



The Structuration of Revisionism in Great Revolutions: A Comparative Study of France, Russia, and China

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ABSTRACT

Objective: The present study aims to introduce and examine revisionism in the world's great revolutions.

Method: Using a comparative study method and within the theoretical framework of Giddens' "Structuration," we examine the interaction of "Agency" and "Structure" that leads to the formation of revisionism in these revolutions.

Results: The study of these revolutions shows that the trend of revisionism forms and strengthens when, firstly, the agency of the people decreases and the agency of those in power increases; and secondly, egalitarianism as a structure is weakened and the structure of power-seeking becomes prominent. In the French Revolution, power-seeking politicians had agency, and the prevailing structure of elitism led to revisionism. In the Russian Revolution, when monopoly became the dominant pattern of social communication, a new class took power, and revision of revolutionary ideals and methods occurred. The Chinese Revolution experienced revisionism when technocrats gained agency and developmentalism became the dominant structure.

Conclusions: The article suggests that to reduce the potential for revisionism in revolutionary systems, it is necessary to maintain and strengthen the presence and influence of the people in the political arena. Additionally, various tools should be employed to weaken the structure and pattern of power-seeking among revolutionary politicians.

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Introduction

"Revisionism" is a concept opposed to "Remaining Revolutionary." This term carries a negative value judgment and, in practice, becomes a derogatory word. Therefore, an individual labeled a revisionist by revolutionaries is branded with betrayal and opportunism. Few individuals would call themselves revisionists or accept this label.

In the literature of political science, "Reformism" is also used in opposition to being revolutionary; however, we must be careful not to conflate these two concepts. Reformism and revisionism have similarities and differences in the intellectual and political spheres (Fletcher, 1988: 360). Revisionism lies in wait for all revolutions, and understanding this blight is essential for preserving the revolutionary path. The Islamic Revolution of Iran also faces this phenomenon and can be threatened by it. This paper attempts to derive a model for this phenomenon by reviewing revisionism in the world's major revolutions to aid in the protection of the Islamic Revolution of Iran.

This research uses library resources for data collection and the "Comparative Method" for data analysis. In the comparative method, macro-social units over a specific period are compared using secondary data. Comparative research typically compares macro-phenomena across different countries. In this study, the units of analysis are the revolutions of France, Russia, and China, and the aim is to examine the interaction of "Agency" and "structure" in these revolutions that leads to the formation of the phenomenon of revisionism and a retreat from the revolution.

1. Theoretical Foundations

This article examines the topic of revisionism within the theoretical framework of Anthony Giddens' "Structuration." Various theories sometimes favor the "Agent" and at other times consider "Structure" as the main factor in social transformations. Giddens, moving beyond this dichotomy, introduces the theory of structuration. The theory of structuration seeks to reveal the dialectical and dual reciprocal relationship between agency and structure. According to Giddens, every social action involves structure, and every structure requires social action. Therefore, agency and structure are inseparably intertwined in daily activities. He believes that agency and structure are not two separate existing phenomena but rather exhibit a dual unity (Tahmasebi et al., 2018 AD/1397 SH: 396).

One of the main goals of structuration theory is to overcome the opposition between the individual and society in social theory; that is, to replace it with a model that attends to their mutual interweaving (Giddens, 1991: 202). The "Hermeneutic" and "Subjectivist" approaches are built on the empire of the mind, while "Functionalism" and "Structuralism" support the sovereignty of social objectivity. Giddens wants to end this conflict. In structuration theory, the main field of study for the social sciences is not the experience of the individual actor, nor the existence of any form of social totality, but rather the social practices ordered across time and space (Giddens, 1984: 2). Among the wide range of sociological theories, from individualistic and interpretive sociology to functional and structural sociology, structuration theory should be considered an intermediate theory that neither votes for the absolute primacy of the agent nor considers structure as the dominant ruler over the agent (Pirbabaei and Iranshahi, 2021 AD/1400 SH: 229).

In Giddens' view, the issue is not about the primacy of structure or the independence of the agent. He believes that phenomena are the result of the direct and mutual influence of the agent and structure. This process originates from both the context and the actor; both elements constitute each other (Bagheri Dolatabadi and Fakhraei, 2018 AD/1397 SH: 5). Giddens states: "Every social action involves a structure, and every structure requires social action; therefore, agency and structure are inseparably intertwined in everyday activity." (Aghamohammadi, 2011 AD/1390 SH: 14) In his view, structure and agent are two sides of the same coin, between which there is a flow of mutual dependence and internal connection (Nouri Asl et al., 2016 AD/1395 SH: 156). "Agents draw upon rules and resources in diverse contexts of action, but these rules and resources are also the means of reproduction of the social structure." (Giddens, 1979: 66)

1.1. Agency

According to Giddens, the concept of action lacks sufficient capacity to refer to human conduct in social life, and this issue must be expressed with another concept. For this reason, Giddens uses the concept of "Agency." He says: "The concept of agency, as I use it, refers to the continuous flow of action; a flow through which social actors sustain social interactions." (Giddens, 1976: 75) Agency is a relative characteristic. An individual can possess this quality to varying degrees, more or less. Some individuals, due to reasons such as their position in the social system, skills, talents, etc., have more agency than others (Lakzaei, 2010 AD/1389 SH:

77). Agency primarily means the ability of individuals to perform actions. This is why agency implies power. Agency relates to events for which an individual is responsible, in the sense that the individual could have acted differently at any stage (Lakzaei, 2010 AD/1389 SH: 78). In structuration theory, we are not concerned with the intentions of actors, but rather with what they do in practice (Siddiqi, 2010 AD/1389 SH: 150). With this in mind, in examining the phenomenon of revisionism, we will not focus on the intentions of the agents. Instead, the intended and unintended consequences of their actions will be considered. For example, technocrats were likely not seeking to overthrow the revolution, but the result of their actions and governance is the weakening of the revolution and the intensification of the revisionist trend.

1.2. Structure

According to Giddens, structure is the pattern of social relations (Lakzaei, 2010 AD/1389 SH: 79). Giddens does not believe in the metaphysical existence of structures, as did thinkers like Freud, Lacan, Strauss, Marx, Durkheim, and Saussure. He generally believes that the social system does not have a structure but rather exhibits structural properties. In fact, from his perspective, social systems that provide the context for social practices and give order to the relations of agents do not possess structure in and of themselves, independent of the agents and their social conduct. Rather, they become structured through the repetition of agents' conduct in different temporal and spatial conditions, which is why this theory is called structuration theory (Siddiqi, 2010 AD/1389 SH: 152).

One of the core concepts of Giddens' theory is the duality of structure. The duality of structure means that social structures simultaneously affect action and are the result of human action. Action and structure must be seen as a duality (Giddens, 1983: 75-80). Structure exists where people perform actions under certain conditions, either consciously or unconsciously (Lakzaei, 2010 AD/1389 SH: 83). Giddens distinguishes between system and structure. A system is observable to all, and everyone provides a more or less identical account of it, but this is not the case with structure. Structure is an analytical category that the sociologist imposes on the system, and therefore, different sociologists may impose different structures on the same systems. For example, everyone observes that when several Iranians reach a doorway, they do not pass through first themselves but ask others to go first (the system). Observing this fixed pattern, one might conclude that the structural rule this pattern follows is

that passing through the door is considered dangerous by them; another might attribute it to the rule of

Ta'arof (ceremonious politeness); another person, using an anthropological method, might consider passing through the door to be unlucky in the eyes of Iranians (Siddiqi, 2010 AD/1389 SH: 153).

For Giddens, social structures refer to two concepts: rules and resources. In other words, structures are composed of constraints (rules) that enable agents (resources). This duality can be observed, for example, in language. On one hand, language has rules that are binding for its users and, on the other, provides words that enable users to speak and communicate. This contrasts with structuralist views that attribute only a constraining character to structures; thus, "structure is simultaneously both enabling and constraining." (Giddens, 1984: 169)

2. Literature Review

Despite its importance, the topic of revisionism in revolutions has received little attention. However, some works and research can be found in this area. The book

Typology of Revisionism is organized within the theoretical framework of Karl Mannheim, focusing on ideology and utopia (Radadi, 2023 AD/1402 SH). The author identifies and introduces the major revisionist currents in the Islamic Republic. Prior to this book, Olfatpour had addressed the causes and factors of revisionism in his work. He centered his discussion on the events of 2009 AD/1388 SH and delved into the personalities of revisionist elements (Olfatpour, 2014 AD/1393 SH).

Another important source written on revisionism in the Islamic Revolution is

Revisionist Reformists..., which specifically focuses on reformists. The author distinguishes between reformism and revisionism and examines the roots of revisionism within a segment of the reformists (Amiri, 2007 AD/1386 SH). In the field of revisionism, the Borhan Think Tank published a book examining the secular and revisionist turn of some radical reformists (Borhan Think Tank, 2018 AD/1397 SH). The Basij Student Organization has also published a book to understand and analyze revisionism (Akhavan and Shahnazari, 2009 AD/1388 SH). These last two books have a weaker theoretical basis and are written with a practical approach.

The aforementioned sources have examined revisionism during the period of the Islamic Revolution. However, Anvar Khamei wrote a book about revisionism among Marxists

(Khomei, 2002 AD/1381 SH), which shows that revisionism was a significant current within Marxism. It is clear that little research has been conducted on revisionism. Furthermore, a comparative perspective is lacking, and the commonalities of revisionism in the world's major revolutions have not been addressed. This article attempts to extract a model of revisionism through a comparative lens.

This article uses the "Structuration" theoretical framework. It is worth noting that other authors have previously used this framework for revolution studies. For example, one article attempted to compare the structuration of the Islamic Revolution of Iran and the Egyptian Revolution based on this theory (Sahami et al., 2018 AD/1397 SH).

3. Conceptualizing Revisionism

When we speak of revisionism, we mean questioning the "Ideas and Goals" of the revolution. Revisionism occurs when individuals turn back from their former intellectual-political beliefs and path and move in an opposing direction. Typically, revisionism is meaningful in relation to very important intellectual-political matters; minor and temporary changes are not called revisionism. Revisionism can be defined as: the revision and rejection of established and inviolable revolutionary principles by individuals who were considered revolutionaries.

With this description, it becomes clear that we do not call every type of rethinking, course correction, method change, or tactical retreat revisionism; rather, we define revisionism only as the abandonment of established and unquestionable revolutionary principles and beliefs. Moreover, revisionism occurs among revolutionary individuals; those who were anti-revolution from the beginning do not fall within the scope of revisionism.

The most potent use of the term "Revisionism" was for Eduard Bernstein and his followers, who, in the late nineteenth century, deviated from Marxist thought and chose social democracy (Fletcher, 1988: 347). Bernstein attempted to revise some of the most important tenets of Marx, rejecting the labor theory of value, economic determinism, and the concept of class struggle. Although the most significant application of revisionism is in the domain of Marxist thought, if we focus on the concept of revisionism rather than the word itself, we can find more revisionist beliefs and behaviors throughout history. Such events are not unprecedented, especially in the great revolutions of the world. Reviewing this type of revisionism is useful because it shows that revisionism in the Islamic Revolution is not a

unique or strange phenomenon; almost all the world's revolutions have nurtured revisionism within them.

The hypothesis of this research is that the trend of revisionism in revolutions takes shape when two processes occur simultaneously:

- The agency of the people decreases while the agency of those in power increases;
- In the revolutionary society, egalitarianism fades, and in parallel, the structure of power-seeking increases.

4. Revisionism in the French Revolution

The French Revolution was formed against the dictatorship of the monarchy, with the goal of setting aside the "Aristocracy" and achieving "Liberty, equality, and fraternity" for the common people of society. After the revolution, a parliament was formed, and the people, by establishing a republic, tried to play a more effective role in running the country; however, after a short time, the power of the revolutionaries and the people began to wane. With the rise of "Napoleon Bonaparte," whatever remained of the revolution's ideals was destroyed, leaving only a shell and a name of the revolution. During his time, the legislative assemblies of France passed a bill establishing Napoleon's empire (Durant & Durant, 1997 AD/1376 SH: 249), which signified a complete return from the revolution's ideals.

4.1. Agency

In the French Revolution, the people were gradually pushed out of the scene, and power became monopolized by politicians. For example, on August 22, 1795, the French Constitution, known as the Constitution of Year III, was approved, placing executive power in the hands of a five-person group called the Directory. According to this law, the universal suffrage that existed in the revolutionary constitution was abolished, and only property owners had the right to vote in elections. One representative, justifying the violation of equality in the new constitution, said: "Absolute equality is an illusion... We must be governed by the best... Therefore, you must guarantee the political rights of the wealthy... and refuse to grant unconditional political rights to men without property." (Kurzin, 2019 AD/1398 SH: 137)

It seems that the people themselves had consented to the reduction of their agency. For this reason, when a vote was held to transform the republic into an empire, 3.5 million French people were in favor, and only 2,500 opposed the destruction of the republic (Durant and Durant, 1997 AD/1376 SH: 249). After the people were excluded from the political and governing scene, power-seeking politicians gained agency. At the head of these individuals was Napoleon Bonaparte, who ruled in complete opposition to the ideals of the French Revolution. In any case, Napoleon's dictatorial government was established, which was considered a retreat from the revolution's ideals and revisionism (Palmer, 2005 AD/1384 SH: 1, 648). Napoleon did not call the French people "Citizens" but referred to them as "my subjects." (Durant and Durant, 1997 AD/1376 SH: 250) After becoming emperor, he issued a general amnesty and invited all royalists and counter-revolutionaries to return to the country, because his sole aim was to rule (Palmer, 2005 AD/1384 SH: 1, 650).

4.2. Structure

The norms that existed in French society led to the structuration of elements that prepared the ground for revisionism in the revolution. One of these structures was the "People's desire for comfort" resulting from disillusionment and fatigue. The revolutionary people of France were on the streets for five years, striving to establish equality and freedom, but in the end, they found themselves entangled in a chaotic economic, political, religious, and moral situation: blockaded ports, roads controlled by bandits, an empty treasury, suspended public education, religion and priests under pressure, and families shattered by sexual freedom, divorce, and unstable marriages (Grenoble, 1999 AD/1378 SH: 2, 1147). This situation made them doubt the ideals of the revolution. Consequently, they distanced themselves from politics. In fact, the fatigue and declining interest of the people in politics and their inclination towards pleasure-seeking caused the social roots of the revolution to weaken (Kurzin, 2019 AD/1398 SH: 139).

Simultaneously with the decline of popular agency, politicians gained more power and even tended towards aristocracy. Josephine, Napoleon's mistress, appeared at operas and on the streets so adorned with jewels and in such a magnificent carriage that she was reminiscent of Queen Marie Antoinette, who was hated by the people at the time (Palmer, 2005 AD/1384 SH: 1, 247). Aristocratic titles such as "Grand Keeper of the Seals," "Grand Chamberlain," "Grand Master of Ceremonies," and "Grand Huntsman," which belonged to the monarchical

era, were revived, and extraordinary financial benefits were allocated for each of the holders of these aristocratic titles (Hakimi, 1988 AD/1367 SH: 84). Napoleon tried to cultivate a completely obedient populace. Therefore, a new educational system was formed under government supervision, with the aim of creating blind obedience to the emperor (Hakimi, 1988 AD/1367 SH: 83). In this educational system, there was heavy supervision over the teaching of philosophy and history, and sometimes these subjects were banned altogether (Palmer, 2005 AD/1384 SH: 888). In effect, the structures were organized in a way that would lead to revisionism and the distancing of the people from the ideals of the revolution.

5. Revisionism in the Russian Revolution

The Russian Revolution, led by the Bolshevik Party, triumphed in October 1917. The Tsarist regime, which in addition to its inefficiency in governing the country had placed a heavy financial burden on peasants and workers due to its participation in World War I, fell during the revolution. Lenin, as the leader of the revolution, declared a communist government in Russia. The plan was for the will of the people to govern the country after the revolution. However, gradually, the Soviet government distanced itself from its revolutionary nature. The new Russian government gradually took the form of a dictatorship based on the monopoly and power-seeking of the Bolsheviks. In this respect, a form of revisionism can be seen in the Soviet Union. According to many Marxists worldwide, such as European and Chinese Marxists, the power-seeking and party dictatorship in the Soviet Union was a form of deviation and revisionism. Mao, the leader of the Chinese people, called Khrushchev a revisionist and believed that the Soviet Union had abandoned socialism and adopted a "Social-bourgeois" system (Kolaei, 1998 AD/1377 SH: 271).

5.1. Agency

The role of agency in the revisionism of Soviet Marxists was evident. The fluctuation of two types of agencies caused the revolution in the Soviet Union to stall and a revisionist trend to emerge within the ruling structure:

- 1) **Technocrats:** After the revolutionary system in the Soviet Union was consolidated, bureaucrats and technocrats gained the most influence and power. These bureaucratic managers had lost their faith and belief in Marxism and the principles of the revolution

(Rahimkhani, 2000 AD/1379 SH: 73) and served merely to maintain their welfare, benefits, and privileged positions (Vaezi, 2000 AD/1379 SH: 24). Marxist ideology became a tool to persuade the people to obey the ruling authorities (Kolaei, 1998 AD/1377 SH: 191). According to Lenin's directive, party members were not to receive more than one and a half times the prescribed salary. Furthermore, private apartments for party members were forbidden. But from the 1930s onwards, as inflation increased in the Soviet Union, this directive was ignored, and high-ranking officials received exorbitant salaries and benefits. According to reports, special stores were established for this small group, selling goods to them at fixed prices (Rahimkhani, 2000 AD/1379 SH: 74). In addition, these individuals benefited from exclusive hospitals, special resorts, and so on (Medvedev, 1981 AD/1360 SH: 736). To cover up these astronomical salaries, amounts exceeding their official salaries were given in envelopes at party and government gatherings, often exceeding their actual salaries (Medvedev, 1981 AD/1360 SH: 737). None of this behavior was compatible with the revolution.

- 2) **The People:** As the agency of technocratic officials increased, the agency of the "revolutionary people" diminished. The "ignorance and weakness of the people" and their lack of power (Russell, 1983 AD/1362 SH: 99) led to a decrease in their agency. As a result, the people lacked the ability to change the ongoing practices within the government. They were aware that Soviet officials were straying from revolutionary ideals and saw their revisionism firsthand. The new generation in the Soviet Union began to whisper in opposition to government officials and demanded change. "Samizdat" (самиздат) publications channeled the criticisms of this new-thinking generation (Bulliet, 2005 AD/1384 SH: 401). Moral socialists, Christian socialists, the New Left movement, and many other Marxist groups in the Soviet Union protested against the revisionism of Soviet officials. They demanded the implementation of true Marxism and a return to the ideals of October 1917; but because the agency of the people had decreased, they could not stop the revisionist trend.

5.2. Structure

The "Party" and its exclusive power was one of the important structures that fostered the growth of revisionism in the Soviet Union; whenever the will of the people and the will of the party conflicted, revolutionary officials prioritized the will of the Communist Party. This

became apparent in the early days of the revolution and marked the revisionism of the revolution's ideals. One of the important slogans of the Bolsheviks before the victory of the revolution was the "Formation of a Constituent Assembly" and entrusting the future form of government to the people's representatives. In January 1918, the Constituent Assembly was inaugurated with a statement prepared by Lenin; however, because some members of the Assembly disagreed with certain provisions of this statement and the Bolsheviks felt that the outcome of this assembly would not be their desired government, they dissolved the Constituent Assembly with the help of the Red Guard (Showkat, 2000 AD/1379 SH: 45). This undemocratic action by the Bolsheviks provoked protests from other labor leaders in Europe, including Rosa Luxemburg and Karl Kautsky (Kolaei, 1998 AD/1377 SH: 15).

In place of the Constituent Assembly, the Third Congress of Soviets, whose members were undemocratically elected and whose resolutions were controlled by the Bolsheviks, was convened. It confirmed the dissolution of the Constituent Assembly and declared the new Russian government a "Republic of Soviets" (Showkat, 2000 AD/1379 SH: 46). The dissolution of the Constituent Assembly and the disregard for the people's vote was the first step in the deviation of the Russian Revolution and prevented the formation of a democratic government based on the revolution's ideals.

Another structure that weakened the revolution and gave rise to revisionism was the "Privilege-seeking and corruption" of Soviet officials. From top to bottom, officials were plagued by corruption and elitism. For example, the head of the revolutionary government of Russia, Stalin, had a more ceremonial and luxurious life than the president of the capitalist country of America (Medvedev, 1981 AD/1360 SH: 738). After the October 1917 revolution, the capitalist class and other old social classes were destroyed; but a "New class" took their place, which, by seizing power, allocated numerous welfare and economic privileges to itself. Milovan Djilas called this new class the "political bureaucracy" and believed that this new class was not seeking to overthrow the unequal economic and political relations before the revolution, but rather to dominate society and establish an aristocracy (Djilas, 1974 AD/1353 SH).

In response to increasing corruption, the "Perestroika" (перестройка) program was designed during Gorbachev's time, with the stated goals of fighting corruption, reforming the economy, and establishing democracy (Russell, 1983 AD/1362 SH: 186). These reforms were too late and too slow and could not return the government to the path of the revolution in time. The

people of Russia wanted the overthrow of this government, and Yeltsin's words were more appealing to them. Yeltsin criticized the privileges that government officials had granted themselves (Pietroza, 2006 AD/1385 SH: 115).

6. Revisionism in the Chinese Revolution

The Chinese Revolution triumphed in 1949 with the rise to power of the Communist Party of China. The peasant revolution in China sought to establish Marxist justice throughout the country. Expelling European and Japanese aggressors and preserving independence were other goals of the revolution. Mao Zedong was the leader of the Chinese Revolution, who remained at the head of the People's Republic of China until his death in 1976.

Revisionism in China differs from revisionism in the French and Russian revolutions. First, this country is in the Third World, and the exigencies of the Third World, such as economic constraints, affected the course of the revolutionary society in China. For this reason, most of China's revisionism is in the economic sphere, whereas revisionism and deviation from revolutionary principles in France and Russia were in the political sphere and the return of dictatorship. Second, in Chinese revisionism, the leader of the revolution played an effective role. In the French and Russian revolutions, the revolutionary leaders did not have such a role. Mao, on the one hand, believed in advancing the revolution by appealing to the masses, and on the other hand, compromise to strengthen the foundations of the government and maintain order was also important to him. Therefore, during Mao's rule, we witness great waves of revolutionary fervor and enthusiasm, followed by tactical halts or even retreats from revolutionary plans at the peak of a crisis (Grenoble, 1999 AD/1378 SH: 2, 1147).

The contradictory policies adopted during Mao's time showed their results immediately after his death. Specifically, it can be said that revisionism occurred in China in the 1980s, and the communist government, contrary to all its initial ideals and Marxist teachings, transformed into a state-capitalist economy.

6.1. Agency

1. **The Leader:** Revolutionary leaders always play a very important role in keeping the people on the path of the revolution. The leader of the Chinese Revolution, through his actions, paved the way for revisionism. For example, the Chinese Revolution was fiercely

anti-imperialist and identified the United States as imperialism's most important capitalist government and its permanent enemy. However, the first step towards reconciliation with imperialism and the normalization of China's relations with the West was taken by Mao himself during his lifetime. In the early 1970s, the United States still recognized Taiwan, or Nationalist China, which was under the control of Chiang Kai-shek, as the official and legal China, and China's seat in the United Nations was also held by Taiwan. In February 1972, US President Richard Nixon, along with Secretary of State William Rogers and National Security Advisor Henry Kissinger, flew to Beijing and began negotiations with Zhou Enlai and Mao. After these talks, it was announced that China and the United States had normalized their relations (Grenoble, 1999 AD/1378 SH: 2, 1168). In 1978, full diplomatic relations were established between China and the United States, which was a deviation from the slogans of the Chinese Communist Revolution. The leader of the Chinese Revolution also initiated some unpleasant experiences that made the people and government officials cynical about the revolution. For example, the economic-cultural program "Great Leap Forward," which Mao had planned, caused famine and the death of about 35 million Chinese between 1958 and 1961. The failure of this revolutionary idea led the leaders of the Communist Party of China after Mao to avoid the revolutionary model for development and show more interest in the capitalist model. Therefore, the leader of the Chinese Revolution also indirectly strengthened the revisionists.

2. **The Developmentalist Faction of the Central Committee:** A portion of the members of the "Central Committee of the Communist Party of China" had revisionist tendencies and changed the revolutionary path of China. Zhou Enlai, the first premier of China, was one of these individuals. He explicitly declared that the country's main goal was now to reach the developed world by the end of the century by focusing on the Four Modernizations: modernization of agriculture, industry, national defense, and science and technology (Grenoble, 1999 AD/1378 SH: 2, 1166). In the vision and rhetoric of this group of revisionists, revolutionary ideals had no place, and despite their apparent commitment to revolutionary slogans, they were more interested in China's economic development than in creating revolutionary equality and freedom.

Another of the most important Chinese officials who accelerated revisionism was Deng Xiaoping, who succeeded Mao after his death. A famous quote is attributed to him: "As long as our production increases, we can turn to private business. It doesn't matter if a good cat is

black or white, as long as it catches mice..." (Grenoble, 1999 AD/1378 SH: 2, 1155) In his view, in the path of China's development, capitalist or communist tools were not important. Consequently, wherever Mao's teachings or Marxist principles conflicted with development, they were easily set aside. From his era onwards, the name of communism and the image of Mao were preserved, but none of the principles and contents of Marxism and Maoism were observed. This signified revisionism in the Chinese Revolution.

The last attempts to prevent the destruction of the Chinese Revolution were made by Mao's widow, Jiang Qing, and her three colleagues, known as the Gang of Four. These individuals tried to show that the revolution could not have "Coexistence" with hegemonic superpowers and capitalist governments. These individuals were arrested and tried by the party's revisionists. Mao's widow, at her trial, passionately defended the principles of the revolution, saying: "You cannot have an ideology of peaceful coexistence in this era... You coexist, they will corrupt you." (Grenoble, 1999 AD/1378 SH: 2, 1172) She was sentenced to life imprisonment and killed herself, leaving a note beside her body that read: "The revolution has now been stolen by the revisionists!" By the mid-1980s, most of the revolutionary members of the party had retired to create less of a nuisance for the establishment of "Socialist Capitalism."

6.2. Structure

The most important pattern that led to the structuration of revisionism in the Chinese Revolution is "Developmentalism." After Mao's death in 1976, the concepts of "Socialism" and "Revolution" gave way to the idea of "Modernization." Class conflicts were removed from the official culture, and even capitalist experiments were encouraged (Grenoble, 1999 AD/1378 SH: 2, 1148). Gradually, eliminating injustice and inequality was removed from the agenda of the revolutionary government of China, and modernization was emphasized as the most important national goal.

The Chinese people had been under the pressure of foreign colonialism for many years and hated the colonizers; for this reason, fighting against foreign colonizers was among the goals and slogans of the revolution. In the early years of the People's Republic of China, foreigners, including advisors, teachers, and religious missionaries, were quickly expelled from the country (Grenoble, 1999 AD/1378 SH: 1, 169). China's revolutionary foreign policy led it to enter the Korean War in November 1950. But after the revisionist trend gained power, this

situation changed; in the late 1980s, "Special Economic Zones" were established in some Chinese cities like Shanghai. In the socialist country of China, these economic zones were special hubs for capitalism, serving as gateways for the entry of Western technology and capital. The Chinese Revolution was formed by expelling Westerners who, having received concessions, had settled in Chinese cities and ports and were engaged in the colonization of the Chinese; but in later years, the communist government of China opened its arms to bring Westerners back to the Special Economic Zones. The first and most important Special Economic Zone is in the port of Shenzhen, which is adjacent to the port of Hong Kong. Cheap Chinese labor and Western technology were successfully combined for the first time in this region (Grenoble, 1999 AD/1378 SH: 2, 1174).

There is no doubt that the Chinese people now have a much better life than before. Not only do the Chinese people not die of hunger, but goods like refrigerators and televisions have made their way into ordinary rural homes. But it is undeniable that the oppression the communist rulers of China inflict on the working class today does not even occur in capitalist America! The free exploitation of Chinese workers has led American investors to prefer producing many of their goods in China, because lower wages are paid to workers, and labor laws offer less protection to the worker. The revolution that began in the name of peasants and workers for equality and the elimination of injustice from the deprived classes, in a revisionist move, changed its goal and declared development as its main objective. The result is that the lower classes suffer the most in this social-bourgeois system. Moreover, the party dictatorship prevents the free circulation of power.

Conclusion

This article approached the topic of revisionism from the perspective of structuration. In this framework, the trend of revisionism is formed based on the interaction between agency and structure and comes into conflict with revolutionary processes. In Table 1, the agency and structure in the revisionist trend of the world's revolutions are compared. The common trend that emerges from this comparison can be considered a model for revisionism. This model is the result of two processes:

1. The decrease in the agency of the people in parallel with the increase in the agency of those in power: Revisionist currents gained strength when the agency of the people decreased. In this situation, the influence of the people in governance diminished. During the revolution,

the agency of the people determined the trends, and the direction of decision-making was shaped by the opinion and will of the people. But with the decline of revolutionary fervor and the appearance of signs of revisionism, the agency of the people decreased, and in turn, the agency of those in power increased. This means that these special and privileged individuals in society had more influence on trends than others and made decisions instead of the people. In all these revolutions, the agency of the people is reduced to the point of being ineffective. In contrast, another political-social force gains agency: politicians in France, the new class in Russia, and technocrats in China.

2. The decrease in egalitarianism in parallel with the increase in the structure of power-seeking: Structure means the pattern of social relations, and during the revolution, the dominant structure is "Egalitarianism." But when the structure and pattern of social relations turn into "Power-seeking," and revolutionaries engage in intense competition to gain and maintain power, the ground for revisionism is prepared. In the revolutions of France, Russia, and China, a part of the revolutionaries sought to acquire and consolidate their power, and the common feature of the structures of "Elitism," "Monopolism," and "Developmentalism" is a strong tendency to acquire power. This very issue created the context for revisionism.

In the theoretical section, it was mentioned that the duality of structure is one of the main concepts of Giddens' theory, meaning that social structures simultaneously influence action and are the result of human action. This situation is also seen in the model of revisionism: power-seeking leads to a decrease in the agency of the people, and on the other hand, the decrease in the agency of the people strengthens power-seeking (which is manifested in the structures of elitism, monopolism, and developmentalism).

Table 1: Analysis of Revisionism in World Revolutions from a Structuration Perspective

Revolutionary Country	Agency of Revisionism	Structure of Revisionism
France	Power-seeking politicians	Elitism
Russia	The New Class	Monopolism
China	Technocrats	Developmentalism

The conclusion that can be drawn from these analyses is that moving away from people-centric governance and the spread of power-seeking behaviors among government officials leads to the formation and strengthening of revisionism. In this situation, even if there is a pretense of being revolutionary among political officials, the revisionist trend will ultimately prevail, and revolutionary processes will be abandoned. This is the experience gained from studying the revolutions of France, Russia, and China.

Ethical Considerations

Adherence to Research Ethics Principles

The author has complied with the principles of ethics in the conduct and publication of this scientific research, and this is affirmed by him.

Conflict of Interest

According to the author's declaration, this article has no conflict of interest.

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