

Discourse and Emotions in The Chinese Communist Revolution

Discurso y emociones de la Revolución Comunista China

Jia Chao*

School of social and behavioral science, Nanjing university, China.
juyanze21@gmail.com

Abstract

Modern Chinese history is actually a history of revolution. A series of revolutions had a profound impact on the organizational structure and spiritual temperament of Chinese society. It is not a very long but very complicated process for the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) to establish the communist party and the communist state. Most of the previous studies focused on the organizational technology, cultural strategy and ideology of the CCP. This paper suggests that emotion was a key resource mobilized by organizational technology, and also an experience produced by specific discourse. The national image constructed by the Communists is emotional and also humanized, not just merely cold and violent. This paper focuses on the complex relationship among emotions, discourse and power in the Chinese Communist revolution, and also makes a preliminary analysis of the emotional discourses created by the Communists.

Keywords: China; Communist Revolution; emotional discourse; power.

Resumen

La historia moderna china es esencialmente una historia de revolución. Una serie de revoluciones han tenido un profundo impacto en la estructura de organización y el temperamento espiritual de la sociedad china. No es un proceso muy largo pero complicado establecer su partido y el estado comunista el Partido Comunista de China (PCCh). La mayoría de los estudios anteriores se centraron en la tecnología organizacional, la estrategia cultural y la ideología del PCCh. Este artículo sugiere que la emoción fue un recurso clave movilizado por la tecnología organizacional, y también una experiencia producida por un discurso específico. La imagen nacional construida por el PCCh es emocional y también humanizada, no solo fría y violenta. El objetivo principal del artículo consiste en la compleja relación entre las emociones, el discurso y el poder en la revolución comunista china, mientras que hace un análisis preliminar del discurso emocional en la revolución comunista.

Palabras clave: China; Revolución Comunista; discurso emocional; poder.

* PhD candidate at the School of Social and behavioral Sciences in Nanjing University. His academic interests include sociology of emotions and historical sociology.

Discourse and Emotions in The Chinese Communist Revolution

Introduction

Since ancient Greece, human emotion has always been a very important philosophical proposition, which has attracted the attentions of Aristotle, Thomas Aquinas, Rene Descartes, David Hume and other philosophers. At the end of the 19th century, human emotion became a specific concept which appeared in the writing of psychologists. William James (2013) mentioned the word “emotion” in his masterpiece *What is emotion*. At the same time, human emotion is also valued by Karl Lamprecht, Sigmund Freud and other scholars. Emotion has gradually emerged in their scattered works.

But emotion itself has not been recognized by the academic community prematurely and given its due status. In modern society, which is regarded as the leading of reason and the supremacy of Technology, many people think that only primitive people, the psychopaths, the fanatics and other “abnormal people” are the most emotional and yet lack of rational ability to control their emotions. Therefore, in this rational era, academic attention to emotions was suppressed and even excluded by rationality, and is mostly regarded as marginal Research (Foucault, 2012). Albert Hirschman (1997) once pointed out that modern society has experienced the transition from passion to interest, but he only revealed that modern people are just different in self-explanation and rhetoric strategies, or that the interest discourse tamed the passion discourse in his works (Hirschman, 1997; Cheng Boqing, 2006). That does not mean that the emotion and emotional phenomenon are completely tamed or hidden by the interest in the modern society. On the contrary, to a large extent, it is because the mainstream social sciences almost completely accept the rational explanation or economic discourse of modern people. So, the ubiquitous emotion and emotional phenomena are either despised or ignored. In fact, the foundation of modern society is not the distinction and opposition between public and private, or emotion and reason,

but the dual shaping between emotion and reason.

Since the 1970s, sociology of emotions began to rise, and gradually became an important branch of social science, and even started “the revolution of emotional research” (Cheng Boqing, 2013), or “the rise of emotional people” (Illouz, 2007). This makes the long neglected emotional topic of social science be reappraised. In the perspective of emotional sociology, we can see another kind of theoretical narration hidden under the explicit discussion of classical social theory: Max Weber’s religious ethics actually analyzes the internal significance of religious emotion for economic action, and it is the anxiety aroused by divinity that drives the crazy profit-seeking of capitalist managers; Karl Marx’s theory of alienation shows that capitalism causes the workers and the masses to fall into the state of emotional numbness, which made them separated from other people, goods, even themselves and the whole society, and become merely tools and appendages of the industrial system; Georg Simmel depicts the thrill, adventure and apathy of metropolis which compared with small villages, the modernity experience was strongly embodied in a mixture of reserve, coldness and indifference. Émile Durkheim directly highlights the fundamental significance of emotion for social integration. His core concept “social solidarity” refers to the collective emotions that integrates various factors, and collective effervescence creates the sanctity of society (Eva Illouz, 2007; Cheng Boqing, 2013). Unfortunately, this part of story hidden in the discussion of classical theorists has not been told for a long time in the academic community. Although there are sporadic and indirect studies, but it seems to lack academic influence. Even Norbert Elias, who focused on emotional research so much earlier, had not be recognized until 30 years later.

Until recent decades, the issue of emotions has attracted much more attention of the academic community and even the public. Scholars either explore the important role of emotional literacy in

social interaction, or pay attention to the relationship between emotion and the formulation of advertising marketing strategies, as well as the prospect of large self-help industry closely related to personal development, or choose to evaluate the role of political personality and policies. The research on emotions has already started and become a new direction in the humanities.

Therefore, in the context of rejuvenation for the theory of emotions, it would be a significant effort to introduce emotion into revolutionary research. In certain sense, collective action of human beings cannot be separated from the key role of emotions, which profoundly shaped and rewrote people's cognitive logic and social action. James Jasper (1997) points out that emotion plays an extremely important role in social movements: the first is to initiate the mobilization; and the second is to provide goals for the collective action. Emotion is those psychological experiences that let people start to pay attention to the world around themselves, either defeated or attracted by the outside world. Therefore, the effective organization of social mobilization cannot ignore the activation, recruitment and production with specific emotions (such as love, hate, anger, self-esteem, shame, sadness, trust), so as to understand the logic of social action in the emotional sense.

Looking back on the history of Chinese Communist revolution in twentieth Century, we could find that a series of special emotional forms (such as hatred of the enemy, loyalty to the party and trust in the state) are continuously produced. Through the reconciliation and transformation of special context, emotions had been deeply involved in social vicissitude and grand narrative as a productive element. Therefore, if we think that the revolutionary victory of the Chinese Communist Party and the process of social construction have created a totally new Communist civilization, then the emotions in it will be the core theme we cannot ignore.

Emotional Works in The Chinese Communist Revolution

Of course, it is not the first creation of the Communists to launch a vigorous mass movement by igniting the emotional flame of ordinary people. In the history of China for more than two thousand years, peasant rebellion is a long tradition. In ancient days, leaders of the peasants will cleverly create a series of dramatic scenes, such as martial arts performances, amazing magic, dazzling natural landscape and camouflage identity, to produce their own legitimacy so as to attract the followers and win their loyalty. Mao Zedong has long been the

leader of the Communist Movement in China. He is very familiar with these political strategies, and has creatively copied and popularized them. Unlike the ancient peasant leaders, Mao invented many new technologies and discourses and made this ancient tradition a revolutionary meaning.

We do not know whether the peasant rebels in ancient China clearly perceived the important role of emotions in arousing the enthusiasm of the masses, but the Communists clearly understood this very well and carried them out with lots of innovation. With the growth of the Communist Revolution, the leaders of the Communist Party pay more and more attention to the emotional works among the mass movement, and regard it as one of the most important weapons to win the victory.

“Speaking bitterness” (suku) is one of the most important technologies among the revolution. First, the Communists will form a working group to enter every village after occupying it militarily. Then, they will make a detailed investigation of the current situation and history of the village, to confirm the landlords who have been ruthlessly exploiting and ruling the peasants for a long time, and who are the exploited and oppressed people. Usually, the landlords are a small part, the vast majority of the peasants are exploited, and they are also the targets to be attracted by the CCP. Next, the Communists will carefully choose the perfect time and place to gathering all the people in the village together, and then order the soldiers to tie up the landlords and let them kneel on the ground publicly. There are usually several activists selected by the Communist cadres who will stand up and accuse the landlords angrily for their exploitation and oppression of ordinary peasants for many years. Finally, the Communist cadre will give a passionate speech, denouncing the crimes committed by the landlords, and thus praising the power of the people. This means the establishment of the Communist regime and the end of the era in which a majority is enslaved by a few.

The Communists carefully planned this micro-mechanism to establish a glorious public space for “speaking bitterness” in order to dispel the concerns of the peasants through collective meetings and typical demonstrations. They plan to stimulate their anger and hatred through these arrangements. The Communists do not rely solely on complaints, but also plan to redistribute the property of the landlords. This will greatly stimulate the enthusiasm of farmers and actively participate in revolutionary activities. In order to determine the goal of revolutionary action, it is necessary to condemn the landlord morally. Through the ritualized techniques such as “speaking

bitterness”, “denunciation” (kongsu), and “recalling bitterness and sweetness”(yi ku si tian), peasants’ personal suffering had turned into their class suffering, and thus form a national identity based on the combination of gratitude and reverence.

Through this elaborately arranged meeting, the peasants realized what the revolution was. Once moved by these emotional performances, the inspired new members will personally accuse the former oppressors. A communist propaganda cadre recalled, “through these speaking bitterness meeting, we feel that can play an important role in inspiring class hatred and improving revenge emotions. The purpose of the war was clear, and the mood of the army improved” (Pan, 1962: 63).

The Communist Revolution was clearly launched as a popular emotional drama. Through these dramatic activities, the peasants’ revolutionary enthusiasm had fully mobilized, so as to achieve the long-term revolutionary goal (Chen Yung-fa, 1986). The drama of “speaking bitterness” is not only a strategy in an arsenal that full of weapons of mass movements; in a sense, it is a metaphor for the whole revolution.

At the same time, in promoting these revolutionary dramas and emotional performances, the Communists created a lot of emotional discourse systematically. These emotional discourses are rapidly spread to every corner of China through a variety of artistic forms (drama, ballad, painting, novel, etc.). In the artistic works of the Great Leap Forward (da yue jin yun dong), the interleaving and combination of suffering memories became an important textual method and emotional narrative strategy. Through the public space created by the contrast between suffering drama and happy life, ordinary individuals with the same fate are condensed into a class with common emotions. In this process, the memory of the masses and their relationship with the new country, and also with the Party can be reshaped (Ying Xing *et al*, 2006). Therefore, the national identity and emotional mobilization can be realized.

The “mass production movement” (da sheng chan yun dong) in Yan’an period is a typical combination of the above two types of emotional politics. The essence of the mass production movement is a process of guiding and regulating the people. The disciplines among Revolution is based on the political emotions. The labor competition launched in the Mass Production Movement aims to arouse the enthusiasm of the masses, and to make use of the “face” problem of the rural acquaintance society, and label different people with identity through the selection of “labor heroes” or “model

units” and “transformation of hooligans”. Public praise and criticism of a person or a group are prominently published on the front page of the newspaper; literary and art activities organized in the labor gap are all praises to the revolution and satires to the enemy; public initiatives and circulars in the areas under the rule of the Communist Party also improve the masses’ mood through group pressure and competitive psychology, while also changing the masses’ ideas, and labor becomes the most appropriate Training methods. The mass production movement openly called for “labor glory” and equated labor with manual labor, giving manual workers a high political and social status. The “rectification movement” launched at the same time is mainly aimed at intellectuals and senior cadres of the party, so that they can complete the role transformation and class identity, accept workers emotionally and ideologically, and become labor loving. The emotional strategies of “criticism and self-criticism” and “ideological rescue” appeared in these political movements are rearranged in accordance with the common symbol full of high enthusiasm, which has become the unique wealth of all members. The standards of “shame” and “glory” are reshaped to complete the spiritual transformation of ordinary people and social elites. The combination of the collective mass movement at the practical level and the emotional discourse at the cultural symbol level constitutes a unique and efficient power mechanism for the political mobilization of the CCP.

Through these fruitful emotional works, the Communists had established a wholehearted image in the revolution and won the support of most ordinary Chinese. They finally defeated the Kuomintang (KMT), and gained the whole mainland of China. These emotions that is stimulated and created in the revolution are not merely false and hollow. The particularity of human emotion is the coexistence of contradiction and adaptation. The brilliance of these methods created by the Communists under the leadership of Mao lies in that it can fully realize the fundamental authenticity of human emotions and make use of it perfectly. On the one hand, it roots emotional enthusiasm in the existing mass protests and political traditions. On the other hand, emotional work is embedded in every Communist Party member. Emotional strategies are flexibly used by the Communist Party in specific circumstances, using a series of means such as “speaking bitterness”, “criticism and self-criticism”, and “ideological remoulding” to integrate individual emotions into collective politics. Each independent subjects are systematically transformed to be part of a conscious political and psychological control system.

Power, Discourse and Emotions: Three type of emotional discourses

This part will explore three emotional discourses created by the Chinese Communist Party. Michel Foucault (2012) convincingly revealed the complicated relationship between discourse and power, and also how discourse is used by power to achieve discipline. These emotional discourses are cleverly integrated into everyday dramas, novels, songs and posters, and enter the inner world of ordinary farmers in a pragmatic and efficient way (Liu Yu, 2010). After being guided and stimulated, different emotions are produced at different times. More and more information prove that it is these emotional torrents, which are gathered by the true feelings of ordinary people that have finally swept China.

In short, the suffering discourse in the Chinese communist revolution evokes the anger of the ordinary Chinese; the moral discourse stimulates their sympathy, and the emancipatory discourse gives them love and freedom. Of course, a revolution that led to radical social change is not entirely caused by collective emotions, but emotional factors have undoubtedly played a huge role in it. These emotional discourses will be analyzed in the following sections.

1) Suffering discourse and the production of anger.

The narrative of suffering story is the first choice for the revolutionary party in emotional operation. As Elizabeth J. Perry (2002) pointed out, it is Mao Zedong, who has the same taste with the peasants, touched his compatriots. People first shed tears and vent their anger, and then resort to revolutionary actions.

The narrative of suffering is best reflected in the Land Reform Movement (*tu gai*). Among the “speaking bitterness meeting”, the peasants tell the history of being persecuted and exploited by the landlords in order to arousing the classic hatred of many others. The basic purpose of all kinds of propaganda, organization and mobilization is to stimulate the anger and hatred of the peasant class against the landlord class, and then to cultivate their gratitude and love for the Communist Party. To achieve such a goal, it is not enough to rely solely on “speaking bitterness”. In order to produce a shocking effect, it is necessary to cultivate a sense of suffering and guide the complainant to carefully recall the pain that has occurred on him. Not only listen to the pains of others, but also think about the pains you have suffered. The revolution of the Communist Party is not only physical but also deep in the soul.

In order for these suffering words to play a real role, a complete set of discourse techniques

must be provided. In order to mobilize the emotions of the accuser and the hearer, before the meeting, it is necessary to teach the accuser to how to accuse, to help the accuser sum up some of the most resentful sins committed by the landlords, so that the masses can cause high hatred and then participate in the revolution. Communists also need to train the accusers to manage their expressions, especially to train them to express their sorrow. When it comes to the landlord who has oppressed the peasants, he must have a resentful attitude and become a moving actor to touch the audiences.

The kinship is one of the most important ethics in rural China, and is also used as an effective weapon to mobilize the emotions of peasants. The accuses against the landlord will generally be extended to the entire family. Therefore, kinship is included into the classic logic. The history of the entire village has been replaced by the story of classic struggle.

The suffering discourse and its emotional functions were noticed by scholars in the early days. Chalmers Johnson pointed out that the “totalitarian paradigm” in Chinese studies represented by Wittf Wittfoqe cannot fundamentally explain the power of the Chinese revolution. After studying a large number of diary files, he pointed out that the invasion of Japan brought great disaster to China’s rural areas, which sublimated the elite nationalism to the mass nationalism before the Anti Japanese war. From the very beginning, the Communists has attached great importance to the propaganda of the anti-Japanese culture. Through the leaflets, slogans, folk songs and operas, it has created a political culture to resist the Japanese and save the country in the vast rural areas. This kind of emotional mobilization has penetrated into the lives of ordinary people, which has greatly enhanced CCP’s ability and legitimacy (Johnson, 1962). Some scholars strongly opposed the understanding with a totalitarian paradigm (Friedman *et al*, 1991). The “Yan’an model” (Yan’an mo shi) that they proposed shows a strong populist orientation of de-eliteization and opposition to state authority. The large-scale united front and moderate reform policies implemented by the Chinese Communist Party have launched a peaceful revolution on China’s vast land. The key point of this revolution is “the transformation of the soul”. Ying xing *et al* (2006) believes that the Communist Party has adopted the anti-Japanese national salvation and social reform policies as a way to draw closer relations with the people from the very beginning, and thus to have a deeper relationship with the largest number of farmers in China. This has never happened in the history of China for thousands of years. Chen Yung-fa (1986) also pointed out that

the agrarian revolution was launched as a popular performance. Its purpose was through mobilizing emotions to achieve the revolutionary goals for the Communist Party.

More scholars focus on the “mass line” (qun zhong lu xian) implemented by the party. Schram (1985) tried to trace the formation of Maoism. He points out that the core of Maoism is the “mass line”. Mao released power to the bottom of society and fully mobilized the masses, which created the prosperity of the mass movement. The mass movement launched by the Communist Party has greatly stimulated the peasant’s revolutionary enthusiasm through artistic activities, public speeches, competitions, and bitter-speakings. The anger towards the landlord, the hatred toward the Japanese army, and the enthusiasm for the revolution have all made the Chinese feel excited. Barbara Rosenwein (2006) regards the anger of peasants as the strategy and form of their symbolic communication, and believes that there are many emotional behaviors for people to choose within the revolution, which will eventually be gathered together and contribute to the next step. Maurice Meisner (1999) pointed out that emotional factors are regarded as one of the core contents of military construction by the Communist Party and are highly valued.

Of course, looking back on the emotional practice in the revolution, we can find that this is a set of sophisticated and complex operation system. Christopher Morris believes that it is a long misunderstanding that state power is considered only mandatory (Morris, 1953). Power can be ruled by mechanisms other than initial coercion and violence. This also reflects the meaning of power by Michel Foucault. Power is not stifling repression and obliteration, but output, correction and cultivation. Power is manufacturing (Foucault, 2012). This has important implications for us to understand the Communist Party and communist civilization. If emotion is regarded as an important existence of individual subjectivity, the discipline and governance of the subject by the Communist Party in the process of revolution are very worthy of attention. As a destructive force, anger can be manipulated and transformed into guilt for self-censorship and surveillance, thus creating gratitude and loyalty to the party. Of course, it can also be seen as a potential device for applying fear and majesty. The emotional system of the Communist Party controls the remaining things that were originally irrational elements, which reflects the ingenuity and subtlety of the Communist civilization.

2) *Sympathy, the core emotion of the moral discourse.*

Moral discourse is another emotional appeal that is important to the revolution. It can effectively provoke the anger of the masses against the landlord class and the infinite sympathy of people who are similar to themselves. In order to use the emotional power to achieve the revolutionary goals, the Communist Party published a handbook for cadres, which provided many detailed instructions on how to use emotional power efficiently. These instruments creatively exploit the dominant political discourse in which emphasizes collective rather than individual based on morality in Chinese society (Solomon, 1971). Confucianism pays special attention to the individual’s social obligations, which makes the exile of individuals an effective form of emotional principles (Lifton, 1994).

Different from suffering discourse, the use of moral discourse is not the first of the CCP. In the East Asian countries dominated by Confucian culture, thousands of years of moral education made moral discourse one of the most appealing action drivers. Scholars have found that in the villages of Southeast Asia, the daily life of the bottom peasants revolves around the moral economy and has a unique moral foundation. When the peasant’s survival is threatened and the reciprocal relationship between the peasant and the landlord class is undermined, the peasants’ sense of insecurity and injustice will drive them to resist in special way. This kind of rebellion seems to be secret, accidental, and trivial, but appear frequently in their daily life with various forms. Whether at the behavioral level or at the symbolic level, these daily resistances can be seen as powerful weapons for disadvantaged farmers to protect their own interests (Scott, 2008). For the Chinese who have believed in Confucian norms for thousands of years, it is very natural to turn the identification of moral narrative into political action after the emotional operation by the Communist Party.

The sense of responsibility and sympathy created by the moral narrative played a key role in the stimulation of political action. This emotional model has the power to inspire the masses to make revolutionary actions. The public will consciously produce dedication and consciously integrate their own destiny into the communist revolutionary cause. The logic of moral discourse can be found in the political movements of China in the twentieth century. Specifically, in the process of encouraging the participation of the masses, the description of the land reform led by the Communist Party coincides with the purification of fear, suffering, hatred and revenge. The appeal for fairness is also placed

at the center of this process. In The Anti-rightist Movement (fan you qin yun dong), the “Grouping” and “Confess to the party” activities developed in the Rectification Movement turned the Communist Party into a harmonious father, and imitated them by arousing the feelings of the Communists’ self-blame. In the Cultural Revolution, the reliance on the youths represented by the Red Guards proved how unstable and flowing individual feelings are realized in the context of collective politics. Although the attempt of the Great Leap Forward to turn revolutionary passion into productivity were failed, it also reflected the Communist Party’s emphasis on moral factors.

3) *Love and freedom with the emancipating discourse.*

Revolution means the liberation of individuals. Analysis of the individual history in Chinese history reveals that breaking free from patriarchal family and arranged marriage is the first step for individuals to gain their freedom. In traditional Chinese society that believes in Confucianism, the family is the most solid social structure (Pye, 1992). The modern revolution began with an emotional impact on individuals who were subordinate to the family and family. The family is no longer the emotional carrier of the subject, but the bondage of independent behavior. In traditional society, a person’s identity is usually defined by its role in the blood and geopolitical system, which is specific, limited, and relatively fixed. Modern identity, on the other hand, is abstract and universal, with great flexibility. The emotional construction at the beginning of the revolution is to put individuals in love stories. This means liberating individuals from traditional blood and geopolitical identities and placing human values entirely on subjective will.

At the same time, the emancipating narrative advocated by the Communists also provided support for gender identity and equality of identity. Female authors from the lower class incorporate the political and gender discourse of revolutionary parties into their self-reported texts, which made the appeal of women’s liberation received the attention and recognition of the whole society. These authors use a lot of revolutionary discourses such as “laborers”, “exploitation”, and “class” to define their own experiences, exposing multiple oppressions such as class and gender based on economic deprivation. The “feudal” ideology was created to counter the patriarchal power both in the public and private. The artists of the Communist Party have traveled to every village, publicizing the idea of gender equality in the local area, training women to re-establish their identity with the concepts of “labor women”, “self-masters”

and “comrades”, affirming their labor contribution and significance. These efforts have created new gender identities and social relationships, and also have built an equal, respected, and political subject identity in the revolution. Women who are liberated from the previous social relations do not regard themselves as passive beneficiaries of the new social system, but strive to present their own initiative in self-liberation.

Scholars have analyzed how Chinese women use the mass media and collective emotions to stimulate public sympathy and influence the social governance of authoritarian government in the twentieth century. With the help of public opinion and emancipating discourse, Shi Jianqiao, a female assassin who avenged his father, was portrayed as a heroic and unyielding image of “female heroes” and “vengeful heroes”. Its revenge behavior is not only the embodiment of “filial piety”, “chivalry” and “karma retribution” in traditional cultural concepts, but also the representation of modern women’s consciousness “independence”, “brave”, “wisdom”, etc. Her behavior has not only gained legitimacy, but also been treated with virtue.

From the perspective of liberating discourse, the fundamental change of modernity lies in the use of emotional re-imagination, human identity and sociality, or the role of emotion in legalizing a new social order.

Conclusion

When we discuss the significance of emotional works of the Chinese revolution, we need to bring a structural perspective to achieve that. In order to play a real role and become a controllable force that can coordinate with the political objectives of the revolutionary party, it is necessary to have a set of creative arrangement, organization, transformation and reconstruction of emotions, as well as the political, economic, cultural and social organization conditions that can coordinate with them. In fact, this requires revolutionaries to have a deep understanding of Chinese society and the richness and complexity of human nature in the process of mobilizing the masses.

As an important part of the revolutionary work of the Chinese Communist Party, emotion is the main object of the organization and mobilization work. The mature organizational technology is developed to arouse emotions, which contributes to the victory of the revolution. This kind of analysis perspective that integrates emotional work into power technology is quite common. Martin Whyte (1975) studied the “group meeting” in Yan’an; Chen Yung-fa (1986) analyzed the rural mobilization in Central China during the war; Frederick Teiwes (1971) studied the

correction model, along with Robert Lifton and Edgar Schein who focused on the Communist Party's brain washing. Guo Yuhua and Sun Liping (2002) studies "speaking bitterness" which combine organizational technology and discourse together. They believe that "speaking bitterness" is an important mechanism to reshape the concept of "party" in the Chinese revolution. The function of this mechanism is to extract the sufferings in farmers' daily life by using various technologies formed and created in the revolution. That also are established a connection with the larger discourse of "state" and "society" through the intermediary category of social class. The effectiveness of emotional mobilization shows that people's motivation to resort the revolution comes not only from rational material benefit calculation, but also from sympathy, indignation, dignity and other emotional factors. Those who face politics are not simply economic rational people, but people with unstable emotions and complex inner world.

What is discussed above are just a preliminary analysis of the emotional works emerging in the Chinese Communist revolution. Revolution, like fireworks, is always full of fervent emotions, which ignites the inner flame of ordinary people and bring them into the history. Mao's dictum states: "Love happens for a reason in this world. So does hatred" (Mao, [1942] 1971). The Chinese revolution led by him is probably the most complicated drama in human history, which is worth further study.

Bibliography

- Chen, Yung-fa. (1986). *Making Revolution: The Communist Movement in Eastern and Central China, 1937-1945*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Cheng Boqing. (2006) *Out of modernity: Toward reorientaion of contemporary sociological theory*. Beijing: china social sciences publishing house. (2006) 走出现代性：当代西方社会学理论的重新定向. 北京:社会科学文献出版社.
- Cheng Boqing. (2013) "The sociological meaning of emotion". *Shandong Social Science*, (3),34-57. (2013)"情感的社会学意义". 山东社会科学, (3) , 34-57.
- Duara, P. (1991). *Culture, Power, And The State: Rural North China, 1900-1942*. Redwood City: Stanford University Press.
- Dixon, T. (2003) *From Passions to Emotions: The Creation of a Secular Psychology Category*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Foucault, M. (2012). *Discipline and punish: The birth of the prison*. New York: Vintage.
- Friedman, E., Pickowicz, P. G., Selden, M., & Johnson, K. A. (1991). *Chinese Village, Socialist State*. New Haven: Yale University Press
- Guo Yuhua & Sun Liping (2002). "Complaint: an intermediary mechanism for the formation of peasants' national concept", *Chinese Academia*. 3(4), 130-157. 郭于华, & 孙立平. "诉苦: 一种农民国家观念形成的中介机制". 中国学术, 3(4), 130-157.
- Hirschman, A.O. (1997). *The Passions and the Interests: Political Arguments for Capitalism Before Its Triumph*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- James, W. (2013). *What is an Emotion?* New York: Simon and Schuster.
- Jasper, J.M. (1997). *The Art of Moral Protest: Culture, Biography, and Creativity in Social Movements*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Johnson, C. A. (1962). *Peasant Nationalism and Communist Power: The Emergence of Revolutionary China, 1937-1945*. Redwood City: Stanford University Press.
- Illouz, E. (2007). *Cold Intimacies: The Making of Emotional Capitalism*. Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Liu, Y. (2010). "Maoist discourse and the mobilization of emotions in revolutionary China". *Modern China*, 36(3), 329-362.
- Pye, L.W. (1992). *The Spirit of Chinese Politics: A Psychocultural Study of the Authority Crisis in Political Development*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.
- Lifton, Robert Jay. (2012). *Thought Reform and The Psychology of Totalism: A Study of Brainwashing in China*. Chapel Hill: UNC Press Books.
- Mao Zedong. (1971). "Report on an Investigation of the Peasant Movement in Hunan", Selected Readings from the Works of Mao Tsetung. Beijing: Foreign Languages Press.
- Meisner, M. (1999). *Mao's China and after: A history of the People's Republic*. New York: Simon and Schuster.
- Morris, C. (1953). *Political Thought in England: Tyndale to Hooker*. London: Oxford University Press.
- Pan Zhenwu. (1962). "Yi Hongyijuntuan xuanchuandui" [Remembering the propaganda team of the Red Number One Military Troupe]. In Editorial Committee of Collected Essays Commemorating Thirty Years of the Chinese Peoples' Liberation, ed., Xinghuo liaoyuan [A single spark can light a prairie fire], volume 2. Beijing: People's Literature Press.
- Perry, Elizabeth. (2002). "Moving the masses: Emotion work in the Chinese Revolution". *Mobilization: An International Quarterly*, 7(2), 111-128.
- Reddy, W. (2001). *The Navigation of Feeling: A*

Framework for the History of

Emotions. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Rosenwein, B. H. (2006). *Emotional Communities in the Early Middle Ages*. New York: Cornell University Press.

Schram, S. (1985). Decentralization in a unitary state: theory and practice, 1940-1984. *The Scope of State Power in China*, 81-125. New York: Martin's Press.

Scott, J. C. (2008). *Weapons of the Weak: Everyday Forms of Peasant Resistance*. New Haven: Yale University Press.

Solomon, R. H. (1972). *Mao's Revolution and The Chinese Political Culture* (Vol. 1). Univ of California Press.

Teiwes, F. (1971). Provincial politics in China: themes and variations. *China: Management of a Revolutionary Society*. London: George Allen and Unwin, 116-92.

Whyte, M. K. (1975). *Small Groups and Political Rituals in China*. California: California University Press.

Ying Xing, Wu Fei, Zhao Xiaoli, & Shen Yuan. (2006). "A new understanding of the ideological tradition of Chinese Sociology", *Sociological Studies*, (4), 186-200. 应星·吴飞·赵晓力·沈原."重新认识中国社会学的思想传统", *社会学研究*, (4), 186-200.

Zika, C. (2017). "The History of Emotions: A Brief Historiography", (in Chinese, translate by Zhou Jia-ying), *Social Science Front*, (10): 246-256.

Citado. CHAO, Jía (2019) "Discourse and Emotions in The Chinese Communist Revolution" en Revista Latinoamericana de Estudios sobre Cuerpos, Emociones y Sociedad - RELACES, N°31. Año 11. Diciembre 2019-Marzo 2020. Córdoba. ISSN 18528759. pp. 91-99. Disponible en: <http://www.relaces.com.ar/index.php/relaces/article/view/682>.

Plazos. Recibido: 15/11/2019. Aceptado: 26/11/2019.