



CHANGING TREND OF PEASANT BEHAVIOR IN RUSSIA DURING STOLYPIN'S AGRARIAN REFORM

Tendência de mudança do comportamento de camponeses na Rússia durante as reformas agrárias de Stolypin

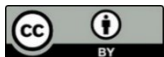
Dmitry V. Kuznetsov

University College of Agribusiness. Omsk State Agrarian University, Omsk, Russia

ORCID: <https://orcid.org/0000-0002-2550-8682>

E-mail: dmitry.kuznetsov@gmail.com

Trabalho enviado em 18 de dezembro de 2022 e aceito em 18 de dezembro de 2022



This work is licensed under a Creative Commons Attribution 4.0 International License.



Rev. Dir. Cid., Rio de Janeiro, Vol. 15, N.01., 2023, p. 01-25.

Dmitry V. Kuznetsov

DOI: [10.12957/rdc.2023.71975](https://doi.org/10.12957/rdc.2023.71975) | ISSN 2317-7721

ABSTRACT

In this article, the authors aim to differentiate various categories of the peasantry according to the views on property to develop an optimal research approach that will allow for an objective and comprehensive analysis of the attitudes and behavior of the peasant population of Russia during the Stolypin course of agrarian policy pursued by the autocracy. The study shows the validity of using the peasantry's attitude to property as one of the key criteria for assessing the degree of efficiency of the Stolypin reform. The selected criterion allows one to show the evolution of this attitude depending on the social characteristics of a particular category of peasants. Any reform should be assessed from the standpoint of those whose interests are affected first. Property is one of the main guidelines that determine the position of a person in society and the world. Aimed at creating the stratum of steady owners in the village, P.A. Stolypin's reform frees the peasants from the petty fiscal and bureaucratic oversight of the state. As the peasantry realizes the seriousness of the government's intentions and possible prospects for the development of the economy, their attitude to the reform also changes. This change takes place along with the peasantry's realization that the state is interested in steady owners in the village. Those who can and want to be one, accept the reform with enthusiasm, others ultimately see in the reform an opportunity to shift the blame for their failure to the state.

Keywords: Capitalist element; Classification, community; Main categories; Semifeudal ways of exploitation.

RESUMO

Neste artigo, os autores buscam diferenciar várias categorias de do campesinato de acordo com os pontos de vista sobre a propriedade para desenvolver uma abordagem de investigação que permita uma análise objetiva e abrangente das atitudes e comportamento da população camponesa da Rússia durante o período de Stolypin de política agrária estabelecida pela autocracia. O estudo mostra a validade de utilizar a postura dos camponeses em relação à propriedade como um dos critérios-chave para avaliar o grau de eficiência da reforma Stolypin. O critério selecionado permite mostrar a evolução desta postura em função das características sociais de uma categoria particular de camponeses. Qualquer reforma deve ser avaliada do ponto de vista daqueles cujos interesses são afetados em primeiro lugar. A propriedade é uma das principais orientações que determinam a posição de uma pessoa na sociedade e no mundo. Com o objetivo de criar o estrato de proprietários estáveis na aldeia, a reforma de P.A. Stolypin liberta os camponeses da fiscalização fiscal e burocrática mesquinha do



Estado. À medida que os camponeses se apercebem da seriedade das intenções do governo e das possíveis perspectivas de desenvolvimento da economia, a sua posição em relação à reforma também muda. Esta mudança tem lugar juntamente com a percepção do campesinato de que o Estado está interessado em ter proprietários estáveis na aldeia. Aqueles que podem e querem ser um, aceitam a reforma com entusiasmo, outros acabam por ver na reforma uma oportunidade de transferir as culpas do seu fracasso para o Estado.

Palavras-chave: capitalismo, classificação, comunidade, principais categorias, formas de exploração semifeudal

1. INTRODUCTION

1.1. Problem statement

The assessment of the role, place, and significance, as well as the consequences of P.A. Stolypin's agrarian reform policy, are still pressing contentious issues. It is known that P.A. Stolypin, intending to create a stratum of stable prosperous owners in the village, began to implement large-scale changes in the agrarian sector of the Russian economy, however, not all peasants of that time could accept this policy, due to the inconsistency of their psychological and mental attitudes with the emerging life conditions and work in the Russian village. In view of this, it becomes necessary to consider the problem of determining the degree of efficiency of the Stolypin agrarian reform from the standpoint of the attitude to property of various categories of the peasant population of Russia at the beginning of the 20th century.

1.2. Preliminary considerations

Over the last two centuries of Russian history as well as in earlier times, the agrarian issue was one of the most important and at the same time painful. The fate of the country depended on its solution since most of the population until the middle of the 20th century were peasants. The unresolved agrarian question was the key reason for the three Russian revolutions and the collapse of the monarchy in 1917. The agrarian reform, if successfully completed, could become an alternative to both revolutionary upheavals and the horrors of the Civil War experienced by Russia in the 20th century. Part of P.A. Stolypin's agrarian reform was a resettlement policy. The implementation of the latter was not only an attempt to reduce the severity of social tension in the European part of the country, suffering from agrarian overpopulation, or to raise agricultural productivity. It was a possible comprehensive solution to many economic, demographic and social problems as well as a way to



strengthen the geopolitical security of sparsely populated areas.

New challenges that Russia faces in the 21st century are also associated with the stable development of agriculture and the position of agricultural workers. From a practical standpoint, the experience of the Stolypin reform can become invaluable for modern politicians. However, the scientific assessment of its significance and consequences is too ambiguous. To understand the Stolypin agrarian reform, one needs to turn to the position of various strata of the peasantry through the prism of their attitude to the reform, and the trend of the change in this attitude makes it possible to determine the degree of its success and efficiency. This will undoubtedly expand and enrich the existing ideas about the reform as a whole and its role, place, and significance in the Russian historical process.

Based on this, we will attempt to present our understanding of the features of the research approach, which must be developed to adequately characterize and objectively assess the degree of efficiency of the Stolypin agrarian reform. This work is important because today, when solving practical issues of reforming the agrarian sector of the Russian economy, people increasingly turn to its historical experience, one of the brightest pages of which was P.A. Stolypin's agrarian policy (BASHMACHNIKOV et al., 1991; LOYKO, 2006; NIKOLSKII, 2012; PLAKSIN, 2012; POZHIGAILO, 2015; SAZONOV, 1996; SLEPTSOV, 2016; SOSENKOV, 2017, 2018).

Naturally, it is possible (and sometimes even necessary) to turn to the historical experience of Russia in solving modern problems but only if this experience has been studied sufficiently thoroughly, deeply, and comprehensively. A researcher is an analyst, so when trying to compare the situation in any area of modern life, for example, in agriculture, with the past experience of reforming the village, the researcher must not only know this experience well but also understand it correctly, and this can be achieved not just by learning the necessary information contained in the relevant sources but also by a detailed, deep and comprehensive understanding of the subject of research.

In this regard, P.A. Stolypin's reforms in general and the politician's agrarian policy, in particular, are a good example. Despite the abundance of research papers (ANFIMOV, 1996, 2002; KONOVALOV, 2000; KOVALCHENKO, 1992; KOVALCHENKO; SAKHAROV, 1977; KOZLOV, 2020; KUZNETSOV, 2020; NIKOLSKII, 1993, 2003; ROGALINA, 2010, 2012; SHELOKHAEV, 2009, 2012; TYUKAVKIN, 2001), the reforms remain insufficiently comprehended and therefore not understood to the extent that it is necessary to provide a sound basis for any serious theoretical generalizations, using them in the future to develop any practical recommendations.



The reason for this situation in the historiography of the Stolypin agrarian reform is that a unified system of generally accepted criteria has not yet been created that would make an objective assessment of P.A. Stolypin's agrarian transformations possible and allow one to understand the quintessence that underlies the reformist intentions and actions.

One of these criteria is a criterion using which one could establish the degree of efficiency of the Stolypin agrarian reform in social terms (KAPITONENKOV, 2014, 2020; KUZNETSOV, 2016). It is the correct definition of this efficiency that would make it possible to implement an objective approach and adequately describe and assess this reform as a whole and obtain a specific understanding of the fundamentals of the process that was the basis for the Stolypin course of the agrarian policy of the autocracy.

However, to clearly establish these criteria, it is necessary to clarify exactly how the implementation of the agrarian reform influenced the attitudes of various groups and categories of the peasantry, and how the trend of their behavior changed throughout the entire period of Stolypin's agrarian policy implementation by the autocracy.

2. METHODS

1. *The analytical method* will make it possible to single out various groups of the Russian peasantry, by decomposing it, carried out through the prism of the attitude of these groups to property, considering each of them separately to deeper understand the whole. 2. Through the *socio-psychological* method developed based on the classification of the famous Russian entrepreneur of the early twentieth century V.P. Ryabushinsky, who made a characterization of people based on their attitude to the problem of property with the allocation into five groups, it will be possible to extrapolate this characterization, applying it to the entire peasantry of pre-revolutionary Russia, supplementing and specifying it with appropriate historical observations. 3 *The historical-genetic method* will enable the gradual detection of changes in the attitudes and behavior of the peasantry during the Stolypin agrarian transformations, thus getting as close as possible to the reconstruction of the real situation that developed in the Russian village, as well as revealing the cause-and-effect relationships between the attitude peasants to property and the features of their perception of the Stolypin reform. 4. *The historical-comparative* method was used to characterize the degree of heterogeneity of the Russian peasantry at the beginning of the 20th century and compare the positions of its individual categories, as well as in the analysis of phenomena of the same order that occurred in different historical periods but had similar nature and pattern of their occurrence. 5. *The problem-*



chronological method will allow one to consider the selected categories of the peasantry from the perspective of the trend of changes in its position and attitudes in their progressive development in time. 6. *The historical-typological method* will it possible to break down the object of study, which in this case is the Russian peasantry, into qualitatively defined types and subtypes based on their inherent common essential features with the identification of intrinsic homogeneous properties. The breakdown will be carried out by grouping the categories of the peasantry according to particular characteristics, and in this regard, act as a means of ordering and systematizing the peasantry.

3. RESULTS

3.1. Relationship between the main categories of the peasantry based on V.P. Ryabushinsky's classification

To obtain a clearer picture characterizing the trend of changes in the positions of various strata of the peasantry in their attitude to the Stolypin agrarian reform, in this case, we believe it is advisable to use the opinion of the historian and publicist known in the first third of the 20th century, one of the eight brothers of the richest Old Believer entrepreneurial clan in pre-revolutionary Russia V.P. Ryabushinsky. Characterizing the attitude of people to property, the historian made the following classification,

All people, according to how they relate to property, can be divided into five groups: four active and one passive.

The first group is the **owners** at heart, hard-working, thrifty, businesslike. These people are organizers of labor, creators of values, accumulators of world wealth.

The second group is **saints**, altruistic, low-maintenance, undemanding. For them, worldly blessings do not matter.

The third group is **envious** people, embittered and sterile, a type that does not require further explanation.

The fourth group is improvident people, careless, devoid of business sense and understanding, mediocre, wasteful, stupid, lazy. This also includes dreamers, theorists far removed from life, and naive dreamers. For discussion, this group shall be called **failures**.

These four basic types in their pure form are rarely found, and usually in life, one has to deal with people of a complex psyche, which is a mixture of these types in different combinations and various proportions.

Take the socialist mood as an example. It comes from a combination of **envy** and **improvidence**; the prevalence of the former results in Social Democrats, the prevalence of the latter yields the Socialist-Revolutionaries.

Very rare but very valuable is the merging of the **saint** and the **owner** in one person. The abbots of the North Russian monasteries are an example of such a combination (RYABUSHINSKY, 1997, p. 22).



One of the most famous and at the same time prominent representatives of this type was Metropolitan Philip – a youth friend of the first Russian Tsar Ivan IV Vasilyevich (the Terrible), and later his staunch and consistent critic and opponent.

"The fifth group is a **passive majority**, having neither definite opinions nor definite convictions, completely unstable in their attitudes. This shapeless mass is capable of joining any of the active groups – one today, another tomorrow" (RYABUSHINSKY, 1997, p. 20) depending on the situation.

From V.P. Ryabushinsky's characterization, it can be seen that the historian approaches the problem of people's attitude to property not as "generally" as is customary in historiography (both Russian and foreign), but in a much more differentiated way.

Particularly noteworthy is the first group identified by Ryabushinsky – the "owners". If, when analyzing the attitude of the above three main groups of the peasantry to the individualization of land during the implementation of the Stolypin agrarian reform, one tries to use the characterization given by Ryabushinsky, then it can be noted that not all peasants could be in this group, and it initially and by definition could not make up the majority of the population.

Based on this, it should be assumed that it would not be entirely correct to use the degree of popularity or unpopularity of the idea of individualization of land among peasants as a criterion for assessing the Stolypin reform. Indeed, according to the Stolypin decree dated 9 Nov. 1906 (and the law subsequently adopted by the Duma on 14 Jun. 1910), the land was provided not just to the peasant, but to the *owner*, and as one can see from the classification given by Ryabushinsky, not every peasant could be one. It was this category of peasant-owners that made up the backbone or the core of the mass that not only left the community but also settled in farms and on plots. The total number of such peasant-owners who switched to farms and plots was about 10% as of 1 Jan. 1917.

If one uses this average figure of 10% as a basis, then one can assume that the rest of the groups at that time also amounted to about 10%. Then the groups characterized by Ryabushinsky as "envious" and "failures" would account for approximately 20%. The same amount (i.e. about 20%) should be allocated to the combination of these groups. Thus, there were about 40% (or slightly more) of the firm opponents of the individualization of land.

It is more difficult to determine the number of those whom Ryabushinsky called "saints". This term does not necessarily mean those who were prominent due to their righteous life or who were canonized by the Church, but above all those for whom wealth and material benefits were not of great and paramount importance. There could hardly be many such peasants at the beginning of the 20th century – (from 1 to 3%). This group, due to its small number, could not significantly affect the quantitative indicators of peasants who stood out from the community and participated in the policy



of moving to farms. The "saints" could not actively speak out either for or against the individualization of land.

Further, one should dwell on two intermediate categories formed from the combination of the properties of "owner" and the "envious", and "owner" and "failure".

3.2. Describing key intermediate categories of peasantry according to their description in Russian historiography

3.2.1. Who are "envious owners"?

The first category is "**envious owners**". This refers to those who were commonly called "kulaks" at that time. Turning to the description of this term, it should be noted that in the pre-revolutionary Russian village, a "kulak" was most often a wealthy peasant who received wealth by "enslaving" fellow villagers and keeping the whole "world" (rural community) "in a fist" (i.e. that is, dependent on themselves). The name "kulak" was given to rural peasants who had an income that their fellow villagers considered ill-gotten, *unearned – usurers, chapmen, and merchants*. The consciousness of peasants has always been based on the idea that hard *physical labor* was the only honest source of wealth. The origin of the wealth of usurers and merchants was associated primarily with their dishonesty – the merchant, for example, was considered a "parasite of society, making a *profit* on objects obtained by other people's labor," since, according to the peasants engaged in direct production, "unless you cheat, you won't sell" (DOBRONozHENKO, 1999, p. 29).

Russian literature of the second half of the 19th century, mainly Narodnik, is characterized by the opposition of the kulak (usurer and merchant) and the well-to-do land muzhik (peasant farmer), kulak and production-based methods of economic management.

In one of the first monographic studies devoted to the kulaks, the latter is a rural intermediary, a usurer, "*who is not interested in any production*", "*does not produce anything*". The kulaks "*resort to illegal means of gain, even fraud*", "*quickly and easily enrich themselves by robbing their neighbors, profit from the impoverishment of the people*" (SAZONOV, 1894, p. 521-522).

An expert on the Russian post-reform peasantry A.N. Engelhardt (1999) described a typical appearance of a village kulak in the 1870s:



a real kulak does not like the land, nor the farm, nor labor, this one loves only money... 'Only fools and horses work'. A kulak thinks that only fools work and the smart ones rack their brain. A kulak is proud of his fat belly and does not work much: 'The debtors will mow everything down, reap it and put it in the barn'. For the kulak, everything is based not on the land, not on the farm, not on labor, but on the capital for which the kulak trades, gives out on loan at interest. The kulak's idol is money and the kulak can only think of multiplying it. The kulak inherited capital, obtained in an unknown but ill way... The kulak lets this capital grow, and this is called "racking their brain". The kulak needs for the peasants to be poor so that they would turn to the kulak for a loan (p. 521-522).

As one can see from this characterization, at the beginning of the 20th century, a rich peasant farmer was NOT considered a kulak. The latter lent money at interest to impoverished fellow villagers, which they worked off at the kulak's farm. This form of hiring labor in the form of payment can also be considered capitalist entrepreneurship, but one that is based on usury, and not on agricultural labor as such.

It was the ability to engage in trade deals and usury within the rural community that allowed the kulaks to seize the land of the poor, keep them completely in debt, and exploit them. This was one of the main reasons that the repartitioning-equalizing community hindered the development of genuine collectivism, and implanted imaginary collectivism, since the kulaks, giving loans to poor peasants, did not allow them to go completely bankrupt, helped to "stay afloat", i.e. keep them dependent on endless loans, held in debt bondage and at the same time brutally exploited. At the same time, the kulak, unlike the well-to-do peasant, did not work on the land but used the labor of neighboring farmworkers who borrowed money from the kulak. That is why the kulak did not find it profitable for the peasants to leave the community, as in this case, the number of real and potential client-debtors was reduced, and at the same time, the number of impoverished fellow villagers for exploitation and usurious robbery in the community decreased.

This circumstance explains the conclusion of some authors, the essence of which is that during the years of the Stolypin agrarian reform "the capitalist element preferred to remain in the community and use the intracommunal, semi-feudal method of exploiting the ordinary peasantry" (KIMITAKA, 1992, p. 194). The "capitalist element" here obviously means the kulaks, i.e. that small group of "envious owners" according to V.P. Ryabushinsky's classification, who, as noted above, received the main income not from her own labor on the land but usury and labor repayment.

However, the situation could actually be more complicated. In this case, one should refer to the research of Yu.L. Raiskii (1962), who, studying the results of Stolypin land management on allotments in the black-earth center of European Russia, established that the management had dual nature,

First, large farms and plots were formed mainly on the lands of the Peasants' Bank. Those who bought them were, as a rule, kulaks. At the same time, they reserved allotment lands for themselves as members of the rural society, that is, their "original allotments" often remained in the community (p. 511).

Second, Raiskii (1962, p. 514) established that in addition to the desire of the wealthy peasants to combine their numerous strips bought up from the poor into one plot, i.e. to implement a "correct", capitalist economy on a separate plot in accordance with the requirements of the market, – in reality, there was another tendency – unwillingness to part with the old, tested methods of predatory loan exploitation of the community, as well as the desire to use common lands for haymaking, grazing, etc.

Based on these observations, the researcher concluded that the kulaks "were both farmers and community members, and thus 'got the opportunity to simultaneously create a large farm and continue to exploit the increasingly bankrupt community members in the old ways (usury, bondage, various kinds of labor repayment associated with them)" (RAISKII, 1962, p. 515).

It is obvious, however, that there were few representatives of such capitalist rural entrepreneurship. Such people not only did not represent any special class but also did not represent any noticeable social stratum and were rather separate small islands of usurious capitalism in the sea of small-scale, semi-subsistence, and patriarchal peasant farms.

"Kulak elements" who robbed their fellow villagers were contrasted in agrarian literature with wealthy peasants who 'worked on the land, attended to the land'. The well-to-do peasant 'builds prosperity not on the needs of others but on their own labor ..., expands their farm not for profit only, works to the point of tiredness, does not sleep enough, does not eat enough. Such a land muzhik never has a belly like a real kulak (ENGELHARDT, 1999, p. 386-387).

A detailed analysis of the main features of wealthy farms ("the highest group of peasants"), which "run a commercial economy and derive income through the production of agricultural products," is given in the studies of the largest economist-statistician of the late 19th and early 20th centuries V.E. Postnikov (1981, p. 114). *Wealthy households pursue the goal of "not only satisfying the family's own needs but also getting some surplus, income"* (POSTNIKOV, 1891, p. 117). These farms "in addition to their own significant allotment, still rent quite a lot of land on the side, 'buy in the land'" (POSTNIKOV, 1891, p. 17). "On such an area that far exceeds the working capacity of the farms



themselves, a wealthy farm "uses hired workers to a large extent" (POSTNIKOV, 1891, p. 144). V.E. Postnikov (1891, p. 17) repeatedly emphasizes that *sowing in this group of peasants is a "commercial enterprise", the surplus obtained "accumulates and serves to expand the farm and improve it."* Recognizing the existence of "elements of exploitation" (hiring labor force) in these farms, Postnikov stresses that *"there are no kulak features in him [the well-to-do land peasant – D.K.]".*

Such farmers, while not being kulaks, could also buy bank lands and become sole owners of farms or plots and retain their communal allotments. At the same time, these farmers were guided by motives of a different kind than those pointed out by Yu.L. Raiskii. The desire to retain their communal lands after the purchase of bank land for the formation of a farm or plot-based household could be due to the desire to avoid the possible risk of bankruptcy.

At first, the sole buyers of bank land avoided selling their allotment shares and estates, holding them with the caution typical of a peasant, just in case. Retaining ties with the allotment gave hope that if the attempt to strengthen the economy in the new conditions was unsuccessful, it would be possible to return to the old place. In three to four years after the start of the reform, having surveyed the acquired plot, the buyers, whenever possible, tried to get rid of the allotment and turn the money received from its sale to an economic establishment in a new place (PROSKURYAKOVA, 2002, p. 343).

An interpretation of the types and methods of economic management of the wealthy peasantry that was different from the one prevailing in Russian post-reform literature is given in the monograph by R. Gvozdev "Usury-Kulaks and the Socio-Economic Significance" (1898). In the author's opinion, "the representatives of Narodnik economy looked at the kulaks incorrectly, seeing in them some kind of "growth" on the organism of "people's production"" (GVOZDEV, 1898, p. 148). Considering that *"usury-kulaks" were a necessary consequence of the transition of the natural economy to the money economy, and "the exploiting kulaks are a fatal historical link connecting two opposing periods", the author shows the "objective logic of the appearance of a kulak" ("a kulak is a legitimate creation of the process of initial accumulation")* (GVOZDEV, 1898, p. 160). R. Gvozdev considers kulak-usurious operations as *"the most widespread method of capital accumulation in the post-reform village. The peasants who got rich on kulak-usurious activities began to invest in agricultural production". At the same time, "economical peasants" also began to turn to "kulak" methods of economic management due to their profitability".* This transition of the "industrious and best owner", that is, an economical man who managed to save money," into a kulak, a buyer, a usurer "was happening only because the owner had capital that his neighbors, poor peasants, needed" (GVOZDEV, 1898, p. 147, 154, 157, 158).



Thus, R. Gvozdev (1898, p. 159) demonstrates the close coexistence of kulak and production methods of management in the post-reform village and quite rightly notes that *"it is extremely difficult to distinguish the sphere of kulak-usurious operations from enterprises of a purely economic nature; it is impossible to indicate where the kulak and the exploiter end and the industrious and the best owner begins"*.

A similar observation was made by A.N. Engelhardt, who, while noting the exploitative and predatory nature of the commercial and usurious (entrepreneurial) activities of the kulak, the latter's desire for profit in dishonest and "ill" ways, at the same time emphasized that the kulak, despite the hatred of ordinary peasants towards him, at the same time, was the personification of the villager's success.

The kulak's liberation from heavy physical labor and the presence of a certain capital that allowed the kulak to become independent from anyone in the village were a very attractive example for the rest of the peasants, about which A.N. Engelhardt (1999) writes:

every peasant, if the circumstances are favorable, will exploit anyone else in the most excellent way ... every peasant possesses a certain dose of the kulak elements... only in a rare one there is no budding kulak... every peasant dreamed of becoming a kulak on occasion (p. 386-387).

The cases of transformation of industrious peasant-owners into kulaks-usurers were particularly common in Siberia. Moreover, there this phenomenon was far from an isolated one. Often, not individuals but entire rural communities were engaged in usurious operations. This is because the peasants in Siberia were famously more prosperous than those in European Russia, and the former had much more opportunities to carry out such operations.

A circular order of the head of the South Kainsky subdistrict, Tomsk region dated September 28, 1909 No. 11 addressed to the volost administrations located on the subordinate territory can serve as solid evidence that clearly illustrates such a transformation. In particular, the order stated,

When checking plots and resettlement villages, it was established that many rural communities had significant sums of money collected from the lease of land, estates, grassland, etc. It was also discovered that the funds collected in this way, constituting social and community capital, were used for an extremely irrational purpose: many rural communities spend such funds on so-called social drinking, some use them for speculative purposes, lending to different persons at interest rates that sometimes reach 20%, which is illegal, acquiring a purely usurious character (STATE ARCHIVES OF THE TOMSK REGION (GATO), n.d., p. 154).

It seems that, by definition, there could not have been any other prospect of making a life for themselves for a peasant living in a community. **Only the free development of a person on their own**



land can ensure their proper existence and the formation of a full-fledged and comprehensively developed personality (a real "owner" – that is, a representative of the first group according to Ryabushinsky's classification) **who does not build her happiness on the misfortunes of others**. That is why Stolypin began to carry out his agrarian reform to enable the hardworking peasants, the "salt of the Russian earth," to apply their labor to the land and create worthy conditions for their existence. This intention can be clearly seen from Stolypin's following statement,

Until now, our one-hundred-million peasantry, always dependent on others, had only one career – the career of a muzhik-kulak. Now other, lighter horizons open up before the peasantry. Becoming an owner, the sole blacksmith of their own happiness, our peasant gets a great opportunity to show their personal will and initiative in the rational arrangement of their life, their economy (BESEDA S PRESEDATELEM SOVETA MINISTROV P.A. STOLYPINYM, 2006, p. 485).

The aforementioned head of the South Kainsky subregion also acted within this approach, when, in his circular order, instructed all volost administrations to strive to organize a more reasonable and rational use of peasant public funds. In particular, the head pointed out:

It is quite possible to give such funds a purpose that would be aimed at more significant goals, bringing rural societies a certain benefit, in the sense of raising their economic and cultural status. Namely, such funds can be used to build schools, churches, for the formation of credit savings-and-loan associations (STATE ARCHIVES OF THE TOMSK REGION (GATO), n.d., p. 154).

The head proceeded to present the rules for organizing the receipt and expenditure of communal public capital that all volost administrations in the subordinate subdistrict were obliged to adhere to.

Unfortunately, there were no documents that could provide information on how and to what extent this order was implemented in the archive materials on this case, however, this does not seem to be so significant anymore. The main thing here is to establish the very fact of the situation when, under the existing conditions of communal economic life, the peasants simply did not see any other opportunity to spend the considerable funds received from lease transactions on various agricultural land, other than to either drink them away or invest in usury and other illegal operations and build their own career, thus becoming typical kulaks – exploiters.

Despite the significant spread of trade and usury operations in Siberia, it seems that this type of rural capitalist entrepreneurship was not universal, which means that the kulaks (these "envious owners" according to Ryabushinsky's classification), did not represent a particular class or a noticeable

social stratum. According to our assumptions, there were from 5 to 7% of kulaks in a Russian village at the beginning of the 20th century.

3.2.2. Who could be considered an "owner-failure"?

Finally, another group was a combination of "**owner**" and "**failure**". Contrary to the expected assertions that such a combination is by definition impossible due to its unnaturalness, such a group also existed, although, like the "envious owners" (kulaks), it was very small. People in this group, as a rule, were endowed with a business sense, had the makings of entrepreneurship and business skills, but at the same time, they had an adventurous mindset and disposition. These people were attracted by everything unusual, "outlandish", and therefore they were prone to experimentation combined with risk, which, in most cases, failed, since these people were too detached from reality and did not bother to calculate the real consequences of their experiments and activities. Nevertheless, although their experiments in the economic and production sphere, as a rule, end in nothing, these people are still very persistent and never stop their attempts, guided by the principle: "what if something does work".

Perhaps one of the most striking examples of people of this type is the second representative of the Romanov dynasty, the father of Peter I, Tsar Alexei Mikhailovich. Here is the characterization of the economic gimmickry of this tsar described in the study by A.I. Zaozersky.

As already mentioned, in the sovereign's economy a lot of attention was paid to gardening and horticulture. The tsar, having a penchant for experimentation and childishly loving everything "outlandish", tries to plant many southern plants in the Moscow region, including even grapes and a mulberry tree. Naturally, these ventures failed - such crops as the Shemakha and Astrakhan watermelons, the date tree, the almonds, and the Hungarian pears could not grow in the Moscow region. However, the tsar was extremely stubborn in his undertakings and tormented his subordinates with his "projects" until the end of his life. All this is very similar to the ventures of a whimsical spoiled young master – "a minor" who has never been refused. The idea of starting silkworm breeding near Moscow bugs the tsar, and he orders, besides the "silk" breeders, "who would be able to feed the worms and make the silk... to find such a master, although it is expensive, who would be able to start and feed the worms with such food that would be like mulberry, or get oil from a mulberry tree and dipping a leaf or grass into the oil of other trees, feed the worms" (ZAOZERSKY, 1937, p. 119).

However, according to Zaozersky (1937), at the end of the reign it turned out that "local silkworm breeding is more useful for educating the initiator in patience than pleasing him with its results" (p. 121-122).



If the cultivation of corn in central Russia is an unrealizable business (the memory of the Khrushchev corn campaign evokes cheerful animation among our contemporaries), then what can one say about a mulberry tree, grapes, almonds, etc.? Madness? Simple farmers probably secretly laughed at the king, but they shook their heads in thought: what would happen to the kingdom headed by such a ruler.

The tsar proposes to the German gardener Indrik to do "the most secret thing" - to engraft "all the fruits that God has" on the apple tree. The perplexed gardener did not lie: "All the fruits cannot be grafted, sovereign." However, the king was famously stubborn and ordered to begin a secret experiment (a kind of operation "Y").

The country's chief selection breeder went even further in his creative endeavors.

Alexei Mikhailovich also had the most precious apple tree. A wild one, growing outside the barn, and on this apple tree, without telling anyone, he grafted shoots of not only all kinds of trees – poplar, birch, willow, oak, aspen, but thrust wheat grains into the cuts, barley, millet, poppy. Suddenly something comes out! (KUTUZOV, 2003, p. 207).

It is not surprising that Aleksey Mikhailovich's vegetable garden "was a short-lived enterprise, barely outlived its initiator" (KUTUZOV, 2003, p. 208).

The enthusiasm for everything foreign also affected the tsar's agricultural experiments. Zaozersky (1937) writes:

[The tsar] even wanted to have just trees or plants, that [the tsar] knew only one thing about – that they should not look like the local, Moscow ones: the list of items that the permanent tsarist commission agent Gebdon was entrusted to buy abroad contained an inscription by the tsar: "German trees a sazhen tall", without any further clarifications; or: in 1662, Princes Prozorovsky and Zhelyabuzhsky who traveled as ambassadors to England, had to bring from there, on the order of the tsar, all kinds of seeds, "which, in Moscow, would rise from the earth" (p. 119).

This was the attraction to foreign, outlandish – anything as long as it is different from local.

By the tsar's order, fruit trees as cuttings with a "root" were brought from distant places and from abroad, Russian and foreign masters were invited, and some of them brought soil from their homeland: for example, gardeners of "grape and watermelon gardens" delivered from Astrakhan up to 200 poods of "grape and watermelon land". At the head of the gardening business are the Germans – Grigory Hut and Valentin Davyd. Presumably, these undertakings cost the tsar a lot, but a simple taxpayer, i.e. "Russian muzhik paid for everything – hence the riots" (Zaozersky, 1937, p. 207-208).

A similar example of a later time, already in the 20th century, is the aforementioned N.S. Khrushchev, who, with his attempts to plant corn almost everywhere on the collective and state farm fields of the Soviet Union, earned himself unfading legendary fame. Khrushchev's policy of mass introduction of corn in the USSR agriculture in the 1950s–1960s, as well as the experiments of his distant predecessor with planting mulberry trees, watermelons, grapes, etc., did not take into account the climatic conditions of the country, and therefore was generally a failure. N.S. Khrushchev's solutions within the framework of measures for the development of virgin and fallow lands in Kazakhstan, the policy of enlarging collective farms with their parallel transformation into state farms, and other experiments were also famous but not very successful. These, as well as many other Khrushchev's endeavors, were vivid examples of the so-called "Khrushchev's voluntarism", but was Tsar Alexey's work in gardening and horticulture, as well as in other spheres, not a manifestation of the same? It is the voluntaristic inclinations that induce such "unfortunate owners" to attempt risky experiments that, as a rule, end in complete failure. These people are conditioned by the desire, by all means, to realize the goals without taking into account objective circumstances and possible consequences.

The characterization and examples of "owners-failures" make it possible to better understand the psychology of this type of people and the nature of their attitudes when studying the issue of attitudes toward property. At the beginning of the 20th century, these people, being by nature inclined to risk, could also take part in the Stolypin agrarian reform – acquired land, settled on farms, but due to their adventurous nature and lack of patience, such people could not competently and rationally organize the economy and therefore soon refused the land plots granted to them and sold them.

In this regard, it is appropriate to cite the observation of S. Korolev-Pinyashin. Even though formally the vocabulary and tonality of his article do not correspond to the strict canons of the academic style required from research, and the entire article is in the free journalistic genre, one cannot ignore its content which contains a rather accurate description of this category of the peasantry.

The bid on the strong, despite the apparent discrimination of the weak, has caused an unprecedented moral impulse in the country. The paradox was that the most untalented failures wanted to become "strong". For the first time in world practice, the government provided unlimited credit of trust to its subjects, and very many hopelessly degraded, impoverished peasants "suddenly" began to turn into stable owners. However, Stolypin knew how to really look at the situation and foresaw a significant number of peasants who were not capable of running an independent individual farm. "One cannot equate a lazy person with a hardworking person, one cannot equate a feeble-minded person with a capable person," Stolypin said. It is not surprising that small people rushed to the Stolypin farms, for whom honest work was simply unbearable, but who were attracted by the "novelty". Anyway, it is difficult



to become "strong" while remaining drunk. There were also many simply untalented, those very "eternally second" who wanted to become "eternally first" ("and for the letter to be signed by Stolypin!"). All these people made up the often cited percentage of those who were deceived by the reform of the land-poor (KOROLEV-PINASHIN, 1993, p. 11).

According to our estimates, the total number of representatives of these groups - "envious owners" and "owners-failures" could be from 10 to 15%.

4. THE ROLE AND SIGNIFICANCE OF THE "PASSIVE MAJORITY" IN THE EVENTS OF THE EARLY 20th CENTURY

In total, all the groups described and their transitional layers make up approximately 60–65%. There are still about 35–40% of the peasants who made up the "passive majority". This is less than 4 active groups together with their combinations but more than each active group by itself. Therefore, the name given to this group by V.P. Ryabushinsky, the "passive majority", can be considered legitimate. The general socio-political situation in Russia depended on the position of this majority, on which of the active groups this very large group would join. The peasants in this category, at first, took a wait-and-see attitude, were in no hurry to enlarge their land allotment and become owners. It was not so easy for them to free themselves from old traditions and embark on an independent path of economic management. The peasants wanted to look at the life of their neighbors who had secured their land as personal property and, through their experience, to be convinced of the usefulness and profitability of local land use. Having become accustomed to the communal structure, the hesitant peasants said that "one could still endure it".

At the same time, the attitude of the latter was not static. If at the beginning of the reform, this category of peasants reacted to the reform (as to any new business) cautiously, as if looking closely at how things would go with their more initiative neighbors, then by the beginning of the First World War, an increasing number of these peasants were infected with the energy of their enterprising fellow villagers and showed an intention to arrange their life in a similar way. This situation gave grounds, for example, to the American historian D. Macey (1993) to assert that "by the beginning of World War I, *about half* [italics are mine – D.K.] of the peasants sought the government's help in reorganizing their farms in one way or another" (p. 16). Together with the farmers and plot owners, the total number of such peasants amounted to about 50–55%.

After the murder of P.A. Stolypin, the course for the continuation of reforms went on, but this process gradually began to weaken. The reform lost its proponent, its mainspring. Stolypin's successor, V.N. Kokovtsov, although continued the reform, but lacking the willpower and energy of his



predecessor could not (or did not want) to overcome the resistance of the conservative part of the ruling elite.

With the continued strong influence of the court and conservative landowners in the political system, the choice of government was predetermined. By this time, with the outbreak of war, for those in the government who still supported a moderate reform program, there really was a very weak opportunity to renew efforts to form a new coalition with an educated society and with the peasantry, although agrarian reforms began to create the necessary social basis for this (MACEY, 1993, p. 17).

During the First World War, and especially during the February Revolution, under the worsening socio-economic situation and the expanding penetration of revolutionary ideas, another tendency began to latently and imperceptibly gain ground in the peasant environment. This was an opposite tendency towards the spread of radical sentiments and demands due to the desire to solve the agrarian question in an easier, "accessible" way – through the confiscation of landed estates and the equalizing distribution of all land. That is why, when, after the assassination of Stolypin, the upper echelons of power began to show the absence of a firm hand capable of conducting the agrarian course with the same confidence and persistence, a gradual "slide down" began. Chaos and confusion in government circles ("ministerial leapfrog") led to radicalization in society and caused the Duma and the State Council (creation of the Progressist bloc) to sway to the left. The lack of firm and targeted support from the authorities led to the fact that now the "owners" could no longer lead the rest of the masses into the creative channel of land individualization. The steering wheel of history began to turn to the left, and now the atmosphere of public sentiment began to increasingly be determined by "the envious" and "failures". Very soon they would carry the rest of the "passive majority" with them. This circumstance explains the mass return of peasants to the community during the war years, as pointed out by many authors. In total, the "envious", "failures", together with their different combinations and different proportions, as well as the "passive majority", could make up 75–80% in explicit and implicit form by the fall of 1917. This amount was more than enough for the revolution to become an inevitable fait accompli in Russian history.



5. CONCLUSION

All in all, we will try to make a general typology of the peasantry with a description of its main categories (types and subtypes), distinguished according to the main criterion, which in this case is a criterion that allows the peasantry to be classified based on the attitude of these categories to the problem of property.

At the beginning of the 20th century, nine types and subtypes could be conditionally distinguished in the peasant population of Russia: four *main* active types, four *main* transitional-intermediate active subtypes, and the so-called "passive majority", which, incidentally, was also not homogeneous, but due to its insufficient activity could not act as an independent passionate-organizing force.

The first group is the **owners**. These people are hard-working, thrifty, businesslike. They people are organizers of labor, creators of values, accumulators of world wealth.

The second group is **saints**, altruistic, low-maintenance, undemanding. For them, worldly blessings do not matter.

The third group is **envious** people, embittered and sterile, incapable of independent work, but striving to take possession of other people's property by any means, living at the expense of the labor of others.

The fourth group is **failures**, improvident people, careless, devoid of business sense and understanding, mediocre, wasteful, stupid, lazy. This also includes dreamers, theorists far removed from life, and naive dreamers.

From the compound or combination of the *main* active types, it is possible to distinguish the main transitional-intermediate active subtypes, of which there are also four.

The first subtype is **saints-owners**. These are people who are guided, first of all, by spiritual values, who work and create material wealth primarily not for themselves but those around them, people living next to them.

The second subtype is **envious owners** (kulaks). These people know how to work, and even create material wealth, but they create them not so much through the use of their personal labor, as through deception and robbery (direct or indirect, explicit or implicit), through the cruel exploitation of the labor of others.

The third subtype is owners-failures. They are very tenacious and persistent in their actions, have a business sense, have the makings of entrepreneurship and economic skills, but at the same time, they have an adventurous mindset and disposition. They are prone to experimentation,



combined with risk, which, due to their isolation from reality and the lack or complete absence of the ability to calculate the real consequences of their experiences and activities, in most cases fails.

The fourth subtype is **envious failures**. These people combine the qualities inherent in the envious and failures in different forms and proportions at the same time.

The fifth type is the "**passive majority**". These people have neither definite opinions nor definite convictions, completely unstable in their attitudes. This shapeless mass can join any of the active types – one today, another tomorrow, depending on the situation. By itself, this category, in the context of the search for any creative or breakthrough ideas that can be used in the development of creative projects or the solution of important economic, technological, etc. problems, is not an independent force and therefore is not of particular value. However, in cases where the implementation of such ideas depends on the support of the entire population, the overall success in their implementation depends on the position of the "passive majority", and on which of the above active types this most numerous group joins.

The analysis carried out allows one to make adjustments to the traditional ideas about the Stolypin agrarian reform, within the framework of which its consequences are seen from political, class positions, or abstract significance for the country. The inevitable ambiguity of assessments generated by the traditional approach makes it difficult to see the reform comprehensively. The heterogeneity of classes, the multitude of social groups within the peasantry itself, and the need to take into account the time factor make it even more ambiguous in the eyes of researchers.

As one of the options for overcoming this problematic situation that has developed in the historiography of the Stolypin agrarian reform, we propose the most optimal one: the classification of various categories of the peasantry, based on an analysis of their attitude to property and an assessment of the reform in dynamics from the perspective, first, of the psychological readiness of these groups to accept the very idea of individual property and, second, the ability to preserve and increase this property. We believe that this approach allows one to show what the Stolypin agrarian reform really was for the peasants of Russia, whom the reform tried to turn into owners since it is property as an economic category and a civil legal institution, that is not just the basis of a free society, but it can also serve as the main criterion for classifying the bulk of the population of Russia at the beginning of the 20th century – the peasantry. In this case, it is necessary to emphasize the insufficiency of a simple indication of the degree of the peasants' prosperity. Political preferences or economic wealth are secondary and overshadow the real motives that guide both critics of the Stolypin reform and its apologists. Meanwhile, the assessment of the reform from the standpoint of the attitude of peasants to property allows, on the one hand, to take into account the psychological factor and



understand the origins of differences in the assessments of the reform, and on the other hand, to eliminate its excessive politicization.

In general, the study shows that to solve the problem of the attitude of the Russian peasantry to the Stolypin agrarian reform, and, accordingly, to draw objective conclusions about the degree of its efficiency, it is necessary to abandon the characterization of the peasantry as a kind of "general" and "single" social mass, but on the contrary, to carry out its classification, differentiating it into certain categories that have their characteristic features. The main methodological principle for such differentiation should be a criterion that allows the distribution of peasants into groups (types and subtypes), based on such psychological characteristics that will form a clear idea of the peasantry's perception of the Stolypin agrarian reform policy through the prism of its relationship to property. This can more accurately show the evolution of the peasantry's position, as well as the attitudes and behavior throughout the agrarian transformation process. This approach will remove many questions that arise in the study of this process, and, consequently, will contribute to the formation of a more objective system of ideas that reveals the essence of the Stolypin course in the agrarian policy of the autocracy and a more correct understanding of it.

REFERENCES

ANFIMOV, Andrey Matveevich. Novye sobstvenniki (iz itogov stolypinskoj agrarnoj reformy) [New owners (from the results of the Stolypin agrarian reform)]. In: SHANIN, Teodor; DANILOV, Viktor (Eds.). Krestyanovedenie. Teoriya. Istoriya. Sovremennost. Ezhegodnik [Peasant studies. Theory. History. Modernity. Annual edition]. Moscow: Aspekt Press, 1996, p. 60-93.

ANFIMOV, Andrey Matveevich. P.A. Stolypin i rossiiskoe krestyanstvo [P.A. Stolypin and the Russian peasantry]. Moscow: IRI RAN, 2002.

BASHMACHNIKOV, Vladimir Fedorovich; BORODAI, Yuri Methodievich; ERSHOVA, Irina Igorevna; NIKOLSKII, Sergey Anatolievich. Puti agrarnogo vozrozhdeniya [The paths of agrarian revival]. Moscow: Politizdat, 1991.

BESEDA S PREDSEDATELEM SOVETA MINISTROV P.A. STOLYPINYM (Intervyu Stolypina redaktoru saratovskoi gazety "Volga" 1 oktyabrya 1909 g.) [Conversation with Chairman of the Council of Ministers P.A. Stolypin (Stolypin's interview to the editor of the Saratov newspaper "Volga" on October 1, 1909)]. In: POZHIGAILO, Pavel Anatolievich (Ed.). P.A. Stolypin: Grani talanta politika [P.A. Stolypin. The facets of the politician's talent]. Moscow: ROSSPEN, 2006, p. 484-490.

DOBRONozHENKO, Galina Fedorovna. Kto takoi kulak: Traktovka ponyatiya "kulak" vo vtoroi polovine KhKh - 20-kh gg. XX vv. [Who is a kulak: The interpretation of the concept of a "kulak" in the second half of the 19th century – 1920s]. In: RAPOPORT, Yuri Mikhailovich (Ed.). Stratifikatsiya v Rossii: istoriya i sovremennost [Stratification in Russia: history and modernity]. Syktyvkar: Izd-vo SyktGU, 1999, p. 28-41.

ENGELHARDT, Alexander Nikolaevich. Iz derevni. 12 pisem [From the village. 12 letters] 1872-1887. St. Petersburg: Nauka, 1999.



GVOZDEV, Roman. Kulachestvo - Rostovshchichestvo i ego obshchestvenno-ekonomicheskoe znachenie [Kulaks- usury and its social and economic significance]. St. Petersburg: Izdanie N. Garina, 1898.

KAPITONENKOV, Alexey Mikhailovich. Stolypinskaya agrarnaya reforma v otechestvennoi istoriografii: Diskussionnye voprosy i kriterii otsenok [Stolypin agrarian reform in Russian historiography: Controversial questions and evaluation criteria]. In: BIKMETOV, Rashit Saitgaraevich (Ed.). Aktualnye voprosy gumanitarnykh nauk. Materialy Vserossiyskoy nauchno-prakticheskoy konferentsii [Relevant problems of the humanities. Materials of All-Russian scientific-practical conference]. Kemerovo: Kuzbass State Technical University named after T.F. Gorbachev, 2014, p. 145-158.

KAPITONENKOV, Alexey Mikhailovich. "K voprosu o stereotipakh v otsenkakh stolypinskoi agrarnoi reformy" [On the issue of stereotypes in assessments of the Stolypin agrarian reform]. Zhurnal Belorusskogo gosudarstvennogo universiteta. Istoriya [Journal of the Belarusian State University. History], n. 3, p. 44-53, 2020. <https://doi.org/10.33581/2520-6338-2020-3-44-53>

KIMITAKA, Matsuzato. "Stolypinskaya reforma i rossiiskaya agrotekhnologicheskaya revolyutsiya" [Stolypin reform and the Russian agrarian and technological revolution]. Otechestvennaya istoriya, n. 6, p. 192–200, 1992.

KONOVALOV, Vadim Sergeevich. "Krestyanstvo i reformy (Rossiiskaya derevnya v nachale XX v.): Analiticheskie obzory" [Peasantry and reforms (Russian village at the beginning of the 20th century): Analytical review]. In: Istoriya Rossii. Seriya analiticheskikh obzorov i sbornikov [Russian history. A series of analytical reviews and collections]. Vol. 1. Moscow, Russia: INION RAN, 2000, p. 4-126.

KOROLEV-PINASHIN, S. "Pravoe delo Stolypina" [Stolypin's just cause]. Rossiya molodaya, n. 2, p. 9-15, 1993.

KOVALCHENKO, Ivan Dmitrievich. Agrarnoye razvitiye Rossii i revolyutsionnyy protsess [Agrarian development of Russia and the revolutionary process]. In: Reformy ili revolyutsiya? Rossiya 1861-1917. Materialy mezhdunarodnogo kollokviuma istorikov [Reforms or revolution? Russia 1861-1917. Proceedings of the international colloquium of historians]. St. Petersburg: Nauka, 1992, p. 246-263.

KOVALCHENKO, Ivan Dmitrievich; SAKHAROV, Anatoly Mikhailovich. Itogi i zadachi izucheniya agrarnoy istorii Rossii v sovremennoy sovetskoy istoriografii [Results and objectives of the study of agrarian history of Russia in modern Soviet historiography]. In: YANIN, Valentin Lavrentievich (Ed.). Selskoye khoz-vo i krestyanstvo SSSR v sovremennoy sovetskoy istoriografii. Materialy XVI sessii Simpoziuma po izucheniyu problem agrarnoy istorii [Agriculture and peasantry of the USSR in modern Soviet historiography. Materials of the XVI session of the symposium on the study of problems of agrarian history]. Kishinev: Shtiintsa, 1977.

KOZLOV, Sergey Alekseevich. Sluzhenie interesam vsei strany: Moskovskoye obshchestvo selskogo khozyaistva (1820-1930 gg.) [Serving the interests of the whole country: Moscow Society of Agriculture (1820-1930)]: in 3 volumes. Vol. 1. Moscow: Institut Rossiiskoy istorii RAN, 2020.

KUTUZOV, Boris Pavlovich. Tserkovnaya reforma XVII veka [Church reform of the 17th century]. Moscow: IPA "TRI-L", 2003.

KUZNETSOV, Dmitry Viktorovich. "Problema izucheniya sotsialnykh itogov stolypinskoi agrarnoi reformy v otechestvennoi istoriografii" [The problem of studying the social results of the Stolypin agrarian reform in Russian historiography]. Sovremennyye issledovaniya sotsialnykh problem [Modern studies of social problems], n. 1(25), p. 20-32, 2016. <https://doi.org/10.12731/2077-1770-2016-1-20-32>

KUZNETSOV, Dmitry Viktorovich. "Changing the system of land relations and rural displacement within the peasant community in the implementation of Stolypin agrarian reform: Modernization or restoration". Revista Inclusiones, v. 7, n. Especial, p. 130-154, 2020. Available at: <https://revistainclusiones.org/index.php/inclu/article/view/1037>



LOYKO, Petr Fyodorovich. "Opyt stolypinskoi agrarnoi reformy i sovremennye problemy zemleustroistva v Rossiiskoi Federatsii" [The experience of the Stolypin agrarian reform and modern problems of land management in the Russian Federation]. *Zemleustroystvo, kadastr i monitoring zemel'* [Land management, inventory and monitoring of land], n. 4-16, p. 47-55, 2006.

MACEY, David. "Zemelnaya reforma i politicheskie peremeny: Fenomen Stolypina" [Land reform and political changes: The Stolypin phenomenon]. *Voprosy istorii*, n. 4, p. 3–18, 1993.

NIKOLSKII, Sergey Anatolievich. "Agrarnye reformy i krestyanstvo" [Agrarian reforms and the peasantry]. *Oktyabr*, n. 8, p. 144-161, 1993.

NIKOLSKII, Sergey Anatolievich. *Agrarnyi kurs Rossii (Mirovozzrenie reformatov i praktika agrarnykh reform v sotsialno-istoricheskom, ekonomicheskom i filosofskom kontekstakh)* [Agrarian course of Russia (The outlook of reformers and the practice of agrarian reforms in socio-historical, economic and philosophical contexts)]. Moscow: Koloss, 2003.

NIKOLSKII, Sergey Anatolievich. *Agrarnyi vopros v Rossii v XX veke. Istoriya, sovremennoe sostoyanie, strategii resheniya* [The agrarian question in Russia in the twentieth century. History, current status, solution strategies], 2nd ed. Moscow: URSS, p. 2012.

PLAKSIN, Viktor Nikolaevich (Ed.). *P.A. Stolypin i ego gosudarstvennaya deyatelnost v kontekste modernizatsionnykh protsessov v Rossii* [P.A. Stolypin and his state activities in the context of modernization processes in Russia]: Proceedings of the International conference dedicated to the 150th anniversary of P.A. Stolypin's birthday and the 100th anniversary of the Voronezh state agrarian university. Voronezh: Voronezh State Agrarian University named after Emperor Peter I, 2012.

POSTNIKOV, Vladimir Efimovich. *Yuzhno-russkoe krestyanstvo* [Southern Russian peasantry]. Moscow: Tipo-lit. t-va I. N. Kushnerev i K^o, 1891.

POZHIGAILO, Pavel Anatolievich. "Reformy P.A. Stolypina i problemy sovremennoi Rossii" [The reforms of P.A. Stolypin and the problems of modern Russia]. *Collected works of the Free Economic Society of Russia*, v. 190, n. 1, p. 110-118, 2015.

PROSKURYAKOVA, Natalya Ardalionovna. *Zemelnye banki Rossiiskoi Imperii* [Land banks of the Russian Empire]. Moscow: ROSSPEN, 2002.

RAISKII, Yuri Leonidovich. *Stolypinskoe zemleustroistvo na nadelnykh zemlyakh Chernozemnogo tsentra i ego proval* [Stolypin land management on allotment lands of the black-earth center and its failure]. In: RAISKII, Yuri Leonidovich (Ed.). *Ezhegodnik po agrarnoi istorii Vostochnoi Evropy* [Yearbook on the agrarian history of Eastern Europe]. Kiev: Publishing house of the Academy of Sciences of the Ukrainian SSR, 1962, p. 506-519.

ROGALINA, Nina Lvovna. *Stolypinskaya modernizatsiya selskogo khozyaistva* [Stolypin modernization of agriculture]. In: ROGALINA, Nina Lvovna (Ed.). *Vlast i reformy v Rossii XX veka* [Power and reforms in Russia of the 20th century]. Moscow: Entsiklopediya rossiiskikh dereven [Encyclopedia of Russian villages], 2010, p. 13-50.

ROGALINA, Nina Lvovna. "Stolypinskaya agrarnaya reforma: sovrem. istoriograficheskaya situatsiya" [Stolypin agrarian reform: sovrem. historiographic situation]. *Rossiiskaya istoriya* [Russian history], n. 2, p. 157-164, 2012. Available at: <https://russian-history.ru/s0869-56870000619-3-1-ru-439/>

RYABUSHINSKY, Vladimir Pavlovich. "Russkii khozyain" [The Russian owner]. *Slovo*, n. 11-12, p. 20–25, 1997.

SAZONOV, Georgy Petrovich. *Rostovshchichestvo-kulachestvo. Nablyudeniya i issledovaniya* [Usury-kulaks. Observations and research]. St. Petersburg: Tipografiya A.S. Suvorina, 1894.



SAZONOV, Sergey Nikolaevich. Sovremennye tendentsii v razvitii fermerskogo dvizheniya v Rossii: Illyuzii i realnost [Modern trends in the development of the farming movement in Russia: Illusions and reality]. In: DANILOV, Viktor; SHANIN, Teodor (Eds.). Peasant studies. Theory. History. Modernity. Moscow: Aspekt Press, 1996, p. 236-257.

SHELOKHAEV, Valentin Valentinovich. Stolypinskaya kontseptsiya razresheniya sistemnykh krizisov [Stolypin's concept of resolving systemic crises]. In: SHUMNAYA, Tamara Grigorievna (Ed.). Transformatsiya ros. ob-va vtoroi poloviny XIX - nach. XXI vv. v sovremennykh ist. issledovaniyakh i muzeinoi deyatel'nosti. Materialy mezhdunarodnoy nauchno-prakticheskoy konferentsii [Transformation of the Russian society of the second half of the 19th – early 21st centuries in modern historical research and museum activities. Proceedings of the international scientific and practical conference]. Moscow: GCMSIR, 2009, p. 166-173.

SHELOKHAEV, Valentin Valentinovich. Stolypinskii tip modernizatsii [The Stolypin type of modernization]. In: P.A. Stolypin i modernizatsiya Rossii: Materialy nauchnoy konferentsii [P.A. Stolypin and modernization of Russia: Proceedings of the scientific conference]. Moscow: GCMSIR, 2012, p. 7-25.

SLEPTSOV, Vadim Viktorovich. "Stolypinskie reformy v reshenii sovremennogo agrarnogo voprosa" [Stolypin reforms in solving the modern agrarian question]. Epokha nauki, n. 7, p. 2–6, 2016. Available at: <https://cyberleninka.ru/article/n/stolypinskie-reformy-v-reshenii-sovremennogo-agrarnogo-voprosa>

SOSENKOV, Alexey Vladimirovich. Napravleniya ispolzovaniya "Broshennykh zemel". Vozvrat k "stolypinskoi reforme" [Directions of use of "Abandoned Lands". Return to the "Stolypin reform"] In: Ural Mining School – to the Regions. Collection of reports of the International Scientific and Practical Conference. Ekaterinburg: Ural State Mining University, 2017, p. 938-939.

SOSENKOV, Alexey Vladimirovich. "Ekonomicheskaya neobkhodimost' vozvrata v khozyaistvennyuyu praktiku podsobnykh khozyaistv promyshlennykh predpriyatii" [The economic necessity of returning to the economic practice of subsistence farms of industrial enterprises]. Teoriya i praktika mirovoi nauki [Theory and practice of world science], n. 1, p. 28-31, 2018.

STATE ARCHIVES OF THE TOMSK REGION (GATO). Fund 315. Inventory 1. Case 5 a, n.d.

TYUKAVKIN, Viktor Grigorievich. Velikorusskoe krestyanstvo i stolypinskaya agrarnaya reforma [Great Russian peasantry and Stolypin agrarian reform]. Moscow: Pamyatniki ist. Mysli, 2001.

ZAOZERSKY, Alexander Ivanovich. Tsarskaya votchina XVII veka. Iz istorii khozyaistvennoi i pri-kaznoi politiki tsarya Aleksey Mikhailovicha [Tsar's estate of the 17th century. From the history of the economic and clerical policy of Tsar Alexey Mikhailovich]. Moscow: Sots-ekgiz, 1937.

Sobre o autor:

Dmitry V. Kuznetsov

Omsk State Agrarian University, Omsk, Russia

ORCID: <https://orcid.org/0000-0002-2550-8682>

E-mail: dmitry.kuznetsov@gmail.com



Rev. Dir. Cid., Rio de Janeiro, Vol. 15, N.01., 2023, p. 01-25.

Dmitry V. Kuznetsov

DOI: 10.12957/rdc.2023.71975 | ISSN 2317-7721

AUTOR'S ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

We express our deep gratitude to Anatoly Nikolaevich Talapin, Candidate of Historical Sciences, Associate Professor, Senior Researcher at the Omsk State Regional Scientific Library named after A.S. Pushkin, and Svetlana Anatolyevna Velichko, Candidate of Historical Sciences, Associate Professor of the Omsk State Academy of Law, for the invaluable help expressed as recommendations that were gratefully accepted by us when writing this research paper.

