

EULOGY AT COMRADE DENG XIAOPING'S MEMORIAL CEREMONY

February 25, 1997

Comrades and Friends,

We have come to the Great Hall of the People here in the capital today to hold a solemn memorial ceremony and show our profound grief for the loss of our beloved Comrade Deng Xiaoping. The many people in factories, the countryside, shops, schools, army units, government institutions and urban neighborhoods throughout our country's vast territory are together with us in spirit as we celebrate the memory of Comrade Deng's tremendous achievements and outstanding qualities and give voice to our grief.

Over the past few days, the people of all our ethnic groups, including our compatriots in Hong Kong, Macao and Taiwan, as well as overseas Chinese, have expressed boundless grief over the loss of this great man, Comrade Deng Xiaoping. People from all over the world, including leaders of foreign countries and international friends from various backgrounds, have also expressed their heartfelt condolences over the loss to the world of this great man, Comrade Deng Xiaoping.

The Chinese people revered Comrade Deng, are grateful to him, mourn for him, and cherish his memory because he devoted himself entirely to the Chinese people and made enduring contributions to the independence and liberation of the Chinese nation, as well as the socialist modernization drive in China. His magnificent revolutionary career that spanned more than seven decades is closely connected with the founding and development of the CPC, the Chinese people's army, and the People's Republic. He was among the founders of the People's Republic, and after its founding he became an important member of the CPC's first generation of central collective leadership with Comrade Mao Zedong at the core. After the Third Plenary Session of the Eleventh Central Committee, he became the core of the CPC's second generation of central collective leadership and led the country in pioneering a new path of building socialism with Chinese characteristics. By following this path, China's economy has developed rapidly, its overall strength has grown, the people's living standards have gradually improved and socialism has exhibited unprecedented

vitality. Comrade Deng said that without Comrade Mao, the Chinese people at best would have had to grope about in the dark for a longer period of time. Similarly, we recognize that without Comrade Deng, the Chinese people would not be living the life they do today, the changes in China's situation brought about by reform and opening up would never have taken place, and the bright future promised by socialist modernization would never occur.

Comrade Deng was an outstanding leader held in high esteem by the entire Party, the entire army, and the people of all our ethnic groups. He was a great Marxist, proletarian revolutionary, statesman, military strategist and diplomat, as well as a seasoned champion of Communism, the chief architect of China's socialist reform, opening up and modernization and the creator of the theory of building socialism with Chinese characteristics.

In the past, the CPC led the Chinese people in a great revolution to transform the semi-colonial and semi-feudal old China into a new socialist China. Since the Third Plenary Session of the Eleventh Central Committee, it has been leading the people in a new revolution to transform China from an underdeveloped socialist country into a prosperous, strong, democratic and culturally advanced modern socialist country. In the course of these two great revolutions, two historic leaps were made by integrating Marxism with China's realities and two major achievements in theory were made: Mao Zedong Thought and Deng's theory of building socialism with Chinese characteristics. These two great revolutions and two historic leaps produced two great men, Comrade Mao and Comrade Deng, who was the former's comrade-in-arms and the successor to his cause.

For a large semi-colonial and semi-feudal Asian country such as old China, there was no ready-made pattern for the Communists to follow in leading the revolution to victory so they had to create their own path through actual experience. This was a path of armed struggle, as well as a path of establishing revolutionary base areas in the countryside, encircling cities from the countryside and eventually seizing political power nationwide. Our Party blazed this trail under the leadership of Comrade Mao. Unswervingly following this path, Comrade Deng launched uprisings in Guangxi, founded Red Army units, and established revolutionary base areas. After arriving in the Central Revolutionary Base Area, he was removed from his positions for supporting Comrade Mao's correct line by the "Left" leaders of the Party. This was the first major setback he suffered in his political career. During the Long March, he attended the Zunyi Meeting,

which marked a great turning point in the Party's history. During the War of Resistance Against Japanese Aggression and the War of Liberation, comrades Deng and Liu Bocheng¹ jointly led the troops. He always worked in key positions in the overall strategy, waged tit-for-tat struggles against the enemy on the frontlines, and resolutely carried out major strategic decisions made by Comrade Mao, constantly braving difficulties and dangers and valiantly shouldering heavy responsibilities. He served successively as Political Commissar of the 129th Division of the Eighth Route Army, Secretary of the Taihang Sub-bureau of the Northern Bureau of the Central Committee and Acting Secretary of the Northern Bureau, directed the work of the Headquarters of the Eighth Route Army, and created and led anti-Japanese base areas behind enemy lines in north China. He was elected to the Central Committee at the Seventh National Congress of the CPC. When the civil war broke out, he served successively as Political Commissar of the Shanxi-Hebei-Shandong-Henan Military Command, First Secretary of the Central Plains Bureau of the Central Committee and Political Commissar of the Central Plains Field Army. In a display of dauntless heroism, he and Comrade Liu jointly led their troops in taking the fight to the enemy, battling their way across the Yellow River and marching hundreds of kilometers to the Dabie Mountains, thus opening the curtain on the nationwide strategic offensive of the PLA in the people's War of Liberation. At this strategically decisive stage, Comrade Deng served as Secretary of the General Frontline Committee, which was in command of both the Central Plains Field Army and the East China Field Army, as well as First Secretary of the East China Bureau of the Central Committee. He and the other leaders of the two armies directed the Huai-Hai Campaign, the largest of the three decisive campaigns in the War of Liberation, and the Crossing-the-Yangtze Campaign, which liberated Nanjing, Shanghai and southeastern provinces, and marked the collapse of the reactionary KMT regime. Following this, Comrade Deng led the army southwest and helped lead the peaceful liberation of Tibet, thereby completing the liberation of China's mainland. Comrade Deng has many illustrious military exploits to his credit in the struggle for the birth of New China.

Following the founding of the People's Republic, the Party faced the task of how to move from new democracy to socialism and how to find its own path for building socialism under backward economic and cultural conditions. Comrade Deng was transferred to Beijing from the southwest to participate in the work of the central leadership, serving successively

as Vice Premier of the Government Administrative Council, Secretary General of the Central Committee and Vice Premier of the State Council, and was elected to the Political Bureau of the Central Committee at the Fifth Plenary Session of the Seventh Central Committee. In his report to the Eighth CPC National Congress on revising the Party Constitution, he introduced and thoroughly discussed the Party's task of improving itself as a ruling party. He was elected a member of the Standing Committee of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee and General Secretary of the Central Committee at the First Plenary Session of the Eighth Central Committee. During his ten years as General Secretary, he undertook heavy responsibilities, made many correct proposals, and worked effectively to set up a socialist system, develop socialism, find a path for building socialism appropriate to China's conditions, draw lessons from experience, rectify errors, adjust policies and overcome the hardships stemming mainly from "Left" errors during the three years of economic difficulties [1959-1961].

The Cultural Revolution was a grave mistake in the Party's history during the socialist era. In this movement, Comrade Deng was wrongly criticized and denounced, and was relieved of all his positions. This was the second major setback of his political career. After Lin Biao's plot to stage a counterrevolutionary coup d'état was crushed, Comrade Deng returned to work. He served as Vice Chairman of the Central Committee, Vice Premier of the State Council, Vice Chairman of the Central Military Commission and Chief of the PLA General Staff in 1975, and took charge of the routine work of the Party, the government and the army. He made vigorous efforts to stop the destructive trends of the Cultural Revolution and took bold and resolute steps to put an end to the extreme chaos it had caused. Thinking only of the Party and the people and without regard to his own interests or safety, he waged a resolute struggle against the Gang of Four, risking being overthrown once again. This rectification drive was in essence an experiment in future reforms, which reflected the aspirations of cadres and the masses, represented the Party's correct leadership, and quickly achieved notable results. Because the depth of the rectification efforts inevitably led to a systematic redress of the mistakes of the Cultural Revolution, Comrade Deng was accused of starting a Right deviationist trend to reverse correct verdicts and was again unjustly removed from all his positions. This was the third major setback of his political career. However, the achievements of the rectification drive and the intellect and courage he showed during this period won him the support of the Party,

the army and the people and laid the groundwork among the people for smashing the Gang of Four.

After the Gang of Four was smashed and the Cultural Revolution was ended, China faced a critical juncture in history. The country needed to resolve the grave situation caused by the ten-year disturbance of the Cultural Revolution and overcome many difficulties to open up a new path of developing socialism. Thanks to the insistent demands of Party members and the people, Comrade Deng was reinstated to his former leadership positions. At the Central Committee's Plenary Session reinstating him to these positions, he said, "I could adopt one of two attitudes when I return to work. I could simply act like a government official or I could make some real accomplishments. As a Communist, I cannot simply act like an official, selfishly putting personal considerations first. I have no choice but to make some real accomplishments." Facing an enormously complex body of tasks, Comrade Deng, with his great insight, rich political experience, and excellent leadership skills, grasped that the crucial link was to restore order by bringing the Party's ideological line back onto the right track first. He stressed that seeking truth from facts is the essence of Mao Zedong Thought, opposed the erroneous principle of the "two whatevers,"² and supported the debate about whether practice is the sole criterion for testing truth, laying the ideological basis for the Third Plenary Session of the Eleventh Central Committee.

Under the leadership of Comrade Deng, the Third Plenary Session of the Eleventh Central Committee reaffirmed the ideological line of emancipating our minds and seeking truth from facts. That session also decided to shift the focus of the work of the Party and the government to economic development and introduce the reform and opening up policy. Later at that session, the necessity of upholding the Four Cardinal Principles was strongly emphasized. The basic line of the Party of "one central task, two basic points" began to take shape. The decisions made at that session marked one of the most significant shifts in the history of the Party and the country since the founding of the People's Republic and ushered in a new period of reform, opening up and socialist modernization in the history of the country. Comrade Deng became the core of the Party's second generation of central collective leadership as a result of that session's work.

Comrade Deng led the Party in drawing lessons from its experience since the founding of the People's Republic. With immense political and theoretical courage, he insisted on a scientific appraisal of the historical

role of Comrade Mao and the scientific system of Mao Zedong Thought, completely repudiated the erroneous practices and theories of the Cultural Revolution, and resolutely resisted the erroneous ideological trend of completely negating Comrade Mao's work and Mao Zedong Thought. Every new development in the domestic and international situations has further demonstrated the boldness and foresight of this significant policy decision.

At the Twelfth CPC National Congress, Comrade Deng pointed out, "We must integrate the universal truth of Marxism with the concrete realities of China, blaze a path of our own and build a socialism with Chinese characteristics."³ This was the basic conclusion drawn from our long historical experience, and it became the basic motto that set the direction for progress in the new historical era. At its Thirteenth National Congress, the Party systematically expounded the theory of the primary stage of socialism and carefully defined the Party's basic line for this stage in line with Comrade Deng's thinking.

Comrade Deng directed us in formulating a three-step development strategy to basically achieve modernization of the country and drafting a comprehensive plan for implementing reform and opening up. He strongly supported and promoted rural reform, mainly in the form of the household contract responsibility system with remuneration linked to output, and warmly praised the flourishing of township and village enterprises. He was the first to put forth the idea that a market economy can be developed under socialism. He promoted comprehensive economic restructuring with the focus on cities, and created a new path that combines socialism with a market economy in order to better liberate and develop the productive forces. Comrade Deng championed and promoted the establishment of SEZs in coastal areas, the opening of coastal cities, and the development and opening of the Pudong New Area in Shanghai. This resulted in a gradual, comprehensive opening up of the country. He showed great interest in economic development and the people's wellbeing in the central and western regions and poverty-stricken areas, and called for more action to gradually solve these problems. He introduced the new thesis that science and technology are a primary productive force, called for a greater respect for knowledge and talent, and stressed the importance of developing education, science and culture. He also repeatedly stressed that it is necessary to pay more attention to and strongly support the creativity of the masses in carrying out the reform and opening up policy, and that we should learn from the experience of the masses and

extensively apply this learning. Under the leadership of the Central Committee with Comrade Deng at the core in the new period, our nation made great strides carrying out rural and urban reforms, restructuring the economy and many other fields, invigorating the domestic economy, opening to the outside world, and paying equal attention to material progress and cultural and ethical progress. As a result, China's productive forces grew by leaps and bounds, the people's living standards improved considerably, and the face of the country underwent profound changes, all of which won strong overall support from the masses.

When political upheavals occurred both domestically and internationally in the late 1980s and early 1990s, the Party faced another major historical juncture. With the firm and strong support of Comrade Deng and other veteran comrades, plus strong reliance on the people, the Party and the government took a clear stand to uphold the Four Cardinal Principles and safeguard the independence, dignity, security and stability of the country while unswervingly carrying out economic development as the central task and instituting the reform and opening up policy. Because the Party and the government adopted this firm and clear stand and the people took to heart our achievements in reform, opening up and socialist modernization, we were able to withstand this severe test and continue to vigorously develop our cause along the path laid out at the Third Plenary Session of the Eleventh Central Committee.

Comrade Deng had long favored abolition of the system of life tenure for leading cadres. He himself expressed his sincere desire to retire several times. The Party's Thirteenth National Congress agreed to his wish to retain only his position as Chairman of the Central Military Commission, and the Fifth Plenary Session of the Thirteenth Central Committee accepted his resignation from that position. Comrade Deng created all the necessary conditions for and played a crucial role in the smooth transition from the second generation of central collective leadership to the new central collective leadership, thereby ensuring the stability of the Party and the government.

Although he retired from his leadership positions, Comrade Deng retained his strong sense of historical responsibility and continued to pay close attention to China's reform, opening up and modernization. The important talks he gave during his inspection tour of southern China in early 1992 constituted a scientific review of the Party's basic practices and experience since the Third Plenary Session of the Eleventh Central Committee,

and they also provided in-depth, theoretical solutions to many major questions of understanding that had long perplexed people. These talks not only played an important guiding role in ensuring the success of the Party's Fourteenth National Congress, but also had far-reaching significance for the entire process of socialist modernization. These talks and the decisions made at the Fourteenth Congress marked the beginning of a new phase of China's socialist reform, opening up and modernization. At the advanced age of 89, Comrade Deng presided over the editing of the *Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping* (Volume III) and reviewed all the articles in the book. The *Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping* (Volumes II and III) contain important and creative articles Comrade Deng wrote when he was creating and developing the theory of building socialism with Chinese characteristics.

Comrade Deng's most precious legacy to us is his theory of building socialism with Chinese characteristics and the Party's basic line for the primary stage of socialism, whose formulation was guided by that theory. This theory gradually took shape and developed under the historical conditions in which peace and development were the themes of the times; through the practice of our country's reform, opening up and socialist modernization; and on the basis of learning from historical experience, including the triumphs and setbacks in China's socialist cause and the ups and downs of other socialist countries. From a global perspective, the issue of how to build socialism after the people take power under the leadership of the proletariat is an important topic of historical significance requiring serious study and examination. On the basis of historical comparisons and international observation, the new situations socialism in China has created and achievements it has made convince us Deng's theory of building socialism with Chinese characteristics is correct. This theory scientifically grasps the essence of socialism, and for the first time, begins to provide fairly systematic answers to a series of basic questions such as how China, an economically and culturally backward country, can build, consolidate and develop socialism. The theory is Marxism for present-day China, which is a continuation and development of Mao Zedong Thought that is the result of integrating the basic tenets of Marxism-Leninism with actual conditions prevailing in the country and the character of the times. This theory, which is the crystallization of the wisdom of the entire Party and the whole Chinese people, serves as the guiding ideology of the Party and as cultural and intellectual support for the Chinese nation.

Comrade Deng not only guided us with the glorious revolutionary

theory he created, but also inspired us with the brilliant revolutionary style he developed during his long revolutionary experience. He displayed his lofty character and integrity throughout his entire revolutionary experience, including his three falls from and subsequent returns to power, and his efforts to boldly chart a new path for China's socialist development. When he was wrongfully attacked and faced adversity, he never lost hope. Instead, he remained ever fearless, selfless, indomitable, dauntless and well composed; showed absolute loyalty to the Party and people; and remained optimistic about the future of our cause. On this basis he always delved more deeply into the lessons to be drawn from and fundamental laws governing the Chinese revolution, and made a determined effort to accomplish even more. Because of this, he was able to meet the demands of history and the times, and take on heavy responsibilities again after encountering setbacks. In particular, his falls from and subsequent returns to power during the Cultural Revolution prompted him to thoroughly examine what socialism is and how to build it. This enabled him to resolutely and decisively lead the entire Party and the whole Chinese people in charting the new path of building socialism with Chinese characteristics after the Third Plenary Session of the Eleventh Central Committee. In the course of charting this new path, he emphasized practice and was keenly aware of the pulse of the times and the opportunities for development they presented. While building on the achievements of his predecessors, he also broke with convention, and in studying the experience of other countries, he never slavishly copied their models. He always drew lessons from his experience and created new methods by fully taking into consideration actual conditions in China and the characteristics of the development of the contemporary world. He respected the masses and was always concerned with the interests and wishes of the overwhelming majority of the people. In formulating the Party's line, principles and policies, he always took the criteria of whether they are favorable to developing the productive forces in a socialist society, to increasing the overall national strength of the socialist state, and to raising the living standards of the people as his starting point and the objective. He was farsighted and broadminded and always considered the overall situation in examining and handling major issues. He advocated doing solid work and was decisive in taking action. He demonstrated his greatest courage and wisdom in making important decisions at critical moments. His style as well as his cause and ideas will forever be inscribed in our hearts.

The passing of Comrade Deng is an immeasurable loss to the Party, the army and the people of all our ethnic groups. The Central Committee has called on all Party members, all members of the army and the people of all our ethnic groups to turn grief into strength, carry on the unfinished work of Comrade Deng, and express our mourning by working harder to make even greater achievements.

The theory of building socialism with Chinese characteristics created by Comrade Deng and the Party's basic line formulated in accordance with this theory are a guide to action that we must follow. As we enter the new century, the Party's central collective leadership is strongly determined and confident in holding the great banner of Deng's theory of building socialism with Chinese characteristics even higher and following the Party's basic line even better, and this is the common consensus and joint aspiration of the whole Party, the entire army and the people of all our ethnic groups. We will be even more conscientious in arming ourselves with this theory, build a common understanding, become united in heart and mind, be innovative and creative, overcome all difficulties blocking our path, eliminate interference from erroneous tendencies and adhere to the Party's basic line regardless of the circumstances.

Economic development is the central task in all the activities of the Party and the country. The decision to designate economic development as the central task is the most fundamental action we have taken under Comrade Deng's leadership to place the country back on the right track. In accordance with the teaching of Comrade Deng, we must pay close attention to this central task and make sure that it always comes first and that all our other work serves and is subordinate to it. Development is the absolute principle. The key to seizing opportunities and developing ourselves lies in expanding the economy. We must concentrate all our strength and wisdom, work hard, build our country through frugality, make economic development rely more on advances in science and technology and improvement in the overall quality of the workforce, and promote all-round social progress on the basis of sustained, rapid and sound development of the national economy.

Reform is crucial in order for China to carry out socialist modernization. Comrade Deng drew up a master plan for our comprehensive reform, and we must act in accordance with his teaching by deepening reform to eliminate barriers to the development of the productive forces and continue to make progress in all aspects of our cause. Establishing a social-

ist market economy on the basis of allowing public ownership to remain dominant and diverse economic sectors to develop side by side is a great and unprecedented undertaking. We must continue to deepen economic restructuring on the basis of our achievements, and correspondingly to deepen restructuring in politics and other areas on this basis.

Opening to the outside world is a necessary requirement for China to carry out socialist modernization. Comrade Deng always stressed that today's world is an open one, that China's development is inextricably connected to the rest of the world and that it is crucial for our country to pursue a policy of opening to the outside world while remaining self-reliant. We must follow the teaching of Comrade Deng, soberly assess developments in the world, courageously meet rigorous challenges, adhere to the basic state policy of opening up, open up in multiple directions and at different levels, strive to increase the level of openness, absorb and apply advances made by other countries, including developed capitalist countries, and actively participate in international economic and technological cooperation and competition.

The people's democratic dictatorship that wields state power in China provides a political guarantee for the sound development of our cause. Comrade Deng always paid close attention to the consolidation and development of the people's political power. Following the teaching of Comrade Deng, we must uphold the leadership of the working class, consolidate the worker-farmer alliance, develop the broadest possible patriotic united front, which includes the democratic parties, strengthen the great unity among the people of all our ethnic groups, promote socialist democracy, improve the socialist legal system, institute the rule of law, and constantly work to make the political situation more stable, unified and lively.

The PLA is a pillar of the state. Comrade Deng's military service was an important part of his brilliant career. As Chairman of the Central Military Commission, he determined the orientation and charted the course for the development of the army and national defense in the new period. While concentrating on the overall task of economic development, we must redouble our efforts to make the army more revolutionary, modern and standardized and take the path of fewer but better troops with Chinese characteristics in accordance with the teaching of Comrade Deng so that the army can constantly make further contributions to safeguarding our state sovereignty and security and protecting and participating in socialist development.

We will have socialism with Chinese characteristics only when we make both material progress and cultural and ethical progress. Comrade Deng always stressed that we must pay equal attention to progress in both areas, and that while concentrating on economic development, developing a socialist market economy and opening to the outside world, we must take particular care not to neglect cultural and ethical progress. Following the teaching of Comrade Deng, to achieve the objective of ensuring the people have high ideals, moral integrity, a good education and a strong sense of discipline, we must strive to improve the ideological and moral standards and the scientific and cultural levels of the whole nation, and constantly work for socialist cultural and ethical progress that is guided by Marxism, based on conditions in China and oriented toward the world, and that upholds our fine traditions while being responsive to the demands of the times.

The complete reunification of our motherland is the common aspiration of the entire Chinese nation. Bringing about peaceful reunification under the principle of “one country, two systems” was a great innovation of Comrade Deng’s. We must strive to achieve national reunification on the basis of his teaching. In accordance with the Sino-British and Sino-Portuguese agreements, Hong Kong will soon return to the embrace of the motherland, and Macao will return in 1999. The Taiwan question will eventually be settled, and the complete reunification of the motherland will certainly be achieved.

We need to have a peaceful international environment in order to concentrate our resources on socialist modernization. Comrade Deng scientifically examined changes in the international situation and led us in reformulating our international strategy, adjusting China’s relations with Japan, the United States and the Soviet Union, and developing friendly relations with neighboring countries and other third world countries, thereby creating a new situation in China’s external relations during the new period. We must follow the teaching of Comrade Deng by adhering to an independent foreign policy of peace, actively developing friendly relations with all other countries on the basis of the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence, and making our own contribution to safeguarding world peace, promoting world development, opposing hegemonism and power politics, and establishing a new international political and economic order.

The CPC is the core force leading the building of socialism with Chinese characteristics. Comrade Deng always taught us that the key to the success of all our endeavors lies within the Party. We must follow his teach-

ing by upholding and safeguarding the solidarity and unity of the Party, making a more conscious effort to rally around the Central Committee, and constantly strengthening the Party ideologically and organizationally and improving its work style. We must intensify the anti-corruption campaign. We must build our Party into a Marxist political party armed with the theory of building socialism with Chinese characteristics that serves the people wholeheartedly, is thoroughly consolidated ideologically, politically and organizationally, is able to withstand all types of danger, and always marches in the forefront of the times.

Comrades and Friends,

Since the Party's Fourteenth Congress, the Central Committee has held high the great banner of Deng's theory of building socialism with Chinese characteristics. The Central Committee has also led the whole Party, the entire army and the people of all our ethnic groups in comprehensively following the Party's basic line and seizing opportunities to deepen reform, open wider to the outside world, promote development and maintain stability. Under the leadership of the Central Committee, we have constantly placed equal emphasis on material progress and cultural and ethical progress, while making economic development our central task. The national economy has experienced sustained, rapid and sound development and the objectives for the second step of the three-step strategic plan for development laid out by Comrade Deng were met ahead of schedule. We have also drawn up and begun implementation of the Ninth Five-Year Plan and the Long-Range Objectives Through the Year 2010. We are working hard to complete all our tasks before the convocation of the Party's Fifteenth National Congress.

Comrade Deng has left us forever, but his illustrious name, his feats, his thoughts and his character will go down in history and be inscribed in the hearts of the people for many generations. The whole Party, the entire army and the people of all our ethnic groups will certainly carry on the unfinished work he bequeathed and remain resolute and full of confidence under the strong leadership of the Central Committee as they work toward the great cause of building socialism with Chinese characteristics that he championed, in order to build China into a modern socialist country that is prosperous, strong, democratic, and culturally advanced.

May the memory of Comrade Deng Xiaoping live forever!

¹ Liu Bocheng (1892-1986), a native of Kaixian County, Sichuan Province (now the city of Kaixian, Chongqing), joined the CPC in 1926. He served as a member of the Central Committee and its Political Bureau, Vice Chairman of the Central Military Commission and Vice Chairman of the NPC Standing Committee. During the War of Resistance Against Japanese Aggression and the War of Liberation, Liu served as a military commander and worked for a long time with Deng Xiaoping, who was serving as a political commissar. Liu successively served as commander of the Eighth Route Army's 129th Division and of the PLA's Shanxi-Hebei-Shandong-Henan Field Army, Central Plains Field Army and Second Field Army. He helped lead and direct the creation of the Shanxi-Hebei-Henan and other anti-Japanese base areas, the march of PLA units to the Dabie Mountains, the Huai-Hai Campaign, the Crossing-the-Yangtze Campaign, and the liberation of the southwest.

² "Theoretical Work Needs to Be Oriented Toward Reality," note 2, p. 32, this volume.

³ "Opening Speech at the Twelfth National Congress of the Communist Party of China," *Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping*, Eng. ed., FLP, Beijing, 1994, Vol. III, p. 14.