

Deng Xiaoping and the Chinese Revolution

A political biography

David S. G. Goodman



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To the outside world Deng Xiaoping represents a contradiction—he is both China's supreme leader who must take responsibility for the events surrounding Tiananmen Square in June 1989, and the man who, more than any other, has been responsible for reform and economic growth since the late 1970s. However, Deng the politician has no such contradiction: in his view only the Chinese Communist Party can bring modernization to China. For Deng, any threat to the Communist Party is a threat to the project of China's modernization.

This book attempts to reach beyond the spectacular economic success of recent years to understand Deng's own particular role and the sources of his political power. Deng Xiaoping was involved with the communist movement before there was even a Communist Party of China, and his entire career has been shaped by both the party and the network of relationships and people within it. David Goodman explores the way in which Deng has survived being purged three times via his contacts with key politicians: Zhou Enlai from Paris in the early 1920s and Mao Zedong after 1933. His close relationship with the military, from the Sino-Japanese War of 1937 through to the present day, has also enabled him to survive difficult political periods. Indeed, Deng's wartime experience, in the Taihang Mountains, plays a central but often overlooked role in his later career, particularly as a source of political support.

David Goodman has been able to draw on the substantial documentary sources that have become available from China since 1989 as well as on the analysis of Deng's political life that has proliferated inside the People's Republic in recent years. In addition, this biography includes a catalogue and analysis of the speeches and writings of Deng Xiaoping since 1938 which will prove to be an invaluable reference aid to his years of influence and power. The result is a balanced evaluation of Deng the politician which provides fresh insights into the career of one of the twentieth century's greatest political survivors.

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Preface

In the twentieth century the term ‘The Chinese Revolution’ has been used to refer to three relatively distinct but overlapping ideas. One is the transformation of China from Napoleon’s ‘sleeping giant’ to a modern state, which has been the goal of various different kinds of nationalists for most of the century. The second is more narrowly the revolution that brought the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) to power in 1949 after its foundation in 1921, its abortive revolution of 1927, war with Japan and two civil wars. The third is the revolution—often variable in trajectory—waged by the CCP in the People’s Republic of China (PRC) after 1949 to establish new social, political and economic structures.

Of all China’s leaders in the twentieth century, few have played such a central role in all three of those ideas of China’s revolution as Deng Xiaoping. Socialized into the organizations of what later became the CCP at the early age of 16 or 17 when in France, his life has been, to quite a remarkable extent, the history of the CCP. He travelled around Europe and China with many of those who became the senior post-1949 leadership. He worked closely with many different parts of the party from a relatively early age, attended most of the key CCP meetings on the road to eventual success in 1949, and played a considerable and central role—when based in the Taihang Mountains—in the successes of the War of Resistance to Japan, and the later civil war. In the 1950s he became the General Secretary of the CCP and remained Mao Zedong’s right-hand-man, in the thick of politics right through to the Cultural Revolution when he fell from grace for five years. On his return to politics he was at the centre of the ideological struggle that racked China through most of the 1970s.

Mao Zedong, it is true, can be credited with much of the responsibility for steering the CCP from its difficulties in the late 1920s through to eventual success in 1949. However, in the final analysis, as even the CCP has admitted in its ‘Resolution on Certain Questions in the History of the CCP since the establishment of the PRC’ passed by its Central Committee in 1981, he failed to ignite the spark of sustained modernization. According to current economic predictions around the world, some time during the second decade of the twenty-first century the PRC will boast the world’s largest aggregate economy. If any one person can be held responsible for China’s rapid economic growth—and the laying of the foundations for the grand transformation idea of the Chinese revolution—since the late 1970s, then that individual must be Deng Xiaoping.

As 22 August 1994 is the 90th anniversary of Deng's birth, his daughter, Deng Rong (or Maomao as she is often, and more familiarly, known) felt that she could not let the moment pass without some acknowledgement, not only to her father but also to the generation that had constructed the PRC. Although, as Deng Rong herself admitted, Deng Xiaoping had earlier said he would prefer no biographies she produced for his birthday the first volume of a projected two-part biography—*My Father Deng Xiaoping*—during 1993.

For me the 90th anniversary of Deng Xiaoping's birth has provided the opportunity to revise a biography originally published in 1990. As luck would have it, soon after the earlier biography went on sale its publishers ran into difficulties (for reasons completely unrelated to the publication of that biography), remaindered their stock, and ceased operations. An encouraging and different publisher, the realization that much more material was now available than had been the case four years earlier, and the opportunity to make revisions of fact and interpretation in a longer edition were all too inviting.

Since the late 1980s when research was undertaken for the earlier version of this book, considerable material has been made available in China on Deng Xiaoping, his life and works. Some indication of the extent to which documentary material became available in 1989 and after is indicated in the Bibliography. In addition, as a result of the changed times and the writing of the earlier biography, I have found that academics and politicians in China have been more willing and prepared to talk to me about Deng Xiaoping than was earlier the case. Interviews are now possible, and though sources must sometimes be protected and their contents must always be handled carefully, they are certainly of considerable use.¹ The new research material of all kinds that has been generated has added immeasurably to the task of biography, both in detail and interpretation, and has been included where appropriate. It ranges from relatively small differences, like knowing the exact date of Deng's appointment as Minister of Finance, revealed in an article by Rong Zihé, to a re-evaluation of the relationship between Mao Zedong and Deng Xiaoping for the period after 1957.

The date at which Deng Xiaoping started to seek different solutions to China's problems from Mao Zedong, and the ways in which this affected their relationship, is obviously important to an interpretation of Deng's place in China's politics, and was itself a matter of debate in the Cultural Revolution and after. In the earlier biography it was possible to suggest that this divergence started in a mild way towards the end of the Great Leap Forward, and increased to the Cultural Revolution. Deng's view in that earlier interpretation was not shaped by ideological or policy considerations so much as his concerns that Mao was flagrantly not maintaining the principles of CCP organization and discipline.

As the result of further reflection—in which the scholarship of Frederick Teiwes has played no small part—this biography suggests that the sense of a growing divide between Deng and Mao before the Cultural Revolution is easily exaggerated. Deng's relationship with Mao was and remains more complicated. Deng could, and often did after 1949, have different policy positions to Mao whilst remaining a supporter. Deng had been very close to Mao for a very long

time (since the early 1930s)—possibly closer for longer than with anyone else in the CCP hierarchy. It seems likely that he never thought Mao would turn on him, not even during the Cultural Revolution. What happened precisely during the Cultural Revolution, particularly in terms of intra-leadership dynamics, remains undetailed. However, it is clear that even after the Cultural Revolution, and even in his retirement, Deng has a highly specific reverence for Mao Zedong that goes way beyond any obeisance to a potent symbol of political legitimacy for the party-state. It is difficult to believe that by 1975 Deng could not see a huge ideological gap opening between himself and the Chairman. At the same time it is not impossible that well into the Cultural Revolution Deng thought he was consistently and conscientiously doing what Mao wanted, or perhaps more to the point that he was not doing anything Mao definitely did not want, or that might cause friction with the Chairman.

Both at the Central Work Conference that preceded the landmark 3rd plenum of the 11th Central Committee of the CCP in November and December 1978, and later when the CCP was drafting the ‘Resolution on Certain Questions in the History of our Party since the Founding of the People’s Republic of China’ adopted by the 6th plenum in June 1981, Deng has differentiated between Mao’s role in the Cultural Revolution and that of Lin Biao and the so-called ‘Gang of Four’. Where he has regarded Lin Biao and the Gang of Four as ‘grabbers of power’ and ‘counter-revolutionaries’, he has criticized Mao Zedong for his mistakes, but more in the way he did things than in his goals. In 1978, having criticized Lin Biao and the Gang of Four for their political practices, Deng went on to say: ‘The Cultural Revolution should also be viewed scientifically and in historical perspective. In initiating it Comrade Mao Zedong was actuated mainly by the desire to oppose and prevent revisionism.’² In 1981 the ‘Resolution on Party History’ eventually suggested that Mao Zedong himself negated Mao Zedong Thought: Deng in 1980 in the drafting process suggested that in the 1970s Mao himself had been inconsistent and ‘mutually contradictory in some of his statements’ about what he wanted.³

Revision of the text presented here has resulted in three new chapters and several new sections, as well as a new bibliography and chronology. One new chapter deals with Deng Xiaoping’s most militarized period, from 1937 to 1952, when he and Liu Bocheng developed what later became the PLA’s Second Field Army, and led it via the Huai-Hai Campaign to establish communism in South-west China. A second new chapter comes from the expansion of material related to the reform era, and the development of two chapters where previously there was only one.

The third new chapter is less obviously a chapter than an appendix, resource and research tool for those wanting to take their interest in Deng Xiaoping further. Chapter 10 introduces Deng Xiaoping in his own words from 1938 to 1992. In addition to an introductory essay on Deng’s speeches and writings, it includes a list of published collections of Deng Xiaoping’s speeches and writings, and a detailed chronological catalogue. The chronology of the earlier volume has been completely rewritten and extended in the light of the much larger

information base now available. A new Bibliography contains a brief essay on the Deng Xiaoping literature, and the bibliographic part itself is divided into two: a bibliography of China-based publications, and another of books and articles published elsewhere. A list of abbreviations and a map are provided at the beginning of the book, and notes appear at the end of the volume.

A few words of explanation of essential technicalities are perhaps necessary for those less familiar with the complexities of China's politics and the history of the Chinese Communist Party.

As the text details, Deng has gone by several names during his life, and Deng Xiaoping was not the one originally chosen for him by his family. He was born Deng Xiansheng and did not become Deng Xiaoping until the latter part of 1927. In the mean time, for some twenty years he had been known as Deng Xixian and when in the Soviet Union he had been known as Dozolev. In 1929, when travelling to and working for the CCP in Guangxi in South-west China, he adopted Deng Bin as his *nomme de guerre*. None the less, to avoid confusion he has been consistently referred to as Deng Xiaoping throughout.

Similarly, though of considerably less significance, the CCP's English translation of the term for its leading institution changed during the 1980s from 'politburo' to 'political bureau'. Again to avoid confusion, the latter term has been used consistently.

In the Sino-Japanese War, border regions, border areas and base areas were established by the CCP behind enemy lines. On the whole, border regions were larger than both border areas and base areas and in the case of the Shanxi-Hebei-Shandong-Henan Border Region—Deng's principal location during this time—contained several border areas and base areas. However, the system of nomenclature is inherently confusing. For a start, the names of the provinces involved are often rendered using single character abbreviations derived from classical Chinese and referring to regions which approximate to contemporary provinces. Thus, Shanxi is often referred to as 'Jin', Hebei as 'Ji', Shandong as 'Lu', and Henan as 'Yu'. The whole of the Shanxi-Hebei-Shandong-Henan Border Region is more usually described as JinJiLuYu, which apart from any other consideration has the advantage of brevity.

The terms for 'region' and 'area' in Chinese are often translated into English interchangeably. Moreover, the conditions of guerrilla warfare often meant that border regions, border areas and even base areas (which were supposed to be more stable) fluctuated wildly in size. To complicate matters even further, border regions and areas were so designated for two reasons: they bordered the enemy—initially the Japanese and after 1945 the Nationalist Party—and they were established on the borders of various provinces. Thus, JinJiLuYu was the border region located where the provinces of Shanxi, Hebei, Shandong and Henan meet; it did not include all of all four provinces.

During the Sino-Japanese War, and for some time after, Deng was the ranking political cadre of the JinJiLuYu Border Region which had been established on and included the Taihang base area. Not least because the border region had such a long name, both will be referred to as 'Taihang', though maintaining the

distinction between border region and base area. Taihang is thus used to describe the Shanxi-Hebei-Shandong-Henan Border Region in the same way that Yan'an refers to the Shaanxi-Gansu-Ningxia Border Region. In fact, this has been fairly standard procedure for veterans of JinJiLuYu in re-examining their history,⁴ even though it is strictly inaccurate. The Taihang region, though always part of JinJiLuYu (indeed its source and most important part politically and administratively), was only coterminous with the Border Region during 1942–3—and then because the latter had shrunk under the pressures of war.

The term 'cadre' in this context refers to an official of party or state, as is usual practice in communist party states. It can be a singular as well as a plural or collective noun.

CCP Central Committees and their meetings are numbered after the CCP Congress which elected them. Thus the 3rd Plenum of the 11th Central Committee refers to the third full and formal meeting of the central committee elected by the 11th CCP Congress of 1977. Since 1977 there have been regular five-yearly party congresses, so that in 1982 the 12th CCP Congress elected the 12th Central Committee to serve until the 13th CCP Congress in 1987, followed by the 14th CCP Congress in 1992.

In the term 'Mao Zedong Thought', the 'Thought' refers to ideology (or rather a specific kind of ideology) in Chinese. Mao Zedong Thought is thus to be differentiated from Mao Zedong's thoughts, his personal ideas or actions.

The 'Gang of Four' were Jiang Qing, the wife of Mao Zedong, and three colleagues based in Shanghai and associated with her during the Cultural Revolution: Wang Hongwen, Yao Wenyuan, and Zhang Chunqiao. There seems little doubt that they acted in concert for much of the Cultural Revolution. They were arrested in October 1976 one month after the death of Mao Zedong, and tried between November 1980 and January 1981 for a series of 'counter-revolutionary' crimes.

In general, the *pinyin* system of romanization has been used for Chinese throughout this book. The exceptions are names more familiarly rendered otherwise—notably Canton and Chiang Kai-shek—and references to publications and quotations which have employed other methods of transliteration, where the original has been cited. Because this book has been written for a predominantly English-speaking audience, all quotations, citations and titles are rendered in English unless a specific linguistic point is being made. Similarly, wherever possible priority in references and citations has been given to English language sources; where no English-language source is available, translations are provided.

It would be rare for a book to be produced without the help of many others and this one is no exception. Acknowledgement is due to colleagues and staff—in particular, Richard Robison, Delias Blakeway, and Elissa d'Alton—at the Asia Research Centre, Murdoch University, which has supported this project in a number of different ways. Gary and Valerie Steenson have been much-appreciated company and counsel, not least on frequent visits to Hong Kong. The East Asia collection at the Australian National University and its staff, in

particular Susan Prentice, have as always provided an incomparable resource; as has Sonja Lee and her news cuttings service. Gordon Smith of Routledge has my obvious gratitude, not least for being prepared to consider publishing even a revised version of a book well within four years of its first publication.

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David S.G. Goodman
Sydney

Abbreviations

CCP	Chinese Communist Party
CPSU	Communist Party of the Soviet Union
DXS	<i>Gongfei yuanshi ziliao huibian: Deng Xiaoping yanlunji 1957–1980</i> [Collection of CCP Materials: Collection of Deng Xiaoping's Words and Writings, 1957–1980]
DXWI	<i>Deng Xiaoping wenxuan 1938–1965</i> [Selected Writings of Deng Xiaoping 1938–1965]
DXWII	<i>Deng Xiaoping wenxuan 1975–1982</i> [Selected Writings of Deng Xiaoping 1975–1982]
DXWIII	<i>Deng Xiaoping wenxuan Vol. III</i> [Selected Writings of Deng Xiaoping, Vol. III, 1982–1992]
DZS	<i>Zhongguo renmin jiefangjun dierye zhanjun shiliao xuan 1947–1949</i> [Selected Historical Materials on the PLA's 2nd Field Army 1947–1949]
JJLY	JinJiLuYu: the Border Region of Shanxi-Hebei-Shandong-Henan, 1937–48
JJLYGS	<i>JinJiLuYu genjudi shiliao xuan</i> [Selected Historical Materials on the JinJiLuYu base area]
JZTS	<i>Jianshe you Zhongguo tese de shehuizhuyi</i> [Build Socialism with Chinese Characteristics]
KMT	Kuomintang (Guomindang): the Nationalist Party of China
LDJ	<i>Deng Xiaoping lun dangde jianshe</i> [Deng Xiaoping on Party Development]
LGJJ	<i>Deng Xiaoping lun guofang he jundui jianshe</i> [Deng Xiaoping on National Defence and Military Development]
LGK	<i>Deng Xiaoping tongzhi lun gaige kaifang</i> [Comrade Deng Xiaoping on Reform and Openness]
LJ	<i>Deng Xiaoping tongzhi lun jiaoyu</i> [Comrade Deng Xiaoping on Education]
LJDRG	<i>Deng Xiaoping tongzhi lun jiaqiang dang tong renmin qunzhong de guanxi</i> [Comrade Deng Xiaoping on Strengthening Relations between the Party and the Popular Masses]
LJS	<i>Deng Xiaoping tongzhi lun jianchi sixiang jiben yuance fandui zichan jieji ziyouhua</i> [Comrade Deng Xiaoping on Support for the Four Cardinal Principles to Oppose Bourgeois Liberalism]
LMF	<i>Deng Xiaoping tongzhi lun minzhu yu fazhi</i> [Comrade Deng Xiaoping on Democracy and the Legal System]
LTZ	<i>Deng Xiaoping lun tongyi zhanxian</i> [Deng Xiaoping on the United Front]
LW	<i>Deng Xiaoping lun wenyi</i> [Deng Xiaoping on Art and Literature]
LZ	<i>Deng Xiaoping tongzhi lun zhexue</i> [Comrade Deng Xiaoping on Philosophy]
LZG	<i>Mao Zedong, Deng Xiaoping Lun Zhongguo guoqing</i> [Mao Zedong and Deng Xiaoping on the State of the Chinese Nation]

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MAC	Military and Administrative Committee
NPC	National People's Congress
PLA	People's Liberation Army
PRC	People's Republic of China
RMB	Renminbi [People's Currency] 10 yuan (dollars) RMB=1US\$
SCC	<i>Fundamental Issues in Present-Day China</i>
SEZ	Special Economic Zone
SWI	<i>Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping 1938–1965</i>
SWII	<i>Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping 1975–1982</i>
TGS	<i>Taiyue genjudi shiliao xuan [Selected Historical Materials of the Taiyue base area]</i>

Deng Xiaoping

A chronological summary

1904	August	Deng Xiansheng born in Guang'an County, Sichuan Province
1909		Attends local private school, renamed Deng Xixian
1911		Attends local modern primary school
1918	late-year	Leaves Guang'an to study in Chongqing
1920	August	Leaves for France on work-study programme
	year-end	Enrols in Bayeux middle school
1921	end March	Returns to Paris and La Garenne-Colombes
	April	Employed at Schneider-Creusot Factory
1922	February	Living in Montargis, worked at Hutchinson's Rubber Factory. Joins Socialist Youth League of China
	October	Moved to Chatillon-sur-Seine
1923	February	Returned to Montargis
	June	Left Montargis to return to Paris, employed at Renault plant, Billancourt
1924	February	Starts work with Zhou Enlai on <i>Red Light</i>
	July	Elected to Secretariat of European Branch of Socialist Youth League of China at 5th European Congress; dates CCP membership from this time
1926	January	Leaves Paris for Moscow. Student at Sun Yatsen University, Moscow
1927	January	Returns to China
	March	Political Instructor at Xian Military and Political Academy under Feng Yuxiang
	July	Becomes secretary to the CCP Central Committee in Hankou. Changes name to Deng Xiaoping
	September	Moves with CCP Central Committee to Shanghai. Chief secretary to CCP Central Committee, responsible for headquarter's documents, confidential work, communications and financial affairs
1928	Spring	Marries Zhang Xiyuan
1929	September	Leaves Shanghai for Guangxi and Right River via Hong Kong, under name of Deng Bin

	December	Returns to Shanghai to report on Bose Uprising and formation of 7th Red Army
1930	January	Zhang Xiyuan dies
	February	Longzhou Uprising and formation of 8th Red Army. Returns to Guangxi
	September	8th Red Army defeated
	October	7th Red Army under Zhang Yunyi, Li Mingrui and Deng Xiaoping sets out for Jiangxi
1931	February	7th Red Army separated into two regiments. Deng leaves 7th Red Army and returns to Shanghai
	April	Reports to CCP Central Committee on 7th and 8th Red Army
	May/June	Inspection tour for CCP Central Committee in Anhui Province (Wuhu)
	August	Moves to Central Soviet Area, Jiangxi, and is appointed Secretary CCP Committee, Ruijin County
1932	March	Marries Jin Weiying (Ah Jin)
	May	Secretary CCP Committee Huichang County, responsible for Huichang, Xunwu and Anyuan Counties
	December	Director, Propaganda Department, CCP Jiangxi Province
1933	April	Disciplined for following the 'Luo Ming defeatist line' and removed from positions. Criticism led by Li Wei-han. Jin Weiying divorces Deng and marries Li Wei-han
	May	Sent to Le'an County, Nancun, for ten days. Returns to CCP Jiangxi Province Committee
	August	Secretary-General, General Political Department, First Front Army
1934	August	Assigned to work in Propaganda Department, General Political Department, Red Army. Editor <i>Red Star</i>
	October	Leaves Ruijin on Long March
1935	January	Appointed Secretary-General CCP Central Committee. Attends Zunyi Conference of the CCP Political Bureau
	June	Appointed Head of the Propaganda Department, General Political Department, First Army Corps
1936	February	Deputy Director, Political Department, First Army Corps, Shanxi Expedition
	December	Director, Political Department, First Army Corps
1937	July	Appointed Deputy Director, Political Department, Eighth Route Army
	September	Attends Eighth Route Army War Council in Taiyuan. Organizes 'War Mobilization Committees' in area north of the Shijiazhuang-Taiyuan railway
1938	January	Appointed Political Commissar, 129th Division, Eighth Route Army
	March	Taihang base area established

	August	Leaves Taihang base area for Yan'an
	November	Attends enlarged 6th plenum of 6th Central Committee CCP, Yan'an
	December	Leaves Yan'an for 129th Division HQ in South Hebei
1939	August	Attends enlarged meeting of CCP Political Bureau, Yan'an
	September	Marries Zhuo Lin, Yan'an. Returns to 129th Division HQ, now in Liaoxian
1940	April	Appointed Secretary, Taihang Military and Administrative Committee (for Taihang, Taiyue and South Hebei base areas)
	December	129th Division HQ settles in Shexian
1942	September	Appointed Secretary, Taihang Bureau, CCP Central Committee (to October 1943)
1943	October	Acting Secretary, North China Bureau, CCP Central Committee
1945	February	On inspection tour of JiLuYu base area
	June	Elected (in absentia) to Central Committee at 7th CCP Congress. Attends 1st plenum of 7th Central Committee, Yan'an
	August	Secretary, JinJiLuYu Bureau, CCP Central Committee; Political Commissar, JinJiLuYu Military Region
	Sept/Oct	With Liu Bocheng, directs Battles of Shangdang and Handan
	December	129th Division HQ leaves Taihang Mountains and moves to Wu'an
1946	March	129th Division HQ moves to Handan
1947	May	Appointed Secretary, Central Plains Bureau, CCP Central Committee
	July	JinJiLuYu Field Army crosses Yellow River and marches south to Dabieshan
1948	May	Appointed First Secretary, Central Plains Bureau, CCP Central Committee; Political Commissar, Central Plains Military Region
	September	Participates in discussion meeting with Mao Zedong. Attends enlarged meeting of Political Bureau in Xibaipo
	October	Chen Yi and Deng direct capture of Zhengzhou
	November	Appointed Secretary, General Frontline Committee
	November	Huai-Hai Campaign (to January 1949)
1949	February	Central Plains Field Army formally becomes 2nd Field Army, with Deng as Political Commissar. Appointed Secretary, General Frontline Committee
	March	Attends 2nd plenum of 7th Central Committee, CCP. Appointed First Secretary, East China Bureau, CCP Central Committee

	April	Yangtze Crossing and capture of Nanjing
	July	Attends meeting of CCP Central Committee in Peiping. Appointed First Secretary of South-west Bureau, CCP Central Committee To South-west with 2nd Field Army
	September	Appointed member, Central People's Government Council; and Revolutionary Military Council
	October	Attends proclamation of PRC, in Beijing
	November	2nd Field Army enters Chongqing
1950	July	Vice-Chairman, South-west Military and Administrative Committee. Political Commissar, South-west Military Region
1951	February	Reports to Central People's Government Council on South-west Region
	October	Attends enlarged meeting of CCP Political Bureau in Beijing
1952	July	Presides over opening ceremony for Chengdu-Chongqing railway. Appointed 'Vice-Premier, Government Administration Council (later State Council), to 1966. Vice-Chairman, Financial and Economic Commission
1953	January	Appointed to Constitutional Committee for PRC
	February	Appointed Vice-Chairman, South-west Administrative Committee
	September	Appointed Minister of Finance, and Director of the Office of Communications, Central Financial Commission (to September 1954)
1954	April	Secretary-General, CCP Central Committee
	September	Vice-Chairman, National Defence Council, and Director, Organization Department, CCP Central Committee
1955	March	Reports on investigation of Gao Gang and Rao Shushi to National CCP Conference
	April	Elected to CCP Political Bureau at 5th plenum of 7th Central Committee
1956	February	Visits Moscow for 20th Congress CPSU
	September	At 8th Congress CCP: reports on revision of CCP Constitution; is elected General Secretary of CCP, and to Standing Committee, CCP Political Bureau
1957	September	Reports to 3rd plenum, 8th Central Committee, on Anti-Rightist Rectification Campaign
	November	Accompanies Mao Zedong to Moscow for celebration of 40th Anniversary of the October Revolution and Moscow Summit of Communist Parties
1958	February	Inspection tour to Sichuan
	May	Attends 2nd session, 8th CCP Congress

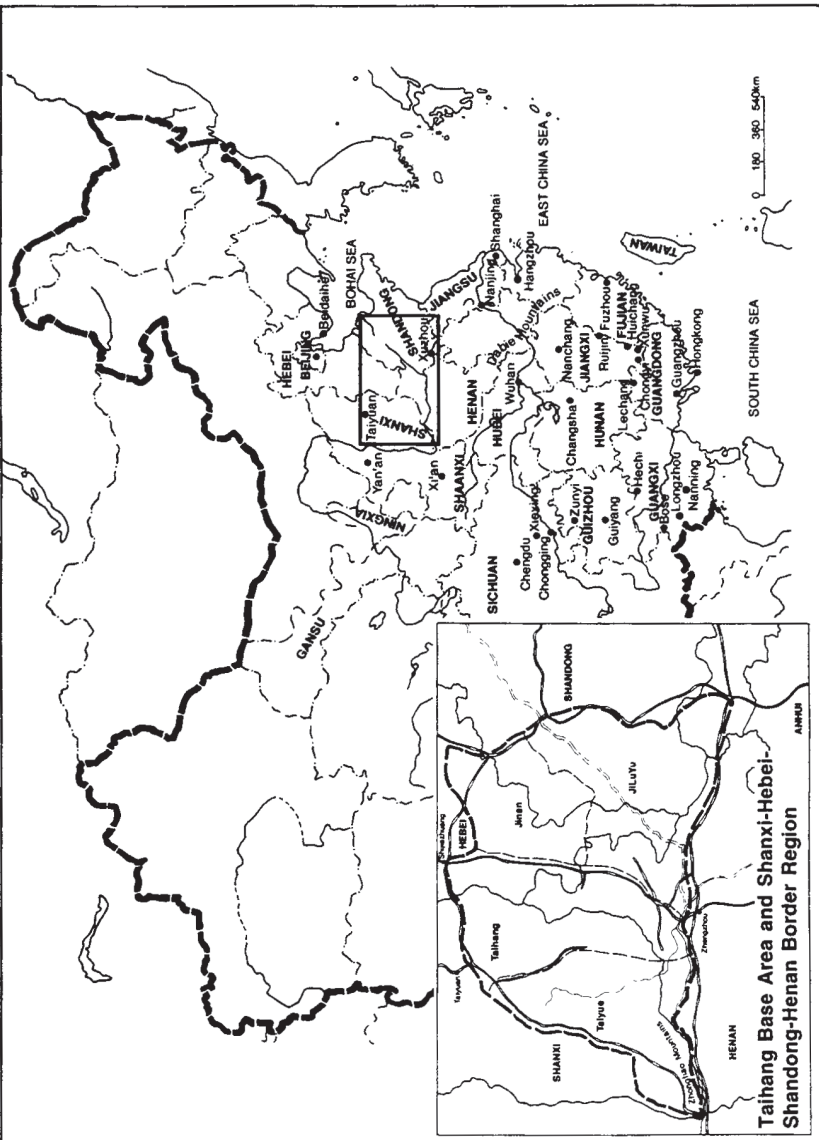
	May-July	Attends enlarged meeting of Central Military Commission
1959	January	Attends meeting of provincial-level CCP secretaries in Beijing on economic development and difficulties in the year ahead
	July	Injures leg playing billiards at Central Work Conference, Lushan
1960	January	Attends special enlarged meeting in Guangzhou of Central Military Commission on questions of national defence convened by Mao Zedong
	February	Inspection tours to Henan, Anhui, Tianjin, Shandong
	March	Attends enlarged meeting of CCP Political Bureau in Tianjin to propagandize Mao Zedong Thought
	November	Deputy Head (under Liu Shaoqi) of delegation to Moscow Conference of Communist Parties
	December	Attends Central Work Conference in Beijing (to January 1961)
1961	September	Heads delegation to North Korea
	March	Involved in development of economic recovery programmes in industry and agriculture
1962	January	Attends and speaks at 7,000 Cadres' Conference
	May	Attends enlarged meeting of CCP Political Bureau in Beijing on economic planning
	September	Attends 10th plenum of 8th Central Committee of CCP, where Mao Zedong urges the party to 'Never forget class struggle'
1963	July	Heads delegation to Moscow (with Peng Zhen and Kang Sheng)
	December	Acting Premier, State Council (to February 1964)
1964	May-June	Attends Central Work Conference in Beijing on rural work
	December	Attends Work Conference of the Political Bureau in Beijing on the 'socialist education campaign'
1965	March-April	Acting Premier, State Council
	July	Heads delegation to Romania
	September	Attends Central Work Conference in Beijing on long-term planning
	Nov-Dec	Inspection tour to Sichuan, Guizhou and Yunnan
1966	April	Inspection tour to Yan'an
	May	Liu Shaoqi and Deng Xiaoping convene enlarged meeting of CCP Political Bureau on Beijing schools and universities
	October	Self-criticism at enlarged meeting of CCP Central Committee
	November	Participates in activities for the various Mao Zedong Red

		Guard receptions
	December	Attends enlarged meeting of CCP Political Bureau convened by Lin Biao to discuss industrial and communications work
1969	October	Moved from Beijing to do manual labour in Xinjian County, Jiangxi Province
1971	November	Writes to Mao Zedong
1972	August	Writes to Mao Zedong and the CCP Central Committee about 'his mistakes'
1973	February	Returns to Beijing
	April	Appointed Vice-Premier, State Council
	August	Elected to 10th Central Committee, CCP
	December	Appointed Chief-of-Staff, PLA
1974	January	Elected to CCP Political Bureau
	April	Heads delegation to UN Special Session on Problems of Materials and Development
	October	Appointed 1st Vice-Premier, State Council
1975	January	Appointed to Standing Committee, CCP Political Bureau, and Vice-Chairman CCP Central Committee
	May	Heads delegation to France
1976	January	Self-criticism at meeting of CCP Political Bureau
	April	Public removal from office after Tiananmen Incident
1977	March	At a Central Work Conference it is suggested that Deng be invited back to work, but the conference confirms the CCP's decision of April 1976. With Ye Jianying in Guangdong
	April	CCP Central Committee distributes two letters written to it by Deng
	July	Reappears in public. Reinstated as Vice-Chairman, CCP Central Committee; Vice-Premier, State Council; Vice-Chairman, Military Commission; and Chief-of-Staff, PLA
	August	Elected to 11th Central Committee, CCP
1978	January	Heads delegation to Burma and Nepal
	March	Chairman, Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference (to 1983)
	September	Heads delegation to North Korea
	October	Heads delegation to Japan
	November	Heads delegation to Thailand, Malaysia and Singapore
	Nov-Dec	Plays central role in Central Work Conference and 3rd plenum of 11th Central Committee, CCP, which decide to reassess the CCP's recent history, to reform politics, and to restructure the economy
1979	March	Speaks at Central Theoretical Work Conference on the importance of the 'Four cardinal principles' of political rectitude

	October	Heads delegation to USA and Japan
1980	February	Steps down as Chief-of-Staff, PLA
	March	Steps down as Vice-Premier, State Council
	July	Inspection tour to Sichuan Province
	November	Hua Guofeng steps down from leadership at enlarged meeting of CCP Political Bureau. Appointed Chairman, CCP Military Commission
1981	June	6th plenum of 11th Central Committee, CCP, and 'Resolution on Certain Questions in the History of Our Party since the Establishment of the PRC'
1982	February	Visits Guangdong
	September	12th CCP Congress. Elected to Standing Committee, CCP Political Bureau Chairman, CCP Central Advisory Commission (to 1987)
1983	June	Chairman, Central Military Commission
	July	<i>Selected Writings of Deng Xiaoping, 1975–1982</i> published
1984	February	Declaration of principle of 'One country, two systems'. Visits Guangdong
	September	Agreement with UK on the future of Hong Kong
1985	February	Visits Guangzhou
	September	Speaks at National Party Conference
1986	September	Attends 6th plenum of 12th Central Committee and speaks on the establishment of a 'social spiritual civilization'. Is interviewed for the USA TV programme <i>Sixty Minutes</i>
1987	January	Attends enlarged meeting of Political Bureau where Hu Yaobang stands down as General Secretary of the CCP
	October	Attends 13th CCP Congress, re-elected Chairman, CCP Military Commission (to 1989)
1988	January	<i>Deng Xiaoping Pictorial</i> published
	September	Central Work Conference in Beijing, discusses economic development and management
1989	May	Gorbachev visits Beijing. <i>Selected Writings of Deng Xiaoping, 1938–1965</i> published
	June	Beijing Massacre
	November	Retires from all formal public offices
1990	December	Votes in Beijing Municipal elections
1991	June	Deng's calligraphy used for the second edition of the 4-volume <i>Selected Works of Mao Zedong</i>
1992	January	Makes 'Southern Inspection Tour' to Shenzhen, Shunde and Zhuhai
	February	Visits Shanghai
	April & after	Publicity for 'Southern Inspection Tour' reignites pace of reform programme

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	August	Reported heart attack
	December	14th CCP Congress adopts principles of 'socialist market economy'
1993	October	<i>Selected Writings of Deng Xiaoping, 1982–1992</i> published



CHINA. Inset map shows the Taihang Region at the time of the Sino-Japanese War.