妇女与法 (Women and Law). Beijing: Zhongguo Funu Chubanshe, 中国妇女出版社, 1992.

Liu Zhonghua 刘仲华; Chen Chunying 陈春英; Li Xingzhi 李兴芝, ed. 妇女组织与妇女工作 Funu Zuzhi Yu Funu Gongzuo (Women's Organizations and Women's Work). Beijing: Zhongguo Funu Chubanshe, 中国妇女出版社, 1992.

Liu Zhonghua 刘仲华; Chen Chunying 陈春英; Li Xingzhi 李兴芝, ed. 婚姻与家庭 Hunyin Yu Jiating (Marriage and Family). Beijing: Zhongguo Funu Chubanshe, 中国妇女出版社, 1992.

Liu Zhonghua 刘仲华; Chen Chunying 陈春英; Li Xingzhi 李兴芝, ed. 女性心理 Nuxing Xinli (The Psychology of Women). Beijing: Zhongguo Funu Chubanshe, 中国妇女出版社, 1992.

Liu Zhonghua 刘仲华; Chen Chunying 陈春英; Li Xingzhi 李兴芝, ed. 中外妇女运动概况 Zhongwai Funu Yundong Gaikuang (General Accounts for Chinese and International Women's Movement). Beijing: Zhongguo Funu Chubanshe, 中国妇女出版社, 1992.

Luo Qiong 罗琼. Funu Jiefang Luncong 妇女解放论从(Collection Essays on Women's Liberation). Beijing: 中国妇女出版社, Quanguo Funu Chubanshe 1990.

Quanguo Fulian 全国妇联. Funu Gongzuo 妇女工作 (Women's Work), 1959 - 1966, 1981 - 1994. Beijing: Funu Gongzuo Faxingzu 妇女工作发行组.

Quanguo Fulian Bangongting 全国妇联办工厅. Zhonghua Quanguo Funu Lianhehui Sishinian: 1949-1989 中华全国妇女联合会四十年: 1949-1989 (Forty Years of the All-China Women's Federation: 1949-1989). Beijing: Zhongguo Funu Chubanshe 中国妇女出版社, 1991.

Quanguo Fulian Chengxianbu 全国妇联城乡部, ed. Chengxiang Funu Jiuye Fazhan Lunwenji 城镇妇女就业与发展论文集 (Discussions on the Employment and Development of Women in Cities and Counties). Beijing: 中国妇女出版社 Quanguo Funu Chubanshe, 1995.

Quanguo Fulian Chengxianbu 全国妇联城乡部, ed. Nongcuen Funu Canyu Fazhan Lunwenji 农村妇女参与发展论文集 (Discussions on the Participation and Development of Women in Rural Areas). Beijing: Quanguo Funu Chubanshe, 中国妇女出版社 1995.

Quanguo Fulian Bangongting 中华全国妇女联合会办工厅. Funu Gongzuo Xinpian 妇女工作新篇 (New Chapters on Women's Work). Beijing: 中国妇女出版社, 1995.

Quanguo Fulian Xuanchuanbu 全国妇联宣传部 Hunyinfa Xuanchuan Shouce 婚姻法宣传手册 (Handbook for the Publicity of the Marriage Law). Beijing: Quanguo Funu Chubanshe 中国妇女出版社, 1990.

Shen Mingjiu, ed. Women and Men in China: Facts and Figures, 1995. Beijing: China Statistical Publishing House, 1995.

Tao Chunfang 陶春芳; Gao Shaoxian 高少贤, ed. Zhongguo Funu Tongji Ziliao (1949-1989) 中国妇女统计资料: 1949-1989 (Statistics on Chinese Women 1949-1989). Beijing: China Statistical House 北京统计出版社, 1991.

Xu Ming 徐明, ed. Zhongguo Funu Zhishi Quanshu 中国妇女知识全书 (Chinese Women Knowledge Encyclopedia). Beijing: Zhongguo Funu Chubanshe 中国妇女出版社, 1995.

Zhao Ning, ed. Let's Get Closer: Selected Articles About Women by Chinese and Foreign Authors Published in Women of China Since 1979. Beijing: New World Press, 1995.

Zhongguo Funu Gongzho Shouce Bianxiezu 中国妇女工作手册编写组. Zhongguo Funu Gongzho Shouce 中国妇女工作手册 (Chinese Women's Work Handbook) Shanghai: Shanghai Renmin Chubanshe 上海人民出版社, 1988.

Zhongguo Funu Guanli Ganbu Xueyuan 中国妇女管理干部学院, ed. Zhonghua Funu Yundong Wenxian Ziliao Huiji 中华妇女运动文献资料汇集 (Chinese Women's Movement: A Collection of Documents), Vol. 1: 1918-1949; Vol. 2: 1949-1983. Beijing: Zhongguo Funu Chubanshe 中国妇女出版社, 1988.

Zhonghua Quanguo Funu Lianhehui 中华全国妇女联合会 Zhongguo Funu Yundongshi. 中国妇女运动史 (History of the Chinese Women's Movement). Beijing: Chunqiu Chubanshe 春秋出版社, 1989.

Zhonghua Quanguo Funu Lianhehui 中华全国妇女联合会; Funu Yundong Lishi Yanjiushi 妇女运动历史研究室. Zhongguo Funu Yundongshi Ziliao: 1840-1918 中国妇女运动史资料: 1840-1918 (History of the Chinese Women's Movement: A Collection of Documents 1840-1918). Beijing: Zhongguo Funu Chubanshe 中国妇女出版社, 1991.

Zhonghua Quanguo Funu Lianhehui 中华全国妇女联合会; Funu Yundong Lishi Yanjiushi 妇女运动历史研究室. Zhongguo Funu Yundongshi Ziliao 1937-1945 中国妇女运动史资料: 1937-1945 (History of the Chinese Women's Movement: A Collection of Documents: 1937-1945). Beijing: Zhongguo Funu Chubanshe 中国妇女出版社, 1991.

Zhonghua Quanguo Funu Lianhehui 中华全国妇女联合会; Funu Yundong Lishi Yanjiushi 妇女运动历史研究室. Zhongguo Funu Yundongshi Ziliao: 1945-1949 中国妇女运动史资料: 1945-1949 (History of the Chinese Women's Movement: A Collection of Documents 1945-1949). Beijing: Zhongguo Funu Chubanshe 中国妇女出版社, 1991.

References Published in Western Countries:

Andors, Phyllis. The Unfinished Liberation of Chinese Women, 1949-1980. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1983.

Bock, Gisela. "Women's History and Gender History: Aspects of an International Debate" Gender & History, Vol. 1 No. 5 (Spring 1989) pp. 7-30.

Borthwick, Sally. "Changing Concepts of the Role of Women From the Late Qing to the May Fourth Period" in Ideal and Reality: Social and Political Change in Modern China 1860-1949, ed. David Pong. Lanham: University Press of America, 1985.

Broyelle, Claudie. La Moitié du Ciel: Women's Liberation in China. Atlantic Highlands, N.J.: Humanities Press, 1977.

Cheng, Lucie; Furth, Charlotte & Yip, Hon-ming. Women in China: Bibliography of Available English Language Materials. Berkeley: Institute of East Asian Studies, University of California, 1984.

Croll Elisabeth. Changing Identities of Chinese Women: Rhetoric, Experience and Self-perception in Twentieth-century China. London; New Jersey: Zed Books, 1995.

Croll, Elisabeth. Chinese Women Since Mao. London: Zed Books; Armonk, N.Y.: M.E. Sharpe, 1983.

Croll, Elisabeth. Feminism and Socialism in China. Boston: Routledge & K. Paul, 1978.

Gupta, K. P. "Emancipation and Enslavement of Women in China: Confucian and Communist Variations" China Report 11, 5 (September - December 1975) : pp. 50-76. Also in Women of the World: Illusion and Reality, edited by Urmila Phadnis and Indira Malani. New Delhi: Vikas Publishing House, 1978.

Hemmel, Vibeke & Sindbjerg, Pia. Women in Rural China: Policy Towards Women Before and After the Cultural Revolution. London: Curzon, 1984.

Honig, Emily. Sisters and Strangers: Women in the Shanghai Cotton Mills, 1919-1949 (Shang-hai sha chang nu kung). Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1986.

Honig, Emily & Hershatter, Gail. Personal Voices: Chinese Women in the 1980s. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1988.

Johnson, Kay Ann. Women, the Family, and Peasant Revolution in China. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1983.

Johnson-Odim, Cheryl & Strobel, Margaret. "Conceptualizing the History of Women in Africa, Asia, Latin America and the Caribbean, and the Middle East" Journal of Women's History, Vol. 1 No. 1 (Spring) pp. 31-62.

Judd, Ellen R. Gender and Power in Rural North China. California: Stanford University Press, 1994.

- Li, Xiaojiang & Zhang, Xiaodan. "Creating Space for Women: Women's Studies in China in the 1980s" Signs, Autumn 1994, pp. 137-151.
- Lu, Tonglin. Gender and Sexuality in Twentieth Century Chinese Literature and Society. New York: State University of New York, 1993.
- Mammitzsch, Ulrich. "Women's Emancipation in China: Reflections on Recent Trends in the Perception of the Process." Journal of Ethnic Studies, 1980 8 (3) pp. 77-108.
- Ono, Kazuko. Chugoku Joseishi: Chinese Women in a Century of Revolution, 1850-1950. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1989.
- Schade, Rosemarie and Keith J. Lowther, eds. Gender Balancing History: Towards An Inclusive Curriculum, Vol. Six: A Bibliography for Chinese, Japanese, and Korean History, 1970-1991. Montreal: Simone de Beauvoir Institute, 1993.
- Sheridan, Mary & Salaff, Janet W, eds. Lives: Chinese Working Women. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1984.
- Siu, Bobby. Women of China: Imperialism and Women's Resistance, 1900-1949. London: Zed Press, 1982.
- Snow, Helen Foster. Women in Modern China. The Hague: Mouton, 1967.
- Stacey, Judith. Patriarchy and Socialist Revolution in China. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1983.
- Stranahan, Patricia. Yan'an Women and the Communist Party. Berkeley: Institute of East Asian Studies, University of California, 1983.
- Wei, Karen T. Women in China: A Selected and Annotated Bibliography. Westport: Greenwood Press, 1984.
- Witke, Roxane H. "Transformation of Attitudes Towards Women During the May Fourth Era of Modern China." Thesis: University of California, Berkeley 1970.
- Witke, Roxane H. Comrade Chiang Ch'ing. Toronto: Little, Brown and Company, 1977.
- Wolf, Margery. Revolution Postponed: Women in Contemporary China. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1985.
- Young, Marilyn B. ed. Women in China: Studies in Social Change and Feminism. Ann Arbor: Center for Chinese Studies, The University of Michigan, 1973.