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IN YOUR WORDS

Cease-fire plan for Ukraine

Let's hope (and pray) that this agreement holds and that it leads to a permanent peace agreement. Let us in the West also reflect that the fault in this situation is not entirely Russia's. The steady, ill-advised expansion of NATO was a huge error, and we must also play a role in calming tensions. Maybe it's time again for a little "détente."

ALLNEWS57, GERMANY

Damned if we do, and damned if we don't. I say decline on military support and sanction the whole Russian elite to the wall. It hurts my heart to say no to military support, as I cry for the Ukrainian people and their struggle. But such support will only reinforce Putin's grip on the Russian people and the destruction of the Ukrainian nation.

BARRY LANE, QUEBEC

I foresee this ending up just as the first Minsk meeting did. It will be followed by the "rebels" (i.e., Russians) attacking again and claiming that the Ukrainians broke the cease-fire. Europe and the U.S. need to raise the stakes. Basically, they need negotiating chips with Putin: a real threat of kicking him out of Swift, actually tough sanctions, and heavy weapons to the Ukrainians.

SOPHIE, PHILADELPHIA

Pushback on licenses for migrants

This is brutal politics. The U.S. needs immigrant labor, but one of its political parties cultivates and benefits from anti-immigrant demagoguery and voting. Decent human beings are caught in the middle.

MARK, ALBUQUERQUE

Our country is being endlessly flooded by illegal immigrants. We desperately need a president who is going to truly secure our border.

IN DISBELIEF, MANHATTAN

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IN OUR PAGES

International Herald Tribune

1915 Wilson Sends Berlin Ultimatum

LONDON In a firm, but respectful, message, President Wilson has notified Berlin that the sinking of an American ship by a German war vessel will constrain the American Government to hold the German Government to strict account, and to take any steps necessary to safeguard American life and property. The Note to Germany reminds the Imperial Government that "the sole right of belligerents is limited to visit and search unless a blockade is effectively maintained — which this Government does not understand is proposed in this case."

1965 Leftists Chant at U.S. Embassy

PARIS About 1,000 Communist-led demonstrators got through a heavy police cordon today [Feb. 12] to demonstrate near the American embassy. Chanting "Johnson Assassin," "U.S. Assassin" and "Peace in Vietnam," they were kept moving by the police and did not get closer to the embassy than 150 yards. There were about 200 arrests. A number of large groups were broken up by police before they reached their objective, the Place de la Concorde, near the embassy. A number of minor scuffles took place in the side streets. But, as a whole, the crowd did not seem to be looking for a fight and the police exercised a great deal of restraint.

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Personal juxtapositions



PHOTOGRAPHS BY DANIEL W. COBURN



ALL IN THE FAMILY Daniel W. Coburn is a Kansas-based photographer whose focus has been the family album and its role in portraying a narrative of the American dream. His 10 years of work on this theme led to "The Hereditary

Estate," his first major monograph, published this year by Kehrer Verlag. In images not often associated with family albums, Mr. Coburn offers his own personal interpretation of this social artifact. Exhibitions of his photographs are

scheduled at the Mulvane Art Museum in Topeka, Kan., through March 21; at the Lot 21 Gallery in San Francisco from March 26; and by the Griffin Museum of Photography in Winchester, Mass., from June 4 to Aug. 23.

Deng Liqun, divisive Communist Party official, dies at 99

HONG KONG

BY CHRIS BUCKLEY

He was as obstinate as a Hunan mule, the Chinese leader Deng Xiaoping said. China's reformist officials and liberal intellectuals came to detest him, and he often fought them with equal venom.

Deng Liqun, who died on Tuesday in Beijing at 99, was a senior Communist

OBITUARY

Party propaganda and ideology official who began the 1980s as a powerful proponent of change, yet became one of the most vehement and divisive foes of China's liberalization. His death, after many years spent bedridden, was reported by Xinhua, the state news agency.

The Xinhua announcement eulogized Mr. Deng as an "outstanding leader on the party's front line of thought, theory and propaganda." But that was euphemism for a staunch traditionalist whose legacy can be detected in the party's revival of Leninist and Maoist rhetoric.

"He was a representative of the left, and I think that reflected his real beliefs; it wasn't seeking personal materi-

al gain," Yang Jisheng, a historian in Beijing who has written an account of Chinese politics in the 1980s, said in a telephone interview.

"He supported the reforms, like the rural reforms," Mr. Yang said, "until he felt reform and opening went too far, and then he was a stubborn defender of the planned economy and leftist ideology."

Mr. Deng shared a surname with Deng Xiaoping, who oversaw China's post-Mao thaw, but they were not relatives, and Deng Liqun came to believe that the senior Mr. Deng's liberal protégés had strayed perilously far from Marxist-Leninist orthodoxy. Deng Liqun's career in the 1980s hinged on confrontations with the more moderate leaders, especially Hu Yaobang and Zhao Ziyang.

"China has an old saying: Good deeds are answered with good, and bad are answered with bad," Deng Liqun wrote in his memoirs. Mr. Zhao, he said, "got his retribution in the political tumult of 1989," when he was purged and the army crushed pro-democracy demonstrations.

Mr. Deng's critics believed that he also got at least part of what he deserved. His conservative patron, Wang Zhen, nursed hopes that Mr. Deng could climb higher in the leadership, said Mr. Yang, the his-

torian. Instead, his feuding made him unpopular with many officials. At a party congress in 1987, conservative lobbying to win Mr. Deng a promotion backfired, and, to widespread astonishment, he failed to win enough votes for a seat on even the Central Committee, a relatively junior leadership body.

Mr. Deng was not always cast as a hidebound traditionalist. In the late 1970s, he was one of the early proponents of loosening commune controls over farmers and other concessions to overcome the malaise of Mao's last years.

Mr. Deng was born in Hunan Province in southern China, the son of a wealthy, educated landowner. He went to high school in Beijing, where he joined the Communist Party in 1936, and after a few months studying economics at Peking University, he dedicated himself to student activism and then journeyed to Yan'an, Mao's base. He rose through the party's ideological apparatus and became a deputy editor in chief of Red Flag, the party's main doctrinal journal.

Toward the end of the Cultural Revolution, Mr. Deng became an important aide of Deng Xiaoping in 1975, when the senior Deng was brought back from political banishment by Mao to shore up the econ-

omy. Both men were again thrown from power in a leftist backlash. The younger Deng steadfastly refused to criticize Deng Xiaoping, and "Old Deng," grateful for the support, kept "little Deng" by his side when he returned to power in 1977. Deng Liqun helped write speeches and provided the Marxist arguments for measured economic adjustments.

But in the 1980s, as those adjustments expanded into demands for bolder economic and political liberalization, Mr. Deng recoiled. He warned that further liberalization would sap the party's strength, and backed a campaign against "spiritual pollution" that alarmed intellectuals and reformist officials.

Deng Xiaoping also had second thoughts. He "said Deng Liqun was very stubborn, like a Hunan mule," Mr. Zhao wrote in his memoirs.

In 1985, Deng Liqun lost his job as head of the party's Department of Propaganda to a more liberal successor. But he kept a powerful foothold in policymaking, and for the years that followed, he engaged in constant battles with liberal officials.

After the People's Liberation Army quelled pro-democracy protests in 1989 and Mr. Zhao and other more liberal leaders were purged from power, Deng

Liqun claimed vindication and spent the rest of his active life encouraging a return to Marxist-Leninist orthodoxy.

"For many years the Marxist doctrine of class struggle and the theory of class analysis have been spurned, even distorted, insulted and attacked," he said in a speech in August 1989. "We dismantled our own ideological weapons."

In the 1990s, Mr. Deng founded a party history research institute and supported Marxist traditionalists who opposed China's renewed embrace of economic liberalization. He also wrote his memoirs.

Mr. Deng's wife, Luo Liyun, died four years ago, said Warren Sun, a historian of the Chinese Communist Party at Monash University in Melbourne, Australia, who spoke to one of Mr. Deng's aides after his death. Their son, Deng Yingtao, died in 2012, and Mr. Deng is survived by Luo Xiaoyun, a daughter from that marriage, and by two daughters from a much earlier marriage that ended in divorce, Mr. Sun said in a telephone interview.

"Symbolically, he probably can be viewed as the last fighter for orthodox Marxism-Leninism," Mr. Sun said. "He really conceived of himself as the only one who would defend Communism."

Donor base may present peril to Bush

Letter from America

DEREK WILLIS

The best way to see the threat that Scott Walker, the Wisconsin governor, poses to Jeb Bush in the Republican presidential race is to look at Mr. Walker's donors.

They extend far beyond Wisconsin, in large part because of the 2012 recall

The Upshot

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election that made Mr. Walker a nationwide conservative hero. Many of Mr. Walker's biggest donors are deeply conservative, giving him an opportunity to emerge as an alternative to the more moderate Mr. Bush. They also include many small-money donors, a group that many national Republicans have struggled to attract.

Mr. Walker had always attracted like-minded conservative donors, but mostly from Wisconsin. The recall vastly expanded that fund-raising base because it was seen as a chance to beat back a union-led effort.

He received some very large contributions, including seven donations of \$250,000 each, thanks to Wisconsin's rules for recall elections.

Mr. Walker's recall coffers swelled with the help of some familiar Republican donors: Sheldon Adelson, the Nevada casino magnate (\$250,000); Richard DeVos, the Amway co-founder and owner of the Orlando Magic basketball team (\$250,000); and Bob Perry, the Texas home builder who died in 2013 (\$490,000).

Mr. Adelson helped sustain a super PAC supporting Newt Gingrich's 2012 campaign, while Foster Friess, a Wyoming investor who donated \$114,600, helped bankroll a super PAC backing Rick Santorum's presidential campaign that year.

Mr. Walker's list displays a cross section of stalwart Republican donors, from Texas energy company executives to the chief executives of Midwestern financial services companies. He received \$1.9 million from California donors in 2012, and at least \$1 million from donors in Florida, Texas, Illinois and New York that year, records from Wisconsin's Government Accountability Board show.

That financial support does not appear to be a one-time thing. During his 2014 re-election campaign, he received less money from outside Wisconsin, but he still got \$1.3 million from Californians and \$1.2 million from Texans.

All this suggests considerable fund-raising room to the right of Mr. Bush during the so-called invisible primary, when candidates line up donors.

Mr. Walker is considered one of the more conservative potential candidates, while Mr. Bush is considered a moderate among Republicans. Crowd-pac, which compiles ideological scores of candidates, rated Mr. Walker at 7.8, while pegging Mr. Bush at 4.2.

The only potential candidates with higher scores are Rand Paul, the Kentucky senator, and Ted Cruz, the Texas senator. Because Crowd-pac scores rely heavily on a politician's donors, Mr. Walker's existing base is solidly conservative. Although it might be tempting to think that the recall donors shifted Mr. Walker's score to the right, the data doesn't indicate a large change, said Adam Bonica, a Stanford political scientist and Crowd-pac co-founder.

What especially sets Mr. Walker apart from many other Republican candidates is his ability to connect with the small donor. Why would that matter when he can persuade wealthy people to make large donations?

In the 2012 presidential election, Barack Obama and Mitt Romney raised roughly the same amount of money from individuals who gave at least \$1,000. But Mr. Obama had the money advantage because he could also tap a larger pot of money from small-dollar donors. Mr. Romney got just 12 percent, or \$57.5 million, of his \$470 million from people who gave less than \$200, according to the Campaign Finance Institute. Mr. Obama's campaign got \$218 million in similarly sized contributions.

Of the \$2.5 million raised by Mr. Walker from California and Texas last year, 35 percent came in contributions of less than \$200. More than half of the money came in contributions of \$500 or less. In his three governor's elections, about one-third of Mr. Walker's money came in donations of less than \$200.

Competing with Democrats in small-dollar contributions has become more important for Republicans as the ease of giving money online has increased.

Mr. Bush, a former Florida governor, has some fund-raising advantages as well. Florida has many wealthy political donors, and the Bush family's fund-raising network has a reach far beyond the Sunshine State. But he last raised money for his own campaigns in 2002, before donating online was common.