

Comrade Teng Hsiao-ping delivering the memorial speech.

## Memorial Speech by Vice-Chairman Teng Hsiao-ping

WITH deepest grief, we pay tribute today to the memory of Comrade Chou En-lai, a fine member of the Communist Party of China, a great proletarian revolutionary, an outstanding communist fighter and an eminent, long-tested Party and state leader of the Chinese people.

From the time Comrade Chou En-lai fell ill with cancer in 1972, he received constant and affectionate attention from our great leader Chairman Mao and the Party Central Committee and was given meticulous, many-sided treatment by medical personnel. He persisted in working throughout and waged tenacious struggle against the disease. Comrade Chou En-lai's condition worsened despite all treatment, and his heart ceased to beat at 09:57 hours on January 8, 1976. The whole Party, the whole army and the people throughout our country are deeply grieved at the loss of our Premier.

Comrade Chou En-lai's death is a gigantic loss to our Party, our army and the people of our country, to the cause of China's socialist revolution and construction, to the international cause of opposing imperialism, colonialism and hegemonism, and to the cause of the international communist movement.

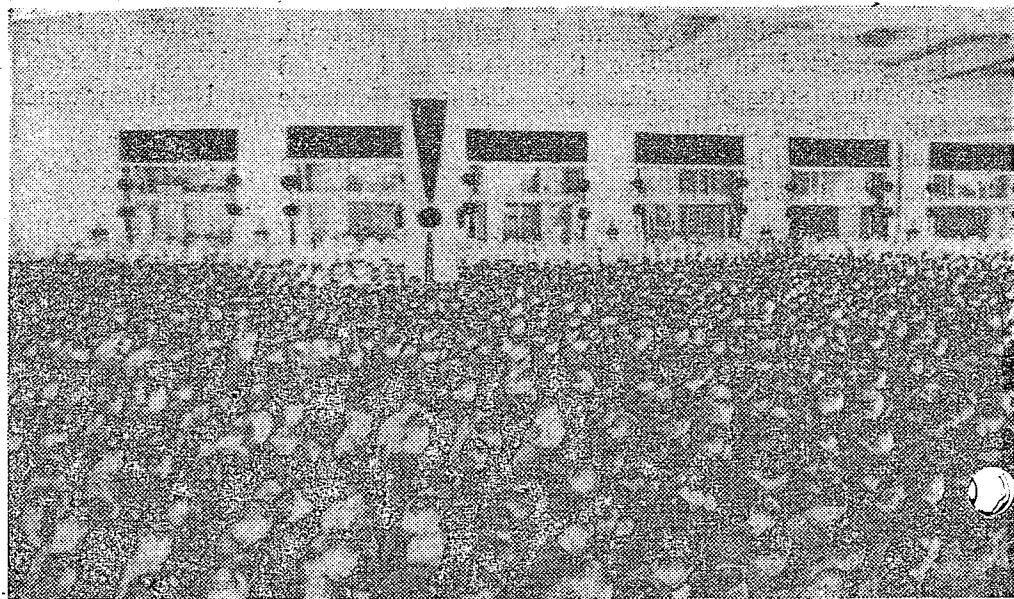
From youth, Comrade Chou En-lai dedicated himself to the cause of the liberation of the Chinese people. He took an active part in the May 4th Movement of 1919, undertaking revolutionary activi-

ties against imperialism and feudalism. Between 1920 and 1924, he studied in France and Germany under a work-study programme and spread Marxism among Chinese students and workers living in Europe. He joined the Communist Party of China in 1922, became Secretary of the European General Branch of the Chinese Communist Youth League and worked in the European General Branch of the Communist Party of China. During the period of the First Revolutionary Civil War, he participated in the Northern Expedition and made important contributions to the overthrow of the reactionary rule of the Northern warlords. From 1924 to 1926, he served successively as Chairman of the Kwangtung-Kwangsi Regional Committee of the Communist Party of China, Director of the Political Department of the Whampoa Military Academy, Director of the Political Department of the First Army of the National Revolutionary Army and Standing Committee Member and concurrently Military Affairs Department Director of the C.P.C. Kwangtung-Kwangsi Regional Committee. He went to Shanghai in the winter of 1926 to work with the Party Central Committee and later became Secretary of the C.P.C. Kiangsu-Chekiang Regional Military Committee and Secretary of the Military Commission of the C.P.C. Central Committee. He was the principal leader of the 1927 Shanghai workers' armed uprisings. After Chiang

Kai-shek and then Wang Ching-wei betrayed the revolution, Comrade Chou En-lai, together with other comrades, led the August 1 Nanchang Uprising to save the revolution; in that uprising he was Secretary of the C.P.C. Front Committee. During the Second Revolutionary Civil War period, he also carried on the Party's underground revolutionary work in Shanghai, served as Director of the Organization Department of the C.P.C. Central Committee and Secretary of the Military Commission of the Party Central Committee and held other posts. After he entered the Central Revolutionary Base Area in Kiangsi in December 1931, he was Secretary of the Central Bureau of the Central Soviet Area, Political Commissar of the First Front Army of the Chinese Workers' and Peasants' Red Army and Vice-Chairman of the Revolutionary Military Commission of the Party Central Committee and held other posts. He remained after the Tsunyi Meeting as Vice-Chairman of the Revolutionary Military Commission of the Party Central Committee under Chairman Mao's leadership and took part in organizing and leading the Chinese Workers' and Peasants' Red Army in its triumphant 25,000-li Long March. When the Sian Incident occurred in December 1936, Comrade Chou En-lai, as the representative with full powers of our Party, held talks with Chiang Kai-shek who was then under arrest. During the negotiations, he firmly carried out Chairman Mao's policy, compelled Chiang Kai-shek to stop the civil war and brought about the peaceful settlement of the Sian Incident, and thus promoted the formation and development of the national united front against Japanese aggression. During the War of Resistance Against Japan, he engaged in united front work in the Kuomintang areas and led the work of the Party organizations there as the representative of the Party Central Committee and Secretary of its Southern Bureau. Stationed for a long time in Chungking, then the seat of the Kuomintang government, he was fearless in the face of danger, firmly adhered to Chairman Mao's policies and fought heroically against the Kuomintang's counter-revolutionary policy of being passive in resisting Japan but active in anti-communism. In August 1945, during the early period of the Third Revolutionary Civil War, he accompanied Chairman Mao to Chungking for negotiations with the Kuomintang. After

the signing of the "October 10th Agreements," he, as leader of the C.P.C. delegation, continued to wage tit-for-tat struggle against the U.S.-Chiang reactionaries in Chungking and Nanking. Comrade Chou En-lai returned to Yanan from Nanking in November 1946. When the Chiang Kai-shek forces launched massive attacks on the Shensi-Kansu-Ningsia Border Region in March 1947, Comrade Chou En-lai remained in northern Shensi with Chairman Mao and took part in directing the People's Liberation War. During the new historical period in China of socialist revolution and proletarian dictatorship, Comrade Chou En-lai was Premier of the Government of the People's Republic of China from the time of its founding and for a period was concurrently Minister of Foreign Affairs; he was Vice-Chairman of the Military Commission of the C.P.C. Central Committee, Vice-Chairman of the First National Committee of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference and Chairman of its Second and Third National Committees. He was also elected a Deputy to the First, Second, Third and Fourth National People's Congresses.

Comrade Chou En-lai was elected to the Central Committee at the fifth and all subsequent National Congresses of the Party. He was elected Alternate Member of the Political Bureau at the August 7, 1927, meeting of the Central Committee. Starting with the Party's Sixth National Congress, he was elected uninterruptedly to full membership in the Political Bureau of the Central Committee. Comrade Chou En-lai was elected Secretary of the Secretariat of the Central Committee at the Fifth Plenary Session of the Sixth Central Committee and at the First Plenary Session of the Seventh Central Committee of the Party. He was elected a Member of



At the memorial ceremony.

the Standing Committee of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee at the First Plenary Session of the Eighth, the Ninth and the Tenth Central Committee of the Party. He was elected Vice-Chairman of the Central Committee at the First Plenary Session of the Eighth and the Tenth Central Committee of the Party.

Comrade Chou En-lai was loyal to the Party and the people. Fighting heroically and working with utter devotion, he selflessly dedicated all his energies throughout his life to the implementation of Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line and to the victory of the liberation of the Chinese people and the cause of communism. Under the leadership of Chairman Mao, Comrade Chou En-lai made indelible contributions and performed immortal services in the building and development of the Marxist Communist Party of China; in the building and development of our invincible people's army; in the bringing of the new-democratic revolution to victory and the founding of the socialist New China; in the consolidation of the great unity of the people of all nationalities led by the working class and based on the worker-peasant alliance and in the development of the revolutionary united front; in the struggle for the victory of the socialist revolution and construction and the victory of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution and the movement to criticize Lin Biao and Confucius, and in the consolidation of the proletarian dictatorship in our country. The whole Party, the whole army and the people of the whole country love him and respect him from the bottom of their hearts.

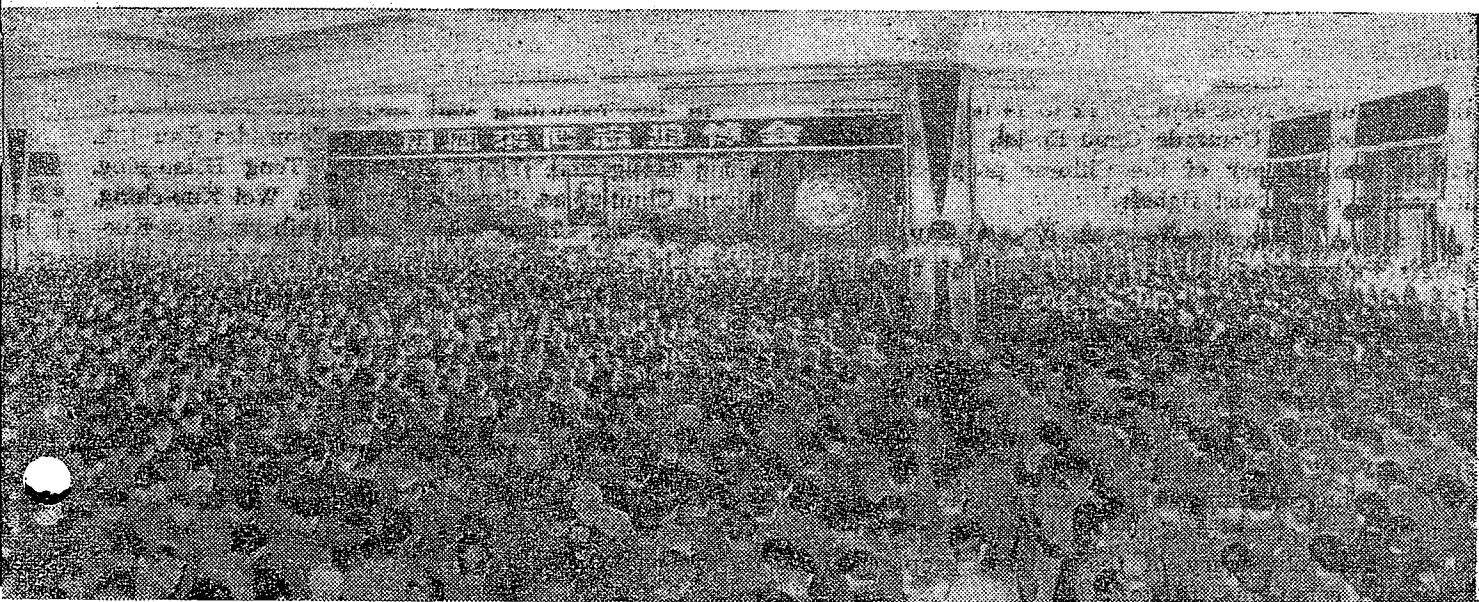
Internationally, Comrade Chou En-lai resolutely implemented Chairman Mao's revolutionary line in foreign affairs and upheld proletarian internationalism. He made outstanding and indelible contribu-

tions as well in strengthening the unity of our Party with Marxist-Leninist Parties and organizations in other countries, in combating modern revisionism and in promoting the development of the international communist movement; in strengthening the unity of our people with the people of other countries, especially those of the third world, in striving to establish and develop relations with all other countries on the basis of the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence, in uniting with all forces in the world that can be united with and in carrying out the struggle against imperialism and social-imperialism. He won the respect and admiration of the people of the world.

Comrade Chou En-lai's life was one of glorious struggle for the cause of communism and one of continuing the revolution with perseverance. He is an example that the whole Party, the whole army and the people of the whole country should learn from.

In mourning Comrade Chou En-lai, we should learn from his boundless loyalty to Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought. He loved and revered our great leader Chairman Mao wholeheartedly, safeguarded Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line resolutely, persevered in continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat and in combating and preventing revisionism, and fought all his life for the realization of the great ideal of communism.

We should learn from his noble quality of serving the people wholeheartedly. Under the leadership of Chairman Mao and the Party Central Committee, Comrade Chou En-lai undertook the arduous day-to-day tasks of the Party and the state. He was always diligent and conscientious, hard-working and uncomplaining, indefatigable and selfless in working for the interests of the people of China and the world.



We should learn from his staunchness in fighting the enemy. No matter how ruthless the white terror, how fierce the armed struggle and how sharp the battle in face-to-face negotiations with the enemy, he was daring regardless of personal danger, brilliant and resourceful, brave, steadfast, calm and fully confident of victory.

We should learn from his strong proletarian Party spirit. He was open and aboveboard, paid attention to the interests of the whole, observed Party discipline, was strict in "dissecting" himself and good at uniting the mass of cadres, and upheld the unity and solidarity of the Party. He maintained broad and close ties with the masses and showed boundless warmheartedness toward all comrades and the people. He resolutely implemented the principle of the three-in-one combination of old, middle-aged and young cadres, and ardently supported the new forces and new things that emerged during the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution.

We should learn from his fine style — being modest and prudent, unassuming and approachable, setting an example by his conduct, and living in a plain and hard-working way. We should follow his example of adhering to the proletarian style of life and opposing the bourgeois style of life.

We should learn from his revolutionary tenacity in fighting illness. While he was ill, he constantly studied and implemented Chairman Mao's principles and policies and kept on studying works by Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin and by Chairman Mao. Even when his condition became very grave, he attentively listened to several readings of the two brilliant poems of Chairman Mao published on New Year's Day. This fully showed his indomitable revolutionary spirit.

Comrade Chou En-lai, a great revolutionary fighter of the Chinese people, has left us for ever. We should turn our grief into strength. Under the leadership of the Party Central Committee headed by Chairman Mao, we should unite as one, take class struggle as the key link, conscientiously study the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat, keep to the Party's basic line, persevere in continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat, adhere to Chairman Mao's revolutionary line and policies in foreign affairs, consolidate and develop the victories of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat, combat and prevent revisionism, and strive to build China into a powerful modern socialist country and bring the cause of communism to triumph.

Unite to win still greater victories!