Contents

Tables, Figures, and Maps	vii
Preface	xi–xii
Acknowledgments	xiii
Introduction • Reform from above, 1 • Stolypin: the man behind the reforms, 3 • This book's goals, 8	1
Chapter 1 Creating Private Property, Dispersing Power • The gist of the reforms, 12 • Liberal democracy, 13 • Property rights, civil society, and liberal democracy, 17 • Transitions to liberal democracy, 20 • Liberalizing property rights in tsarist Russia, 26	12
Chapter 2 The Property Rights to Be Reformed • Open fields, 31 • Repartition, 39 • Family v. individual tenure, 49 • The costs of open fields, repartition, and family ownership, 51 • Post-Emancipation limits on exit, sale, or exchange, 62 • Rule changes on the eve of the Stolypin reforms, 70 • Sociology of the commune, 71 • Attitudes toward law, property, and individual achievement, 75	31
Chapter 3 Peasant Conditions on the Eve of Reform • Trends in agricultural productivity per capita, 86 • Peasant landholdings, 92 • Peasant and pomeshchik productivity, 102 • Land and grain prices; the Peasant Land Bank, 103 • Tax burdens, 109 • A glimpse of peasant life, 111	84

vi Contents

Chapter 4 The Politics of Reform • Composition of the First Duma, 115 • The pomeshchiki, 116 • The SRs, the Trudoviki and other peasant representatives, 118 • The Kadets, 128 • Use of Article 87, 136 • Collateral reforms, 139	114
Chapter 5 Overview of the Reforms • Reform provisions: a rough cut, 147 • The results of the reforms, 154 • The flow of applications over time, 161 • Regional variation, 165 • Variations in size of holdings converted or consolidated, 178	147
Chapter 6 Purposes and Pressure: Issues of Reform Design • Red herrings, 183 • "Administrative pressure," 191 • Biases in favor of title conversion and consolidation, 197 • Title conversion as an impediment to consolidation, 208 • Government insistence on form of consolidation, 212 • Shortfalls in the rights granted, 216	180
Chapter 7 The Long-Term Implications • Productivity, 225 • Short-term social stress, 231 • Peasant acceptance in perspective: reversal and re-reversal in the Revolution; Siberian zemleustroistvo, 234 • Gains: the soft variables, 238 • Stifling the new property rights, 243 • Prospects for liberal democracy from an illiberal regime's voluntary steps toward liberalism, 248 • Coda: privatization of Russian agricultural land today, 252	224
Statutory Appendix	259
Glossary	269
Bibliography	271
Index	291

Tables, Figures, and Maps

Tables		
Table 2.1.	Numbers of Plots Held by Peasants	33
Table 2.2.	Distance Traveled from Village to Most Remote	
	Tract	34
Table 2.3.	Geographic Prevalence of the Repartitional	
	Commune	44-45
Table 2.4.	Labor input in man-labor days (per unit of land)	
	on seventy-two farms in Penza Province	52
Table 3.1.	Annual Growth Rate of Personal Consumption	
	Expenditures	87
Table 3.2.	Landholding in European Russia: 1877 and 1905	97
Table 3.3.	Production on Privately Owned v. Allotment	
	Land	102
Table 3.4.	Land Price and Gross Value of Rye Production	105
Table 5.1.	Households in European Russia Covered by	
	Applications for Title Conversion and for	
	Consolidation (in 000s)	163
Table 5.2.	Households in European Russia with	
	Zemleustroistvo Accomplished (in 000s)	165
Table 5.3.	Applications, Consolidations, and Conversions	
	in Forty-Eight Provinces of European Russia	166–169
Table 7.1.	Machinery Imports, in Rubles (millions)	226
Table 7.2.	Machinery Production, in Rubles (millions)	226

Figures		
Figure 5.1	Proportion of Households Converting to	
	Hereditary Title	156
Figure 5.2.	. Applications for Title Conversion and for	
J	Consolidation	163
Maps		
Map I.1.	The Provinces of European Russia	xiv
Map 2.1.	Prevalence of the Repartitional Commune, by	
•	Province	43
Map 5.1.	Percentage of Households Converting Title, by	
-	Province	170
Map 5.2.	Percentage of Households Consolidating, by	
	Province	171