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ESSAY ON CRITICISM OF THE AGRARIAN QUESTION IN THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION AND NEW NOTIONS ABOUT PROPERTY

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INTRODUCTION

The study proposes a reading between a classic thinker and contemporary authors. The subject studied is based on the complexity of notions of property in different phases, stages and scenarios. It begins by addressing Rosa Luxemburg's criticism of the Russian Revolution of 1917, addressing the agrarian issue, freedom and democracy, relating the questions raised by her.

The study follows the systemic and complexity theories worked by Edgar Morin and Fritjof Capra. The selection of authors occurs based on its construction considering the interrelationships of society. Given the current panorama, the study of environmental issues appears to be salutary, being approached with the theories produced by the Mexican thinker Enrique Leff, regarding environmental rationality, and by the Brazilian Juarez Freitas, regarding sustainability. Next, to work on land regularization, thoughts from the Portuguese Boaventura de Sousa Santos and the Brazilian Milton Santos are explained.

The main objective of the study is to observe the notions of property raised in 1917, during the Russian Revolution, by the thinker Rosa Luxemburg. Among the secondary objectives, we seek to verify thinking based on interrelationships developed by different theorists, study current constructions on environmental sustainability and rationality and observe the related repercussions on the treatment of property.

The research is justified due to the fact that it is a secular theme and problem in social organization.

As a research problem, the question is whether after more than a hundred years of criticism made by Rosa Luxemburg, there has been a change in the articulations involving property?

THEORETICAL REFERENCE

The book: "A Revolução Russa", consists of a critical analysis carried out by Rosa Luxemburg on the Russian Revolution of 1917, among the points addressed by the thinker is the agrarian issue.

For LUXEMBURG (2017, p. 54-55), socialist restructuring at the agrarian level presupposes two fundamental aspects of socialist economic reform, firstly, the nationalization of large land properties so that collective exploitation is promoted and encouraged. Then, suppress the characteristic feature of the bourgeoisie of separation between agriculture and industry, to establish the unification of agriculture and industry, to be exercised in an interpenetrated manner.

LUXEMBURG (2017, p. 57) described the measures adopted by Lenin, who uttered the slogan: "Go and take the land!", regarding land ownership as abrupt and chaotic. A new private property was created, now owned by bourgeois peasants, and not social property.

For the author (2017, p. 58-60), the economic and social inequalities of the peasantry were exacerbated, with the worsening of class antagonism, given the proliferation of private properties. A socialist reform in the countryside was no longer resisted by a small group of large noble and capitalist land owners. The author defines the revolution on this small minority of the rich rural bourgeoisie as child's play. After the acts of division of large estates with the creation of small private properties, the revolutionaries created a large bourgeois mass, strengthened by their recent feeling of property ownership (LUXEMBURG, 2017, p. 60).

In addition to the agrarian issue, the author criticizes the stance adopted by the Bolsheviks, Lenin, Trotsky and their friends regarding self-determination, the constituent, political voting, freedom, tactical assumptions and bourgeois dictatorship.

According to LUXEMBURG (2017, p. 84) states that the revolution, through its effervescence and ardor, creates a light, vibrant, receptive atmosphere, a popular state of mind and a pulse of life that influence representative organisms, penetrating, guiding and charging, like a constant pressure from the mass.

The restriction and imposition of criteria for the exercise of rights, such as political voting, freedom of the press, association and meetings against opponents of the Soviet government, are strongly criticized by the author, who adds “Suppressing democracy in general is Even worse than the evil that must be prevented, it obstructs the very source of life from which all the congenital insufficiencies of social institutions can be corrected: active, unhindered political life” (LUXEMBURG, 2017, p. 86).

Likewise, Lenin’s speech that stated that Russia was conquered for socialism is contested. In the author’s view, the opposite occurred and argues that only those who support the government, no matter how numerous they may be, are free. There is no freedom when it derives from a privilege, nor does it admit that socialism is introduced by decree. For the author, socialism demands a complete transformation in the spirit of the masses, not of a small minority leading in the name of the class, with public opinion being the only path to the rebirth of the broadest and most unlimited democracy, with energetic intervention and resolute putting acquired rights are at stake (LUXEMBURG, 2017, p. 95-100).

Authors Edgar Morin and Jean-Louis Le Moigna state that thinking about complexity is the greatest challenge of contemporary thought. Classical scientific thought was built on three pillars: order, separability and reason, however, these foundations have been shaken due to development (MORIN; LE MOIGNE, 2000, p. 199).

The notion of order implied a determined and mechanical conception of the world, with any apparent disorder being considered the result of our provisional ignorance. The pillar of separability predicted that to study or solve a problem it was necessary to decompose it into simple elements. Complex thinking does not aim to replace these ideas, but rather provokes a dialogue between both order, disorder and organization and separability and inseparability (MORIN; LE MOIGNE, 2000, p. 199-200).

Classical reason rested on three principles: induction, deduction and identity, which determined the rejection of contradiction. Complex thinking calls for, not the abandonment of this logic, the dialogic combination between its use, segment by segment, and its transgression in the black holes in which it stops being operational (MORIN; LE MOIGNE, 2000, p. 200-201).

The author Fritjof Capra, in his work “The web of life”, explains that living systems are integral wholes whose properties cannot be reduced to smaller parts. It is a configuration of ordered relationships that, if dissected into isolated elements, is destroyed. The change from mechanistic thinking to systemic thinking, the relationship between the parts and the whole was inverted (CAPRA, 1996, p. 36).

Cartesian science believed that in any complex system the behavior of the whole could be analyzed in terms of the properties and its parts. In a different way, systemic science shows that living systems cannot be understood through analysis, but rather within the context of the greater whole, the environment. If for the mechanistic view the world is a collection of objects, in which relationships are secondary, for the systemic thinker the objects themselves are networks of relationships, embedded in larger networks (CAPRA, 1996, p. 36-37).

The notion of scientific knowledge as a network of conceptions gives rise to the idea that no part is more fundamental than things. The material universe is seen as a dynamic web of interrelated events, in which none of the properties of any part of that web is fundamental. The environment is seen as an interconnected web of relationships, in which the identification of specific patterns as objects depends on the human observer and the knowledge process. This web of relationships is described through a corresponding network of concepts and models, all equally important (CAPRA, 1996, p. 38-39).

The great task is, therefore, to abandon the concreteness of a rigid legal knowledge that does not allow innovations to build new forms that allow more communication within legal organizations. These forms need to be identified by public opinion to acquire the capacity to meet demands.

Brazilian jurist Juarez Freitas works on environmental sustainability, and explains that the following obligations arise from it: for the preservation of life, in its diversity, to curb any and all forms of cruelty; for anticipating, preventing and taking precautions, ensuring good information for producers and consumers; for shared and joint responsibility for the life cycle of products and services; in accepting the preferential nature of renewable energies; and, to promote environmental justice, protecting present and future generations, both holders of fundamental rights. For the author, sustainability obligations are not limited to those mentioned above, but are multidimensional (FREITAS, 2012, p. 40-41).

The concepts of social sustainability include improving the quality of life, democracy and human rights (FOLADORI, 2002, p. 107-108).

Despite the different theories and classifications of sustainability, they all reiterate its multidimensional bias. The

development of this work chooses to deepen the concepts taught by Juarez Freitas, due to its didactics, breadth, in an inclusive nature, and conglomeration of other theories.

FREITAS (2012, p. 58) expose five non-exhaustive dimensions of sustainability: social, ethical, legal-political, economic and environmental. The social dimension of sustainability expresses that the development model is not exclusive and unfair, repudiating the oligarchic style. For FREITAS (2012, p. 59), the social dimension of sustainability encompasses fundamental social rights and the corresponding programs related to universalization.

Sustainability in its social dimension seeks intra and intergenerational equity, the flourishing of human potential and engagement in the cause of development, which feeds the dignity of other living beings (FREITAS, 2012, p. 60).

Intersubjective connections are addressed by the ethical dimension of sustainability. So that the other cannot be reified or converted into a commodity. It points out that cooperation is a duty for the continuity of life as an increasingly rich and complex environmental system. A sustainable ethical attitude is based on both social and intimate well-being, which leads to lasting and universal well-being (FREITAS, 2012, p. 61-62).

The economic dimension seeks to reformulate categories and behaviors, long-term planning, a competent system of incentives and efficiency guided by intra and intergenerational effectiveness (FREITAS, 2012, p. 66/67).

For sustainability in the legal-political dimension there is a constitutional duty to protect the freedom of each citizen, intra and intergenerational, under penalty of civil and criminal liability. It deals with the effective protection of rights related to

lasting well-being, with protection for the following fundamental rights: dignified longevity, food without excess or deficiency, clean environment, quality education, democracy, free information, timely judicial and administrative process, security, income arising from decent work, good public administration and decent and safe housing (FREITAS, 2012, p. 68/70)

Enrique Leff, in his work “Environmental Rationality: the social reappropriation of nature”, teaches that the environmental crisis is marked by the epistemic exchange of post-structuralism, ecologism and deconstruction, to the emergence of a world that goes beyond nature and word. It is the utopia of a sustainable future (LEFF, 2006, p. 17-18).

The purpose of sustainable development and environmental justice are based on cultural and social values that mobilize society for autonomy and participation in processes of reappropriation of nature, which transcend the incorporation of scientific concepts of entropy and self-organization as a form of knowledge and social objectives. However, given the unpromising prospects for sustainable development, environmental rationality, informed by the concept of entropy, postulates a new productive paradigm based on the negentropic potentialities of natural ecosystems and cultural organization (LEFF, 2006, p. 206).

For Leff, only the activation of the desire for life can deconstruct the objectivist epistemology of beings and transform economic theory to generate a theory of production that is an “agency” of the potentials of nature and the meanings of culture; and initiate a social movement for the transformation and appropriation of dissipative structures in the service of human life, the construction of a durable world, diverse life worlds and sustainable societies. In this scenario, the possibility opens up for the

construction of a new paradigm of sustainable production that is part of the process of building environmental rationality.

In addition to the epistemological obstacles, the controversies surrounding the meanings of sustainability and the confrontation of interests to green the economy, the effectiveness of environmental policies to incorporate the values of nature and ecological norms that establish the external conditions that the market economy must assume are targets of debate (LEFF, 2006, p. 225-226).

According to Enrique Leff, environmental knowledge emerges from the questioning of dominant rationality and the construction of environmental rationality, which includes cultural diversity, ecological sustainability, social equity and transgenerational society (LEFF, 2006, p. 279-280). The author states that the transformations of these disciplines go through three levels: (a) investigation of scientific and technical knowledge; (b) integration of diverse processes and a set of existing knowledge around an object of study and elaboration of an integrated set through interdisciplinary methods; and (c) problematization of theoretical paradigms from different sciences to build a new environmental discipline that goes beyond the objects of knowledge (LEFF, 2006, p. 283).

The author Enrique Leff brings a synthesized and very enlightening logic when asserting that the construction of an environmental rationality implies the deconstruction of the dominant rationality, which, in turn, implies the decolonization and emancipation of local knowledge (LEFF, 2006, p. 321). At the end, the author mentions that political ecology seeks its theoretical and political identity in a changing world, in the emergence of new social actors inhabited by desire and the right to be in the world (LEFF, 2006, p. 335).

In Brazil, the reality of profound inequalities and exclusions has changed significantly in the

last thirty years with the advancement of social policies, the achievement of citizenship rights and the recognition of rights to a difference that takes place in an autonomous and emancipated way. It also changed for residents of consolidated informal settlements, with the advancement of public welfare policies, land regularization and urbanization. This change was made in formal terms (SANTOS; GUSTIN, 2013, p. 17).

As much as public urbanization and land regularization policies tend to promote the inclusion of residents in the city, by not recognizing them as political subjects, they end up reproducing the logic of social exclusion, breaking with the formal content of the law. The public authorities still grant housing under the cold logic of technical-bureaucratic administration, being unable to perceive the socio-cultural meanings and differentiated human relations of those spaces for residents. This logic of production of housing units reproduces the abysmal logics that make invisible and deny aspirations, ways of life and conceptions of sustainable housing of residents of the outskirts (SANTOS; GUSTIN, 2013, p. 17).

The housing that residents desire is one that suits their lifestyle, that recognizes the effort that went into their achievement and their ownership rights. Cultural adaptation must include the reproduction of a lifestyle, the maintenance of social ties, the improvement or maintenance of residents' quality of life according to basic habitability criteria, proximity to workplaces and basic public services. And, also, the possibility of participating in decisions about your community to guarantee the dignity of the human person (SANTOS; GUSTIN, 2013, p. 54).

The non-recognition of the way of life of residents of towns and favelas results in the imposition of a homogenizing model, as

the only right or correct way of life in cities. This stance tends to reinforce social injustice and the exclusion of these groups, who now have to adapt to new ways of reproducing life (SANTOS; GUSTIN, 2013, p. 54).

The documentary "for another globalization" attributes to Milton Santos the expansion of Brazilian critical geography. For Santos, geography has as its object space, where social relations occur and reflect. He sees geographic space as a social instance. He attributes a philosophical character to geography (GLOBALIZAÇÃO, 2006).

The quality of a property's performance is evident when it meets the needs and desires of its users, and when it is integrated, with assured access to public services and education, health, transport, culture and leisure networks. When working with previously structured and standardized projects, by decree, attention is lost to the peculiarities of the populations for which these projects are intended and the intrinsic diversity of the communities is failed to be recognized.

CONCLUSION

The criticisms made by Rosa Luxemburg of the Russian Revolution of 1917, provoked by socialist layers, remain current, especially in the face of constant impositions carried out by layers in power. The lack of truly popular participation, a living fluid on decisions, still appears, to a large extent, to be ineffective. As if this were not enough, in addition to old social demands, which involve, for example, decent work and housing, today topics on sustainability and preservation of socio-biodiversity are addressed.

Rosa Luxemburg already dealt with several assumptions of social confrontation, such as freedoms, constituency, economy, education. Juarez Freitas lists five assumptions for sustainability, namely: social, ethical, legal-political, economic and environmental. It is

observed that the need for guardianship and combination of different spheres was raised more than a century ago by the classical thinker.

Similar to what occurred in the Russian Revolution of 1917, with the imposition of rules on property, current policies of a homogenizing nature can be seen, which disregard the peculiarities and desires of the local community. The imposition of decisions

and governance by decree was harshly criticized by Rosa Luxemburg.

Raising discussions in a society of interrelations, complex, multidisciplinary and plural opens up space to finally overcome old debates of domination, against a dictatorship of a few. Knowledge and social strengthening serve to foster the living fluid, in the integration of the most varied aspects of complex society.

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