TEMPORAL REVOLUTION

SOVIETIZATION OF THE PEASANT TIME-SENSE
1923-1936

Fig. 1, "Clock Bells in the Sukharev Tower." 1930.

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CONTENTS

INTRODUCTION: TEMPUS RERUM IMPERATOR

In Kataev's Soviet socialist-realist novel *Time, Forward!* (1932), a character called Mosya described how 'time was flying, outstripping itself. Time was making an hour every minute.'[1] The very notion that there was something 'different' about Soviet time is ubiquitous throughout both Soviet and non-Soviet cultures. In Dziga Vertov's film *Man with a Movie Camera* (1929), the perpetual use of fast-cutting techniques created this same impression of a fast-moving Soviet time.[2] George Orwell's *Nineteen Eighty-Four* (1949), an allegory of Stalin's Soviet Russia, begins with the line: 'It was a bright cold day in April, and the clocks were striking thirteen'.[3] The creation of the 'thirteenth hour' was a reflection of a Soviet government capable of shaping, transforming, and strictly controlling temporal experience. These examples highlight an important, genuine, phenomenon in Soviet history; during the earliest period of Soviet rule, time was uniquely reconstructed by both the government and the Soviet people.

Theoretical frameworks for understanding 'time' are constantly challenged by two seemingly dichotomous alternatives: either time is an 'objective-time-out-there' or it is a 'subjective-time-within-us'. [4] In particular, theories have been separated between those promoting an understanding of a true 'physical time' and those seeking to understand a subjective 'social time'.[5] The fact that natural scientists use mathematical formulae in which 'the measure of time appears as a specific quantum' has perpetuated the idea that time has a kind of objective quality.[6] For Norbert Elias, the gap between the natural sciences and the social sciences should be bridged by considering 'timing': the changing means by which humans time social events

[1] Valentin Kataev, *Time, Forward!* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1976), 38
[2] *Man with a Movie Camera*, Directed by Dziga Vertov, (VUFKU, 1929)
[3] George Orwell, *Nineteen Eighty-Four* (London: Penguin Publishers, 2008), 3
[4] Martineau, Jonathan, "Theory, Method, Time", in their *Time, Capitalism and Alienation : A Socio-Historical Inquiry into the Making of Modern Time*. (Leiden: BRILL, 2015), 23
[5] Ibid. 27
[6] Norbert Elias, *Time: An Essay*. (Oxford: Blackwell, 1993), 1

according to 'recurrent, natural, and non-human events'.[7] In doing so, theorists such as Elias have sought to establish 'Time' as an important element of subjective social and historical analysis. Subsequent theoretical turns have emphasized the possibility of multiple, co-existing 'temporalities'.

One recent theoretical contribution is Felipe Torres's concept of a 'Temporal Regime'. Comparable to Barbara Adam's concept of a 'timescape',[8] Torres's framework seeks to reconcile homogenous aspects of temporal experience with the possibility of non-synchronous, multiple, 'temporalities'.[9] The consideration of 'temporalities' rather than 'time' allows for an analysis of the multitude of ways in which 'societies have defined and understood time'.[10] A 'temporal regime' is constructed according to 'articulability', 'iterability', and 'governmentality'. Articulability refers to the idea that multiple temporal experiences can be expressed simultaneously within a regime; iterability refers to the repetition of homogenous temporal perspectives; and governmentality refers to the establishment of 'rules that govern individual and collective actions'.[11] This study uses Torres's concept of a 'temporal regime', drawing strength from its capacity for multi-level analysis. It demonstrates that there were concrete changes in the way Soviet temporalities were articulated, iterated, and governed across diverse peasant communities between 1923 and 1936.

Robert Williams has offered initial findings on temporal transformations within the writings of the intelligentsia;[12] Rebecca Friedman focused her most recent work on domesticity and

[7] Ibid. 41
[8] See Barbara Adam, *Time* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2004)
[9] Felipe Torres, *Temporal Regimes: Materiality, Politics, Technology* (1st ed.), (London: Routledge, 2021), 21
[10] Friedman, *Modernity, Domesticity and Temporality in Russia* (London: Bloomsburg Academic, 2020), 7
[11] Torres, *Temporal Regimes*, 38
[12] Robert Williams, "The Russian Revolution and the End of Time: 1900-1940." *Jahrbücher Für Geschichte Osteuropas* 43.3 (1995)

temporality in the urban Soviet setting;[13] Stephen Hanson has produced an important study on temporal ideologies in the upper echelons of the CPSU;[14] and Malte Rolf has offered a top-down perspective on the battle to reform religious holidays in the Soviet village.[15] None of the existing works have sought to comprehensively understand how peasant temporalities were transformed during this period. Friedman discusses how urban Soviet workers constructed their sense of modernity in contrast with their 'rural, peasant past', but never considers how peasants constructed their own Soviet temporalities.[16] By using source material from national archives and newly available peasant diary material, this study seeks to recover the voice and experience of the Soviet peasantry. This is all the more important given that the peasantry constituted the largest social group – approximately 85 per cent of the Soviet population - at the time of the 1917 revolution.[17]

By recognizing that temporalities are articulated differently according to various social factors, this study can only recover a particular angle of temporal experience. One social factor governing articulations of Soviet temporality is gender.[18] In government reports on peasant experience, the 'peasant' is often referred to with male pronouns. Within the EUSP archives, all diary materials from this period privileged the male position.[19] This study privileges the male experience of temporality by virtue of its focus on these source-types. From works such as Strumilin's 1923 "Time Budget of the Russian Peasant", preliminary conclusions about feminine experiences of temporality can be made. Women, for instance, experienced no

[13] Friedman, *Modernity, Domesticity and Temporality in Russia*.
[14] Stephen Hanson, *Time and Revolution: Marxism and the Design of Soviet Institutions,* (London: University of North Carolina Press, 1997)
[15] Malte Rolf, "Constructing a Soviet Time: Bolshevik Festivals and Their Rivals during the First Five-Year Plan. A Study of the Central Black Earth Region." *Kritika* (Bloomington, Ind.) 1, no. 3 (2000)
[16] Friedman, *Modernity, Domesticity and Temporality in Russia,* 45
[17] W. Moskoff. *Labour and Leisure in the Soviet Union*. (London. Macmillan Press, 1984), 157
[18] Torres, *Temporal Regimes*, 39
[19] See https://prozhito.org/persons. No female diaries were available when search request was refined to the tag "Peasant", and refined to the years "1923-1936" as of 04/03/2022

transformation in their seasonal time-sense concurrent with men. Between 1923 and 1936, the female experience of temporality (though itself not homogenous) was something entirely 'different' to the male experience of temporality. This 'difference' was an essential element in reinforcing the gendered inequalities inherent in waged work and domestic labour.[20]

By interacting with government policy, diverse peasant groups shaped and 'articulated' multiple, co-existing temporalities. Chapter 1 considers this phenomenon through a number of sites and instruments of 'temporal divergence'. Prior to the revolution, church bells inscribed a particular 'way of being… and of experiencing time and space' in the Soviet village.[21] With the government seeking to remove the bells, the reactions of peasant groups fundamentally determined the future of their temporal significance. Some reacted passively but recognized a clear rupture of their sense of temporality; others successfully fought to preserve their village bell and its temporal significance. Similarly, peasant communities reacted differently to the arrival of clockwork timepieces. In some areas, clock-time became a familiar feature of peasant temporality; in others, it failed to penetrate village life. Reception of clock-time can be linked to the diverging ways that farms accounted for labour. With competing ideas of Taylorized labour and Marxist time-transcendence, villages differed in their focus on labour 'timesheets', 'norms', or 'egalitarian' labour systems. Each of these systems incorporated different attitudes towards temporality.

Certain patterns of peasant temporal change were constant or 'reiterative' across rural communities. The homogenous character of change enables us to speak more clearly of a

[20] Miriam Glucksmann, "'What a Difference a Day Makes': A Theoretical and Historical Exploration of Temporality and Gender." *Sociology* (Oxford) 32.2 (1998): 246-247

[21] Corbin, *Village Bells*, xix; cited in Richard Hernandez, "Sacred Sound and Sacred Substance: Church Bells and the Auditory Culture of Russian Villages during the Bolshevik Velikii Perelom.", *The American Historical Review* 109.5 (2004), 1477

singular ‘temporal revolution’ during this period. Three Gosplan ‘time budgets’ composed between 1923 and 1936 identified an issue of ‘chronic seasonal unemployment,’ [22] problematising the seemingly intrinsic seasonal nature of agriculture. Subsequent legislative efforts were made to redirect winter farm labour, to develop winter farming, and to reform rural ‘organizational science and technology’.[23] By 1936, Gosplan statistician B. Shekhter spoke of an ‘entirely new peasantry’.[24] The extreme peaks and troughs between winter peasant ‘idleness’ and summer ‘activity’ had been flattened. The government hence claimed a reiterative, homogenous, transformation in peasant temporalities consonant with a ‘temporal revolution’. The diaries of multiple peasants confirm that seasonality, as a marker of temporality in daily life, came to occupy only a secondary significance. A new ‘Soviet Time’ was constructed in which labour itself was the most important marker of temporal existence.

Much like Mosya in Kataev’s *Time, Forward!*, Soviet peasants discussed time as if it were somehow ‘speeding up’, ‘slowing down’, or losing its meaning. The peasants translated rapidly changing temporalities into a linguistic ‘skewing’ of time. For E. P. Thompson, this form of ‘disillusioned’ temporal language is rooted in the contradiction between pre-industrial task orientation and the shift towards industrial time-orientation.[25] In contrast, Thomas Smith maintains that ‘time related’ disillusionment is a function of new conceptions of the ‘individual in society’.[26] Diary analysis demonstrates that peasants were clearly disillusioned with the arrival of new, industrial forms of temporality. At the same time, they appear to ‘skew’ time as means of eliminating particularly difficult aspects of Soviet life. Peasants linguistically ‘speed’

[22] ‘khronicheskoĭ sezonnoĭ bezrabotit͡sy’. S. G. Strumilin “Bi͡udzhet vremeni russkogo krest′i͡anina”, in their *Bi͡udzhet Vremeni Russkogo Rabochego i Krest'i͡anina v 1922—1923 godu*, (Moscow, 1924), 49
[23] ‘organizat͡sionnui͡u nauku i tekhniku’. Strumilin, “Bi͡udzhet vremeni russkogo krest′i͡anina”, 78
[24] ‘sovershenno novym krest′i͡anstvom..’ B. Shekhter, “Trud, otdykh i kul′tura kolkhoznoĭ sem′i (Po materialam bi͡udzhetnykh obsledovaniĭ T͡sUNKhU v 1936 g.)” in *Plan*, (T͡Sentral′noe Upravlenie Narodnokhozi͡aĭstvennogo Ucheta, 1936), 9
[25] E. P. Thompson. “Time, Work-Discipline, and Industrial Capitalism.” *Past & Present*, no. 38, (1967): 60
[26] Thomas Smith, "Peasant Time and Factory Time in Japan.", *Past & Present* 111 (1986): 196-197

up time to conform to Soviet forms of temporality, whilst rebellious individuals express their defiant sense of self by 'slowing' their experience of time. Temporality thus serves as a Foucauldian 'technology of the self'.[27] The Soviet temporal revolution was constructed both by the peasants themselves, and by a government intent on using temporality as a means of control. This was, in essence, a new form of temporal 'governmentality'.

Tempus Rerum Imperator ('Time is the commander of all things'). Temporality served as a means by which peasants could control and self-construct their own sense of self, but also a means by which the government could fundamentally determine the lives of their Soviet subjects. On this basis, this study seeks to operate a dual focus on both governmental and peasant perceptions of temporal change. It reconstructs how temporal change was articulated, reiterated, and governed in the Soviet countryside between 1923 and 1936. By appealing to Torres's theoretical structure, it demonstrates that there was a transformation in the Soviet peasant 'temporal regime'. The period between 1923 and 1936 was characterized by a 'temporal revolution' in the peasant time-sense.

[27] Michel Foucault, "Technologies of the Self". In *Technologies of the Self: A Seminar with Michel Foucault*, Ed. Luther H. Martin and Huck Gutman, (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1988), 18

Fig. 2, “Bells. Sergiyev Posad.” 1930.

CHAPTER 1: TEMPORAL DIVERGENCE

Temporalities are the product of a 'subjective response' to external facts and events.[28] The peasantry, reacting to a largely monolithic government policy, created their own divergent temporalities. This chapter considers how the removal of bells transformed the peasant time-sense; it provides a study of how clock-time was received in the Soviet village; and it considers how different attitudes towards the relationship between 'labour' and 'time' were realised across the peasant communities. Underlying this chapter is the notion that temporality was articulated differently between the diverse peasant groups during this period. The 'temporal revolution' of 1923-1936 was not a homogenous revolution. 'Bells', 'Clocks', and 'Labour time' each serve as case studies for understanding how experiences of temporal change could differ. In attempting to universally Sovietize peasant temporal experiences, the government produced a 'divergence' of peasant temporalities.

i. BELLS

Bells have been an essential part of Russian culture for at least a millennium. The very first Novgorod Chronicle entry from 1066, written after Prince Vseslav Bryachislavich of Polotsk had seized the city, recorded the removal of bells from the St. Sophia Cathedral by the invading forces[29]. Bells were a Russian symbol of power, and their removal was often symbolic of a new regime. By the sixteenth century, they had grown in both number and weight. In Moscow alone, more than 400 churches were spread across the city, each possessing between 5 and 10 bells.[30] Between the 12th and 16th centuries the church bell assumed new, secular functions across

[28] Evans 2004, 41; cited in Torres, *Temporal Regimes*, 35
[29] Edward Williams, *The Bells of Russia : History and Technology*, (Princeton, New Jersey, 1985), 34
[30] V. Lokhansky, "Russkie kolokol′nye zvonki" in *Kolokola: Istoriia i Sovremennost'* , Ed. B. V. Raushenbach, (Moscow: Nauka Publishing House, 1985), 21

Russian cities, towns, and villages. Providing a distinct rhythm to village life, they announced the time of the day and the time to sleep.[31] Usually positioned within the church tower, they were the most visible aspect of a church and sustained a clear link between peasant temporality and religion. The bell continued to serve as a 'reminder of Heaven' and provided 'a moral reference point' throughout the course of the day.[32] Prior to their installation, they were typically blessed with holy water whilst the orthodox priest recited the following passage: The Lord said to Moses: 'Make two trumpets of hammered silver, and use them for calling the community together…'[33]

The religious monopoly on temporality established through the church bell was an obvious target for a Soviet government intent on advancing secularization. Early in 1923, reports indicated that numerous village authorities were spontaneously dismantling bells and using the funds to purchase agricultural equipment and support education.[34] A series of central government efforts illustrate the wider governmental offensive. On December 15, 1929, The Central Committee adopted a resolution "On the Regulation of Church Bells", granting local city, district, and village committees the right to regulate church bells.[35] In 1930, the Council of People's Commissars issued a Decree "On the Seizure of Bells from Churches", which facilitated bell removal in densely populated areas for the purpose of supplying industry with

[31]L. Shumikhina, "Simvoly Russkoĭ Kul′tury — Kolokola." In their *Sud'ba Rossii: natsional'naia ideia i ee istoricheskie modifikatsii.* (Yekaterinburg, 2003), 156

[32] 'napominaniem o Nebesnom, nravstvennim orientirom'. L. D. Blagoveshchenskaya, "Kolokola, Landshaft, Byt, Vremia (po Pravoslavnoĭ Literature)", *Kul'turnyĭ Kod*, No. 3, (Permskiĭ gosudarstvennyĭ institut kul′tury. 2020): 15

[33] Cited in Hernandez, "Sacred Sound and Sacred Substance" *The American Historical Review* 109.5 (2004): 1479

[34] Williams, *The Bells of Russia*, 64.

[35] V. S. Batchenko, "Slomit′ Religioznost′ Derevni, Slomav Kolokola: Antikolokol′naia Sostavliaiushchaia v Bor′be s Religieĭ na Rubezhe 1920-1930-kh Gg. (na Primere Zapadnoĭ Oblasti)". *Institute of Russian History of the Russian Academy of Sciences*. (Ural Federal University Press, 2016): 242

non-ferrous metals.[36] The repurposing of the bell for industrial, secular use was a key part of the narrative. Local authorities reacted with little restraint. In 1932, the Ordzhonikidze Presidium issued a blanket ban on the 'ringing of bells in houses of worship'.[37] The removal of the bells was a central aspect of the anti-religious campaigns of the Soviet authorities.

For the peasants themselves, this was as much an attack on their temporal existence as it was on their religious experience. The schoolchild Yakov Pronin, writing in his diary in March 1916, illustrated their pre-Soviet temporal significance. His diary recorded, for instance, failing to wake up after he 'did not hear the Orthodox bells ringing and… did not go to the matins and liturgy'.[38] For Pronin, the bell held both religious and temporal significance by signifying both the start of his day and a simultaneous call to church procession. By the 1930s, these functions were under attack. In the town of Rudnya, the community submitted the following complaint to the Western Regional Executive Committee: '[the removal of the church bell] worries, alarms, and saddens [the community]… in the village more so than the city, rarely has anyone a watch'.[39] The bell's function was still comparable to a 'watch' in the Rudnya village, and its removal constituted a severe corruption of their temporalities. When Dmitry Lukichev's village bell was 'cut down and dropped', he concluded that this was 'the end of Prechistia [his local church].'[40] For him, the removal of this temporal instrument severed

[36] Postanovlenie SNK SSSR ob iz"i͡atii kolokolov u t͡serkveĭ v t͡seli͡akh ispolʹzovani͡a ikh dli͡a snabzheni͡a promyshlennosti t͡svetnymi metallami, 30 October 1930, GA RF. F. R-5446. Op. 6. D. 37. L. 10-10v, Copy. http://docs.historyrussia.org/ru/nodes/75076

[37]'kolokolʹnyĭ zvon molitvennykh domov (t͡serkveĭ).' "Iz protokol № 16 zasedani͡a Prezidiuma Gorsoveta VI sozyva g. Ordzhonikidze. - O prekrashchenii kolokolʹnogo zvona v molitvennykh t͡serkvakh goroda Ordzhonikidze. 5 marta 1932 g." 5 March 1932, In *Vzaimootnoshenii͡a sovetskoĭ vlasti i pravoslavnogo dukhovenstva Severnoĭ Osetii (1917-1943 gg.).* Ed. B. A. Sinanov. 131-133. (Vladikavkaz, 2014.) http://docs.historyrussia.org/ru/nodes/231438

[38] 'Ne slyshal pravoslavnogo kolokolʹnogo zvonu i в utreni i liturgii ne khodil.' Pronin, Yakov I. "Diary". 1915-1924. In *Istori͡a ot pervogo lit͡sa : mir severnoĭ derevni nachala XX veka v pis'mennykh svidetel'stvakh sel'skikh zhiteleĭ.* Ed. V.N. Matonin. Arkhangelsk; Tovarishchestvo Severnogo morekhodstva, 2011. Digitized by Anna Dimyanenko and Inna Popovich. EUSP. Web. Accessed at https://prozhito.org/person/1451. 02/03/1916

[39]'ėto ves'ma volnuet, trevozhit i pechalit... derevne ne v gorode, redko u kogo estʹ chasy '. State Archive of Smolensk Oblast, GASO, D. 2919, P. 189-189. Cited in Batchenko. "Slomitʹ Religioznostʹ Derevni". 245

[40] 'Podrubili i uronili verkh kolokolʹni. Kone͡ts Prechistyi͡a.' Lukichev, Dmitry Ivanovich. (1920-1938). "Diary". Vashkinsky Museum of Local Lore Achives, KP 2683 PP 202, 1920. In *Dnevniki D.I. Lukichëva i D.P.*

a deeply held relationship between church and time. Fundamentally, it was the removal of the temporal instrument of the bell that constituted 'the end' of religious life in his village; only later in the diary does he describe the destruction of the church building itself.

Other peasant communities successfully preserved the temporal significance of their village bell. In one NKVD report, between 500 and 600 villagers from the Nekrasovsky District, Central Russia, decisively told officials 'we will not allow you to remove the bells' and threatened the party officials with violence.[41] This is a typical peasant response within NKVD reports of the 1930s. By 1937, the Nekrasovsky peasants had still managed to retain their village bell. In 1930, Stalin gave his "Dizzy with Success" speech, in which he blamed local officials for being too active in promoting collectivization. He went on to attack officials who readily removed church bells, remarking: 'Just imagine, removing the church bells – how r-r-revolutionary!'.[42] In contradiction with this rhetoric, the government continued to pass legislation to remove church bells. This situation reflects the diversity of peasant reactions to bell removal. Of the 13,754 disturbances in the countryside reported in 1930, just 11% were attributed to church closings and bell confiscations.[43] Younger peasants more commonly promoted their removal, and newspapers often published these views. A peasant named Bilaonov, for instance, complained in *Labour Power* of their temporal insignificance: 'the ringing is heard from the church all day long'.[44] For these peasants, the ringing already lacked

Bespalova, Ed. S. B. Adonieva, (St Petersburg: Proppovsky Center, 2013), Digitized by Tatyana Kuzmicheva. EUSP, Accessed at https://prozhito.org/person/950, 21/04/1932

[41]' Snimat′ kolokolov ne dadim'. Spetssoobshcheniia NKVD SSSR N.I. Ezhovu i L.P. Berii o massovom vystuplenii veruiushchikh sela Chernaia Zavod′ Iaroslavskoĭ obl. Spetssoobshchenie, 24 September 1937, CA FSB RF. F. 3. Op. 5. D. 542. L. 101-103, Script. http://docs.historyrussia.org/ru/nodes/63123

[42] Stalin, 'Dizzy with Success: Concerning Questions of the Collective-Farm Movement," 2 March 1930, Pravda, 2 March 1930. In Lynne Viola, *The War against the Peasantry, 1927-1930: The Tragedy of the Soviet Countryside*, (New Haven, CT: Yale UP, 2005), 279

[43] Hernandez, "Sacred Sound and Sacred Substance", 1504

[44] 'Zvon nesetsia iz tserkvi po tselym dniam.' Postanovlenie SNK SSSR ob iz"iatii kolokolov u tserkveĭ v tseliakh ispol′zovaniia ikh dlia snabzheniia promyshlennosti tsvetnymi metallami, 30 October 1930, GA RF. F. R-5446. Op. 6. D. 37. L. 10-10v, Copy. http://docs.historyrussia.org/ru/nodes/75076

any temporal meaning. Rather than giving rhythm to village life, their sound promoted temporal confusion. Bilaonov wrote: 'not only is it impossible to study, but also to sleep'.[45]

By resisting passively, violently, or by actually promoting bell removal, peasants thus shaped their own temporalities in the Russian village. The people of the Nekrasovsky District protested in their hundreds and thus perpetuated the temporal significance of the bell in their village until at least 1937. Other areas, as we have seen, removed their bells swiftly and at much earlier dates. For Lukichev and the community of Rudnya, these once-significant temporal instruments had been silenced; they would have to learn to tell a new 'Soviet' time. For peasants such as Bilaonov, bells already lacked temporal meaning. The temporal transformation ushered in by the central government's policy towards bell removal thereby manifested itself in a form of 'temporal divergence'. New understandings of time were articulated differently across these communities.

Fig. 3, "Bells. Sergiyev Posad." 1930

[45] 'Ne tol′ko nevozmozhno zanimat′sia͡ iz-za nego, no i spat″. Ibid.

ii. CLOCKS

Despite its medieval religious origins, the clock severs links between human understandings of temporality and prior natural, cosmological, and spiritual forms of timekeeping.[46] Its invariability eliminates the relationship between time and space, creating the impression of a neutral, secular, flow of time. With local authorities seeking to remove bells from villages, it left peasants with the question of how to determine their new 'Soviet' time. On December 20, 1927, the Council of Labour and Defence passed the decree "On the Organization of the Manufacture of Watches in the USSR".[47] Concurrent with the destruction of the religious-temporal church bells, the government began increasing the production of these industrially made, secular, temporal devices. Although there is evidence that these clocks did penetrate the temporal life of the Russian village, their reception was variable, and it seems more likely that clock-time emerged *alongside* other forms of peasant temporality.

Russian peasants had an indigenous tradition of clockmaking. From the 1860s, residents of villagers in the Zvenigorod region began producing up to 1,500 clocks a year. Kurskaya's 1914 publication "Watch production in Moscow and the Moscow Province" claimed that these were widely available in the area and commonly sold in village shops.[48] At the very least, clocks would have been known to peasants by the end of the 19th century. Crucially, the production and reception of these clocks was localized. The 1927 decree offered a radical change in access to clocks and watches; it ordered the Supreme National Economic Council to immediately

[46] For a religious history of the clock, see Derek J. de Solla Price, *On the origin of clockwork, perpetual motion devices, and the compass*. (Washington: Smithsonian Institution, 1959); on the secularizing function of clocks see Adam, *Time*, 114

[47] Ob Organizat͡sii v SSSR Proizvodstvo Chasov. GA RF. F. R. 5922. Op. 4–8 . 21 September 1927. Cited in Tatiana Fokina, "Vremi͡a Konchilos′?", *Mir Izmereniĭ: Uchrediteli: Reklamno-informat͡sionnoe agentstvo "Standarty i kachestvo"*. (Polytechnic Museum: Moscow, 2014), 57

[48] Kurskaya, "Proizvodstvo chasov v Moskve i Moskovskoĭ Gubernii". Cited in Fokina, "Vremi͡a Konchilos′?", 79

organize the production of 500,000 pocket watches and 500,000 larger watches.[49] The result was a definitively more widespread introduction of clocks into rural life in the 1920s and 1930s.[50] Variations in the reception of clockwork devices, however, led to the further 'divergence' of peasant temporalities.

Diaries from the period show knowledge of clock-time in some peasant villages. In these descriptions, we see that 'clock-time' was often determined by reference to devices such as secular farm bells and factory buzzers. An anonymous peasant diary from 1932 described how 'as always at seven o'clock the alarm bell rang on our farm'.[51] The peasant's descriptions of daily life were punctuated by reference to the 'lunch bell',[52] and of knowing to rise at '5 o'clock'.[53] This peasant never gave any reference to any personal ownership of a clock. L. V. Tazikhina , working as a reporter for the All-Union Geographical Society, described how on a collective farm in the Gorki region, 'as in most collective farms and small towns of the region, a wooden fire tower was built with a bell on top where a person on duty was tasked with striking according to the clock'.[54] The peasant temporal experience was increasingly being restructured according to a communal 'clock-time'.

Despite sparse data on the subject, peasant adoption of personal clocks and watches appears to have been restricted by unaffordability, lack of availability, and resistance by the peasants

[49] Fokina, "Vremi͡a Konchilos′?", 57
[50] Petryashin, "Sovetskai͡a "Kolonizat͡si͡a" Sel′skogo Vremeni", 16
[51] 'Kak i vsegda v sem chasov v nashem khozi͡aĭstve prozvenel signal′nyĭ zvanok.' Anonymous, "Diary". 1932. Personal Archive of Marina Svyatoslavovna Vevikanova, Unpublished, Digitized by Konstantin Andreev et al, Verified by Lilia Galyautdinova and Alexey Senyukhin, EUSP. Accessed at https://prozhito.org/person/383 10/02/1932
[52]' obedennogo zvonka.' Ibid. 13/05/1932
[53] 'chasov v 5-t'. Ibid.
[54] 'kak i v bol′shinstve kolkhozov i malen′kikh gorodov oblasti, vystroena derevi͡annai͡a pozharnai͡a vyshka s kolokolom na verkhneĭ ploshchadke, v kotoroĭ dezhurnyĭ otbivaet chasy'. L. V. Tazikhina, "Po kolkhozam Gor′kovskoĭ oblasti" *Izvestii͡a Vsesoi͡uznogo Geograficheskogo obshchestva*, 1949, Issue 3, 339. Cited in Petryashin, "Sovetskai͡a "Kolonizat͡si͡a" Sel′skogo Vremeni", 16-17

themselves. By 1969, the council of Ministers was reporting that 10-13% of rural adolescents had bought a watch in the previous four years.[55] This report served as a proud statement on the growth of demand for household goods in the late 1960s. During the 1920s and 1930s when peasant consumerism was less developed, it is likely that even fewer peasants would have considered purchasing these timepieces. The arrival of clocks as dominant determinants of temporality would likely have been dependent on the policy of local farms. As Tazikhina mentions, '*most* [my emphasis]' of the farms in the Gorki region would have had bells rung according to clock-time.[56] In *some* Gorki villages, they wouldn't have had access to any clocks. In many Soviet villages across the Soviet Union, clocks must have remained an insignificant aspect of the peasant temporal experience. The new drive to establish clock-time across the Soviet Union was 'articulated' differently according to the needs of specific peasant communities.

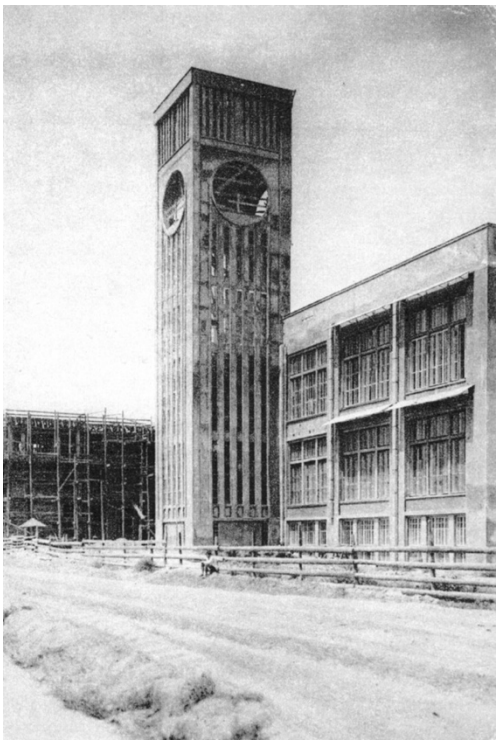

Fig. 4, "Clock Tower under Construction." 1930

[55] Iz spravki T͡sSU v Sovet Ministrov SSSR «O nekotorykh voprosakh torgovli», 7 i͡iul͡ia 1969 g. 7 July 1969, RGAE. F. 1562. Op. 46. D. 29. L. 5-11, Copy. http://docs.historyrussia.org/ru/nodes/85603

[56] Tazikhina, "Po kolkhozam Gor′kovskoĭ oblasti." Cited in Petryashin, "Sovetskai͡a "Kolonizat͡siia" Sel′skogo Vremeni", 16-17

iii. LABOUR TIME

Localized adoption of clocks was partly determined by local attitudes towards labour discipline and accounting. In most modern industrial economies, 'money' and 'time-measurement' are intimately related.[57] In the Soviet Union of the 1920s, questions about how to maintain high levels of production and simultaneously gravitate towards a classless socialist society produced diverse systems of labour accounting. Accordingly, some communities adopted clock-based accounting systems; others incorporated attitudes of 'time-transcendence' in their management of labour. This section explores the diversity of peasant temporalities produced by these conflicting ideological positions. Across the Soviet Union, the plurality of attitudes towards the relationship between 'labour' and 'time' inspired a further 'temporal divergence'.

Lenin's dualistic approach is made clear in *The State and Revolution* (1917). On the one hand, he appealed to the Marxist ideal of the withering state and the transformation from strict bureaucratic labour discipline to spontaneous self-discipline. Clock-time, in this world of self-discipline, no longer has any significance in regulating the workers day. Soon after, in the section titled "The Economic Basis of the Withering Away of the State", he recognized the need to adopt bourgeois state forms such as clock-time to ensure adequate development under primitive socialism.[58] Faced with the task of actually constructing the new Soviet state, works such as "The Immediate Tasks of the Soviet Government" made it clear that the government intended to adopt clock-time. Lenin talked of the need to educate Soviet citizens on 'how long

[57] See Ute Tellman, *Life and Money: The Genealogy of the Liberal Economy and the Displacement of Politics*, (Columbia University Press, 2017), 150; see Torres, *Temporal Regimes*, 84-90
[58] Hanson, *Time and Revolution,* 91-92

and in what way it is necessary to work, how much time and in what way one may rest'.[59] At the same time, he promoted attitudes held by groups such as the *Subbotniki* Communists who laboured regardless of working hours. To Lenin, these workers were 'of enormous historical significance because they demonstrate the conscious and voluntary initiative of workers in developing the productivity of labour'.[60] The 1920s were a period when timesheets, egalitarian pay systems, and 'time-transcending' shock brigades existed at the same time.

Throughout the 1920s Stalin promoted Lenin's more pragmatic views about adopting clock-time, arguing that the Soviet government must 'leave the path of the revolutionary reconstruction of the existing order of things'.[61] Using clock-time to catch-up with the 'West' was more important than revolutionary 'time-transcendence'. The continuity with Leninist clock-time is clear in some accounts of collective farm life: 'Working days are set at 11 hours… labour is accounted for according to the timesheets.'[62] In the 1930s Stalin began to support the 'norm system', which prioritised considerations of 'labour output' rather than 'time spent.' This change reflected an effort to surpass time-bound limitations on labour. The desire to 'transcend time' was clear from flagship projects such as the 'Five-Year Plan in Four Years' and was a feature of Stalinist-era literature such as Kataev's *Time, Forward!*[63] The hero of Kataev's novel worked 'without a watch of his own… time was the number of turns of the drum and of the driving pulley'.[64] Despite this, labour accounting in the village was not

[59] Lenin, "The Immediate Tasks of the Soviet Government", March-April 1918. First published on April 28, 1918 in Pravda No.83. In *Lenin: Collected Works*, Vol. 27, Ed. Robert Daglish. Trans. Clemens Dutt, (Moscow: Digital Reprints, 1974), 261

[60] Lenin, *'Velikii pochin', Polnoe sobranie sochinenii*, 55 vols. (Moscow, 1958-65), vol. 39, 18. Cited in William Chase, "Voluntarism, mobilisation and coercion: Subbotniki 1919–1921", *Soviet Studies*, 41:1 (1989): 112

[61] Stalin, *The Foundations of Leninism.* Cited in Hanson, *Time and Revolution*, 141

[62] "Shkoly kolkhoznoĭ molodezhi daiut otchet kolkhoznikam. Putsilovtsy provedut leto v kolkhozakh". In *Koreĭtsy v SSSR. Materialy sovetskoĭ pechati 1918-1937 gg.* (Institut vostokovedeniia RAN, 2004), http://docs.historyrussia.org/ru/nodes/127029. 257

[63] See Hanson, *Time and Revolution*, 152

[64] Kataev, *Time, Forward!*, 219-220. Also cited in Hanson, *Time and Revolution*, 156-157

instantly homogenized along these new ideological lines. A report from 1931, for instance, noted that 43.7% of collective farms did not operate 'norm' systems as of June 20, 1931.[65] Furthermore, the report suggested that collective farm managers had 'little understanding' of the new norm system.[66]

The divergence of peasant temporalities was thus informed by differing attitudes towards labour and accounting. For those villages operating 'timesheet' labour accounting systems, clock-time would have been an extremely important aspect of temporality. For those focusing on norm systems, precise knowledge of 'time spent' was more irrelevant to the process. In classical Marxist theory, the peasant labourer was supposed to spontaneously self-discipline themselves as a condition of their fulfilled 'species being'.[67] The co-existence of different labour accounting systems partly explains why clocks became dominant instruments of temporality in some villages but remained absent in others. 'Divergent' attitudes towards clock-time and labour measurement persisted beyond 1936. Under Khrushchev, the regime became dissatisfied with the uncoordinated and often inefficient 'norm system', and by July 1966 the state finally issued a decree instructing collective farms to introduce clock-time-based wage systems.[68]

iv. SITES AND INSTRUMENTS OF TEMPORAL DIVERGENCE

Bells served as an essential site of temporal divergence between 1923 and 1936. By offering different communal responses to the government policy of bell removal, peasants constructed

[65] Dokladna͡ia zapiska PP OGPU po DVK o polozhenii v kolkhozakh, 23 June 1931, CA FSB RF. F. 2. Op. 9. D. 545. L. 638-648, Script. http://docs.historyrussia.org/ru/nodes/88195, 770
[66] 'ime͡iut slaboe predstavlenie'. Ibid.
[67] Martineau, "Theory, Method, Time", 15
[68] Frederick Crook and Elizabeth Crook, "Payment Systems Used in Collective Farms in the Soviet Union and China." *Studies in Comparative Communism*, vol. 9, no. 3, 1976, 266-267

their own Soviet temporalities. The reception of clock-time in peasant villages varied according to specific communal needs. This related, in particular, to attitudes towards labour accounting and labour discipline. New peasant temporalities were thus 'articulated' differently across the Soviet countryside between 1923 and 1936. This divergence represents the first component of transformation in the Soviet 'Temporal Regime'.[69]

Fig. 5, "Tea in the Collective Farmer's House." 1934: Notice the manufactured clock in the top left-hand corner.

[69] Torres, *Temporal Regimes*, 38

CHAPTER 2: TEMPORAL REVOLUTION

Between 1923 and 1936, the government created new peasant temporalities which were 'reiterated' and homogenized across the diverse peasant communities. The aim was to establish a 'more rational, more correct' temporal attitude amongst the peasantry.[70] In doing so, the Soviet government took aim at seasonal differentials in labour time, as well as systemic 'idleness' inherent in pre-rationalised forms of peasant organization. Between 1923 and 1936, three Gosplan bulletins highlight government objectives, and claim success in uniformly transforming the peasant time-sense. This chapter highlights changes to legislation and farming practices designed to facilitate these temporal changes. It analyses claims by the government that they had reformed the peasant seasonal time-sense. With reference to diaries composed by peasants, it concludes that there was a clear shift in the importance of seasonality as an aspect of the male peasant temporal experience. Moskoff argued in *Labour and Leisure* that degrees of success in reforming seasonal temporal patterns were geographically inconsistent even by the 1960s.[71] Although degrees of temporal change were variable, Soviet peasants uniformly experienced some form of change in their seasonal temporalities between 1923 and 1936.

As with all temporalities, experience varied according to social factors such as gender, geographical positioning, social class and age.[72] It is noteworthy that most available diaries from this period were composed by male peasants.[73] This raises multiple questions and has implications for conclusions about 'reiterative' peasant temporal experience. The Gosplan reports describe gendered temporal experiences, and they suggest that female peasants

[70] 'bolee ratsional′nom, bolee pravil′nom.' A. Shefter, "Biudzhet vremeni kolkhoznika v 1934 godu", in *Plan*, (TSentral′noe Upravlenie Narodnokhoziaĭstvennogo: Ucheta, 1933), 39
[71] Moskoff, *Labour and Leisure*, 156
[72] Torres, *Temporal Regimes*, 137
[73] See https://prozhito.org/persons; No female 'peasant' diaries were available during the period 1923-1936.

experienced no concurrent transformation in their seasonal time-sense during this period. Between 1923 and 1936, women continued to contribute to labour efforts more evenly throughout the course of the year.[74] The lack of time for leisurely activities might partly explain why female peasant diaries are less common; lower literacy rates might be another factor.[75] Unlike male peasants, one can speculate that female peasants were less reliant on diary writing as a means of constructing their sense of temporality. Whilst the government employed elaborate schemes to level the male seasonal time-sense, they never considered reforming the dynamics of gendered temporalities between 1923 and 1936.

i. REFORMING THE SEASONAL TIME-SENSE

In 1923, Stanislav Strumilin composed his *Time Budget of the Russian Peasant*, which surveyed 71 households across 3 districts in Voronezh.[76] As a senior statistician, Strumilin held a position as deputy Chairman of Gosplan during the 1930s, was a member of its presidium, and served as deputy head of the Central Directorate of National Economic Accounting. His work can be seen as at least partially reflective of dominant attitudes within the central government. His work is referenced in Shefter's 1934 peasant time budget, and Shekhter's 1936 study. Both of these individuals were also statisticians working within Gosplan. These three works establish a linearity with which we can track central government intentions, as well as internal attitudes regarding the progress of transforming peasant seasonal temporalities.

For the peasantry in 1923, natural rhythms and the cycle of the seasons constituted the very core of their temporal existence. Strumilin discussed the difficulties of establishing an hourly

[74] Strumilin, "Bi͡udzhet vremeni russkogo krest'i͡anina", 44, 47
[75] See Boris Mironov, "The Development of Literacy in Russia and the USSR from the Tenth to the Twentieth Centuries." *History of Education Quarterly* 31, no. 2 (1991): 240
[76] Ibid. 39-40

time-budget because the peasant, 'for lack of more accurate chronometers', determined time 'by eye, by the sun'.[77] Their daily routine also 'varies enormously according to the seasons'.[78] Strumilin defined labour as including hired, household, productive, domestic, and free activities. Whereas in the summer the male peasant laboured for an average of 14-15 hours in 1923, this dropped drastically to 6 and a half hours a day in Winter.[79] This is reflective more generally of pre-mechanized rural communities. Across early-modern Europe, the agricultural working day was set by moveable measures of time 'attuned to the requirements of the season'.[80] For female Soviet peasants, the 1923 time-budget suggested that seasonality was a less important aspect of temporality. They laboured for roughly 15 hours in the summer, and roughly 13 in the winter.[81] In his recommendations for change, the Gosplan statistician ignored his findings on gendered division. He instead concluded that the 'peasant does not have enough work in winter', diagnosing the phenomenon as one of 'chronic seasonal unemployment'.[82] Later in the report he identified 'transitional pauses' between tasks in the peasant day, and characterized them as 'empty [temporal] voids'.[83] By bringing 'modern organization science and technology close to the Russian village', Strumilin argued that these 'irrational' temporal phenomena could be eradicated.[84]

In terms of legislation and rural organization, the central government pursued a number of routes designed to achieve the desired aims. One finding of Strumilin's report was that hired labour was not common amongst men.[85] The clear response was to divert male peasants

[77] 'otsutstviem bolee tochnykh khronometrov... opredelı͡aı͡ut vse «na glazok», po solnyshku.' Strumilin, "Bı͡udzhet vremeni russkogo krest′ı͡anina", 39
[78]' krest′ı͡anina chrezvychaĭno sil′no kolebletsı͡a v zavisimosti ot vremeni goda.' Ibid. 43
[79] Ibid. 44, 47
[80] Gockerell, 'Telling Time without a Clock', in *The Clockwork Universe: German Clocks and Automata, 1550-1650*, eds. Klaus Maurice and Otto Mayr, (New York: Smithsonian, 1980), 143
[81] Strumilin, "Bı͡udzhet vremeni russkogo krest′ı͡anina", 44, 47
[82] 'Krest′ı͡aninu ne khvataet zimoĭ raboty.… khronicheskoĭ sezonnoĭ bezrabotit͡sy.' Ibid. 49
[83]' perekhodnye pauzy… nichem ne zapolnennye pustoty' Ibid. 77
[84]'sovremennuı͡u organizat͡sionnuı͡u nauku i tekhniku' Ibid. 78
[85] Ibid. 78-80

towards other hired winter labour practices. In 1933, the Council of People's Commissars approved a proposal to divert peasants towards logging. The purpose was to have all Lespromkhoz [Timber Management Centres] fully staffed by 1934.[86] These reports specified that collective farms must allocate 'special brigades for logging', and that such transferrals were to occur 'during the winter time, [which is] the most convenient time for collective farms'.[87] Legislation between 1933 and 1936 further prevented interference of collective farm management in preventing such a diversion of labour. In 1936, for instance, a further resolution made it clear that collective farmers must be allowed 'to remain employed in the forest until the end of the winter season' without fear of losing their permanent status on the collective farms.[88] The intention was clearly to build a new, robust relationship between collective farmers and logging industries to facilitate a more rational distribution of seasonal labour time.

Redirection of labour was coupled with a number of other government efforts. Improved infrastructure, division of labour, and growing access to agrotechnology was directed at solving seasonal agricultural restraints, as well as the 'transitional pauses' characteristic of Soviet peasant life. The Five-Year Plan aimed to provide 'road construction', 'large-scale irrigation construction', 'electrification of agriculture, together with widely implemented mechanization', and the 'transformation of the small, fragmented, poorly organised and low-profit peasant economy towards its enlargement and communisation'.[89] In doing so, the central planners

[86] Protokol PB № 150 ot 5 dekabria 1933 g. p.23/5: O poriadke privlecheniia rabocheĭ sily i tiagla na lesozagotovki i splav, 5 December 1933, RGASPI. F. 17. Op. 3. D. 935. L. 5.51-53. http://sovdoc.rusarchives.ru/sections/government/cards/88444

[87] 'vydeliaet na lesorazrabotki spetsial'nye brigady... v zimnee, samoe udobnoe dlia kolkhozov'. "409. O Dogovorakh s Krest'ianami-Edinolichnikami dlia lesozagotovok i splava." November 19, 1933. In *Sobranie zakonov i rasporiazheniĭ raboche-krest'ianskogo pravitel'stva Soiuza Sovetskikh Sotsialisticheskikh Respublik za 1933 g.* (Moscow, 1948), 820. https://archive.org/details/Sobranie_zakonov_i_rasporiazhenii_1933/page/n819

[88] 'ostavat'sia na rabote v lesu do kontsa zimnego sezona'. "95. O Dogovorakh s Kolkhozami dlia Lesozagotovok i Splava" March 3, 1936. Resolution No. 413. Printed in *Sobranie zakonov i rasporiazheniĭ Raboche-Krest'ianskogo Pravitel'stva Soiuza Sovetskikh Sotsialisticheskikh Respublik za 1936 g*, 183-185, (Moscow, 1946). https://znanium.com/read?id=212205

[89] 'dorozhnogo stroitel'stva... krupnogo irrigatsionnogo stroitel'stva... ėlektrifikatsii sel'skogo khoziaĭstva, vmeste s shiroko osushchestvliaemoĭ mekhanizatsieĭ... preobrazovaniia melkogo, razdroblennogo, plokho

hoped they could transition the peasantry from 'nomadic and semi-nomadic' economic practices to 'cultural farming *in winter* and alpine farming on *summer* pastures [my emphasis]'.[90] Mesyatsev's 1935 Gosplan bulletin concluded success in this area. 'One of the most important factors in the early and rapid sowing', writes Mesyatsev, was the 'sharply increased rate of over-winter ploughing for Spring crops'.[91] The economic-technological 'rationalisation' of the Five-Year Plan was thus intimately related with transformations in seasonal temporal experience.

In 1934, Shefter pointed to a 'decrease in the seasonality' of peasant life.[92] Shekhter's 1936 report similarly claimed that the 'Soviet peasantry is a completely new peasantry'[93], having solved 'one of the most difficult organizational problems of labour in agriculture – the problem of seasonality'.[94] The central authorities claimed to have successfully revolutionized the peasant temporalities defined by weather and seasonal particularities. A 1935 time budget from the Sverdlovsk region appeared to confirm the propositions of both Shefter and Shekhter, showing a flattening of the seasonal labour curve.[95] Crucially, the reports show very little change in the overall seasonal experiences of female peasants.[96] Moskoff's *Labour and Leisure* compares time budgets of different regions across the Soviet Union in the 1960s. This study

organizovannogo i malodokhodnogo krest'i͡anskogo khozi͡aĭstva — v storonu ego ukrupneni͡ia i obobshchestvleni͡ia'. "XVII. Zakavkazskai͡a SFSR: III. Sel'skoe khozi͡aĭstvo" In *Pyatiletniy Plan: Narodno-khozyaystvennogo Stroitel'stva SSSR,* Third Edition, 384, (Moscow: Izdatel'stvo "Planovoye Khozyaystvo", 1930). https://rusneb.ru/catalog/000199_000009_008129675/

[90] 'kochevogo i polukochevogo khozi͡aĭstva k kul'turnomu zemledeli͡iu na zimnikh i al'pĭiskomu khozi͡aĭstvu na letnikh pastbishchakh.' Ibid.

[91] 'Odnim iz vazhneĭshikh faktorov rannego i bystrogo seva... rezko vozrosshee kolichestvo zi͡ablevoĭ pakhoty pod i͡arovye posevy.' Mesyatsev, Pavel Alexandrovich. "Sel'skoe khozi͡aĭstvo v 1935 g. i zadachi plana 1936 g." in *Plan*, 23-27, (TSentral'noe Upravlenie Narodnokhozi͡aĭstvennogo: Ucheta, 1935.) https://istmat.org/node/25223

[92]' umen'shenii sezonnosti.' Shefter, "Bi͡udzhet vremeni kolkhoznika v 1934 godu", 37-39

[93] 'sovetskoe krest'i͡anstvo i͡avli͡aetsi͡a sovershenno novym krest'i͡anstvom.' Shekhter, "Trud, otdykh i kul'tura kolkhoznoĭ sem'i", 49

[94] 'odnu iz samykh slozhnykh organizat͡sionnykh problem truda v sel'skom khozi͡aĭstve — problemu sezonnosti.' Ibid, 51

[95] Trud kolkhoznikov Sverdlovskoĭ oblasti v 1935 g. [Mart 1936 g.], March 1936, GASO. F. 1813. Op. 1. D. 164. L. 158. http://docs.historyrussia.org/ru/nodes/118245

[96] Ibid.

makes clear that seasonality of agriculture did persist, and the extent of its flattening was dependent on the level of mechanisation in different regions and the extent of capital investment in particular areas.[97] Despite being fundamentally determined by particularities such as geography, gender, and investment, the central and regional governments identified a major shift in male seasonal peasant temporalities across the Soviet Union.

Fig. 6, "Readiness for a sowing Inspection", 1933: Enduring the difficulties of organized winter farming.

ii. A NEW PEASANT EXPERIENCE?

Modern states which have sought to alter the 'seasonal rhythmicity of nature' are inevitably confronted by intrinsic limits in crop growth, disease, and crop failure.[98] The Soviet Union, as

[97] Moskoff, *Labour and Leisure*, 158-159
[98] Adam, *Time*, 145

so far discussed, was dealing with these natural limitations by expanding the activities of the male Russian peasant. Seasons continued to occupy significance as a point of temporal reference, although the government sought to ensure a new level of continuity between the winter months and the summer months. Labour itself became the new mark of changing temporalities. Summer months would be characterized by farming and harvesting efforts; winter months would be characterized by hired labour in areas such as logging. Moving between these sites of production constituted the new marker of temporality. The language of many diaries of peasant labourers crucially reflected this desired shift. By taking a purely 'empirical' approach to diary analysis, this section investigates shifts in the importance of 'seasonality' as a marker of temporality. In particular, it investigates changes in the frequency with which peasants such as Dmitry Ivanovich Lukichev and Pavel Timofeevich Ananin denoted temporality by seasonal change. By the late 1930's, a drastic shift had occurred in their writing. The perpetuity of labour had eliminated the once-important natural markers of seasonal temporality.

Lukichev (1878-1938) was a peasant homeowner from the village of Vashki, Vologda Oblast, Russia. Previously elected to the Volost, and having held a position as a local magistrate, he was clearly literate. He explicitly defined the purpose of his diary as 'for memory for yourself [his children] and for the future generation of the family'.[99] The diary did not record daily activities, but 'only what proves to be worthy of attention and memory'.[100] The diary ranged between 1920 and 1938, thereby enabling us to track temporal changes in what was considered 'worthy of attention'. In 1923, Lukichev used seasonality to denote temporal change in 18 of the 96 entries. Winter was characterized by the 'frozen lake',[101] spring by the fields 'covered

[99]' dl͡ia pami͡ati kak dl͡ia sebi͡a tak i dl͡ia budushchago pokoleni͡ia semeĭstva'. Lukichev, "Diary", 27/07/1920
[100] 'Zapisyvatʹ dl͡ia pami͡ati tolʹko to, chto okazhetsi͡a dostoĭnym vnimani͡ia i pami͡ati'. Ibid.
[101] 'Ozero zastylo.' Ibid. 28/11/1923

with snow',[102] summer by 'cherry blossoms, warmth',[103] and autumn was described in terms of 'damp, rain, and cold'.[104] In winter months between October and April, farm labour was not mentioned in a single diary entry. In 1923, seasons marked the passing of time. By 1930, seasonal patterns of change were not mentioned in a single diary entry. Collective farm labour and administration, on the other hand, was described in nearly half of all diary entries.[105] Crucially, labour was also mentioned throughout the period between January and April. In February, for instance, he occupied himself with discussing the transition 'from sole farming to collective farming'.[106] The perpetuity of labour supply had, for Lukichev, eradicated the importance of seasonal change. Productive life became the true marker of his experience of temporality in the village.

Ananin (1860-c.1936) was a cooper in the village of Krasnaya Selga in Karelia, Russia. Writing frequently in 1932, and nearly every day between 1933 and 1935, his diary provides general markers of temporality. Ananin's writing skills appear to be less refined than Lukichev's, with many entries proving 'unintelligible' to *EUSP* transcribers.[107] Ananin's diary thus provides an alternative perspective to Lukichev's. It described not only what he consciously believed to be important, but also insight into the more 'mundane' aspects of a peasant's life. Furthermore, Ananin offered no daily or monthly dates for his diary entries. The only opportunity to reconstruct his temporal existence comes from the language itself. In his earliest diary entries of 1932, we see shifts in seasonal patterns. What is presumably winter

[102] ' pokryty snegom' Ibid. 06/05/1923
[103] 'T͡svetet cheremkha, teplo.' Ibid. 18/06/1923
[104] 'syrym, dozhlivym i kholodnym' Ibid. 03/11/1923
[105] Ibid. See diary entries from 09/01/1930-25/12/1930
[106] 'edinolichnago vedeniia sel'skago khozi͡aĭstva k kolektivnomu.' Ibid. 15/02/1930
[107] Pavel Ananin, "Diary" in *Dnevnike Zaonezhskogo bondari͡a*. Ed. V. P. Ershov Kizhi Bulletin. Issue 14. (Petrovodask: Karelian Research Centre RAS, 2013), Digitized by Anna Baikalova. EUSP. Web. Accessed at https://prozhito.org/person/1101. e.g. 'P. 17-4.'

was characterized by 'dark'[108] weather and 'snow'.[109] The period of summer was characterized in terms of language such as 'warmth'[110] and 'rain'.[111] Seasonal patterns appear to have occupied some level of significance at all points of the year. Entries for 1933 reflected a drastic change. Throughout the winter months, seasonal patterns were not mentioned in a single diary entry. Instead, 'logging'[112] was mentioned a total of 78 times in separate diary entries throughout the 'winter' months. During the 'summer' period, seasonal patterns became important again as they became relevant to patterns of sowing and harvesting. The same pattern was clear in 1934. Changes in labour became the clearest marker of temporal change in Ananin's life; seasonality, whilst still mentioned, no longer occupied the same all-year-round temporal significance.

By using merely two examples, this thesis cannot confirm the complete homogenization of this experience across the countryside. On the contrary, peasants such as Gavrila Verkhoturov (1900-unknown) from Tompa, Irkutsk oblast, continued to write diaries under headings of 'Spring', 'Summer', 'Autumn' and 'Winter' through to 1934. Their entries were saturated by descriptions of natural seasonal change.[113] In the diary of an anonymous peasant (1912-unknown) from Michurinsk, Tambov oblast, seasonality remained an influential temporal marker and was portrayed in poetic style.[114] Seasonality certainly continued to serve a purpose in the Soviet village. Nonetheless, these peasants were resisting the clear homogenizing efforts of the Soviet government.

[108] Ibid. 'Pp. 30-17'
[109] 'Vypal sneg' Ibid. 'Ch.27-14'
[110] 'Pogoda teplai͡a' Ibid. 'V.120-7'
[111] 'Dozhd''. Ibid. 'V.18-5'
[112] E.g. 'Mit'ka v lesozagotovki'. Ibid. 'C.11-29'
[113] Andreyanovich Verkhoturov, "Diary", 1924-1955, *Leno-Severobaĭkal'skoĭ istoriko-ėtnograficheskoĭ ėkspediti͡sii Irkutskogo gosudarstvennogo universiteta v 1973 g*, Digitzed and edited by Anna Vlasova, EUSP. https://prozhito.org/person/1953
[114] See Anonymous, "Diary", 03/02/1932

This chapter has demonstrated that the central government cohesively sought to transform seasonal life through legislation and management; Lukichev and Ananin show that this was tangibly felt by the peasantry. Seasons, which were clearly still significant in the 1920s, came to occupy secondary importance in the temporal life of the Soviet peasant by 1936. Between 1923 and 1936, the Soviet peasantry experienced a clear, linear, 'temporal revolution'. Despite some variation across the Soviet Union, new 'iterative' patterns of temporal experience reflected the creation of a new Soviet 'temporal regime'.[115]

Fig. 7, "A Conversation with Peasants." 1930: A visual display of government efforts to comprehensively 'Sovietize' the peasantry.

[115] Torres, *Temporal Regimes*, 38

CHAPTER 3: TEMPORAL DISILLUSIONMENT

In Soviet peasant diaries, drastic changes in temporal experience manifested themselves in novel speech patterns. In particular, peasant diaries were dominated by comments about time 'speeding up', 'slowing down', or 'lacking meaning'. Temporal disillusionment is a socio-psychological phenomenon notably explored by Marxist historian E. P. Thompson. According to him, the transition from pre-industrial 'task-orientation' to industrial 'time-orientation' created an antagonism of interests and provokes 'alienation'.[116] Industrial-capitalism ushers in a commodification of time: '[t]ime is now currency, it is not passed but spent.'[117] Instead of owing a particular commodity or task, one owes 'time' itself to the employer. By extension, one loses 'control' over time itself. Depicting how this phenomenon was experienced, he quotes Stephen Duck's poem, *The Thresher's Labour* (1730): 'Week after Week we this dull Task pursue… He [the farm manager] counts the Bushels, counts how much a Day, / Then swears we've idled half our Time Away'.[118] Characteristic of this time-based disillusionment is the worker's sense of monotony ('Week after Week), a sense of futility ('this dull Task') and a sense of skewed time ('idled half our Time Away'). Offering a revisionist thesis, Thomas Smith has argued that pre-industrial task-oriented time-thrift is not necessarily antagonistic to industrial forms of temporality.[119] Although workers' dissatisfaction can appear to bear 'heavily on time', their complaints do not relate to some kind of capitalist-industrial temporal alienation, but rather reflect changing 'conceptions of the individual in society'.[120]

[116] Thompson, "Time, Work-Discipline, and Industrial Capitalism", 62
[117] Ibid. 61
[118] Stephen Duck, "The Thresher's Labour", 1730. Cited in Thompson, "Time, Work-Discipline, and Industrial Capitalism", 62
[119] Smith, "Peasant Time and Factory Time in Japan.", 194
[120] Ibid. 195-197

Soviet peasants experienced transformations in their time-sense, with clock-based temporalities occupying an increasingly central place in productive life. This provides us with an opportunity to consider Thompson's notion of a fundamental contradiction between pre-industrial 'task-orientation' and industrial 'time-orientation'. From the analysis of diaries, it becomes clear that Soviet peasants struggled with new industrial forms of Taylorized, time-based labour. They express clear dissatisfaction with the monotony of their labour, its 'lack of meaning', and struggle to individuate themselves from the rest of the community. Their comments reflect attitudes highlighted by Thompson. At the same time, their expressions of 'temporal disillusionment' appear to more widely reflect the peasantry's attempts to reconcile old and new visions of the individual in society. The peasants appear to 'forget' those aspects of life they find most difficult, and these gaps in their temporal experience sustain the illusion of conformity to the new, fast-paced, Soviet time. Rebellious peasants appear to express their sense of self by 'slowing down' time. In this sense, temporal experience is a Foucauldian 'technology of the self': a means by which a peasant may 'transform themselves in order to attain a state of happiness, purity, wisdom, perfection, or immortality'.[121] Their statements on temporality clearly reflect ideas about different 'conceptions of the individual in society'.[122] Smith and Thompson's ideas about this kind of temporal alienation do not appear to be mutually exclusive. 'Temporal disillusionment' reflects peasant alienation in the face of a government intent on appropriating 'time' as a tool for coercion; it was also a means by which the peasantry self-constructed, altered, and transformed their own sense of temporality in order to sustain new ideas about selfhood and society.

[121] Michel Foucault, "Technologies of the Self", 18
[122]Smith, "Peasant Time", 195-197

i. CONSIDERING CONTEXT

Reconstructing the phenomenon of 'temporal disillusionment', this work appeals to the diaries of four Russian peasants of the period. The diaries are deliberately drawn from geographically diverse regions, illustrating the widespread nature of the phenomenon. As already discussed in this study, female peasant diaries are much less common during this period, and none were available in the EUSP diary database for this period.[123] Diary writing, as this study has argued, may have been a less important device for fashioning female peasant Soviet temporalities. This chapter therefore considers how male peasants constructed temporalities through their diaries. The proposed link between constructions of selfhood, peasant socialization, and temporality, demands an investigation into the broader social lives of each of the peasants under investigation. In this section, we briefly consider the social lives of the authors, their potential readership, the means by which they construct language, and their political positions.

Ivan Ivanovich Yaroshenko (1885-unknown) was a peasant who kept a diary between 1917 and 1943. He resided in the town of Zaporozhye, (now Zporizhzhia) in south-eastern Ukraine. Stylistically, his diary tends to refrain from expressing emotions, instead recording daily activities and political events. The diary begins in 1917 with discussions of the German occupation of Ukraine, as well as political movements in the village. For Yaroshenko, the diary appears to have served the purpose of documenting local history. His political allegiance changes, and he appears to express sympathy for groups such as the Social Revolutionaries, as well as the Bolsheviks. As a documentary source, the diary was likely written for a future

[123] See https://prozhito.org/persons. Dates refined to '1923-1936'; Tag refined to 'peasant'.

audience, with discussions of his family suggesting that it may have been written for descendants.[124]

Dmitry Ivanovich Lukichev (1878-1938), a male peasant from Vashkinsky, northwestern Russia, explicitly described his diary as existing to preserve memory for both family and future readers.[125] In doing so, he punctuated his writing with personal feelings as well as descriptions of daily life. As a richer peasant within the community, he suffered political persecution throughout the 1930s. The diary entries examined within this chapter relate to a period in which Lukichev successfully appealed against efforts to suspend his position and voting rights on the collective farm. In November 1935, both he and his son were brought before a trial for 'sabotaging actions on the collective farm'.[126] His son died in March 1937 in an Eastern Siberian camp; Lukichev himself died shortly after in 1938. His reflections on temporality must crucially be seen in the context of his wider disillusionment with Soviet life.

The anonymous (1912-unknown) peasant from Michurinsk, Central Russia, began his diary with an autobiography entitled "I remember".[127] The first line of this autobiography is 'Learn not that which is not, do not forget that which is'.[128] The diary clearly exists for the purpose of preserving a 'truthful' memory. The presence of an autobiography at the beginning of the diary suggests that it was written for future readers other than the Michurinsk peasant himself. Aged 20 and without any family, it is less likely that he considered his descendants as the primary readership. His readings, as well as his reflections on the political state of the country indicate

[124] Ivan Yaroshenko, "Diary", 1917-1943, In *Dz͡herela z istorii Pivdennoï Ukraïny*, Vol 5, Book 1, (Zaporizhzhia: RA "Tandem-U", 2005), Digitized by Ilona Popychko. EUSP. Accessed at https://prozhito.org/person/2232.
[125] Lukichev, "Diary", 27/07/1920
[126] 'vreditel′ski͡a deĭstvi͡a v kolkhoze'. Ibid. 11/05/1935
[127] '͡Ia Pomni͡u'. Anonymous, "Diary", 1932. Autobiography
[128] 'Ne uznat′', chto ne bylo, ne zabyt′', chto bylo'. Ibid.

a high level of sympathy for the Bolshevik regime. His writing is often poetically styled, and he discussed the literary pieces of Yesenin and Dostoevsky.[129] All of this indicates a high level of literacy and education.

This chapter will also consider the diary of Andrei Stepanovich Arhzilovsky (1885-1937), a male peasant from the Cherishev district, Tyumen. A relatively wealthy peasant farmer, he often held positions within his village administration both prior and during the early period of Soviet rule. His status as a moderately wealthy peasant caused trouble for Arzhilovsky throughout the 1920s and 1930s. The diary as presented in *Intimacy and Terror* contains 40 pages ranging between 1936 and 1937. Despite the NKVD determining the diary to be anti-Soviet in nature, under interrogation Arzhilovsky maintained that these 'opinions had never left the pages of his diaries'.[130] The diary probably existed as an outlet for Arzhilovsky's suppressed inner feelings. Written in bad health, shortly before his execution, and unusually signed with Arzhilovsky's name, the diary potentially reflects an attempt to preserve his own memory for future generations.[131]

ii. COMPRESSING REVOLUTIONARY TIME

Official culture promoted the idea of temporal acceleration, and all notions of slowing down or freezing time were seen in a sharply negative light.[132] In popular culture, time was often described as a speeding train. In Boris Pilnyak's *Mahogany*, the writer described a train

[129] Ibid. 14/02/1932
[130] Veronique Garros et al, "Andrei Stepanovich Arzhilovsky." In their *Intimacy and Terror*. *Soviet Diaries of the 1930s*, (New York, 1995), 112
[131] Ibid.
[132] A. Kulyapin, and O. Skubach, "Igry so vremenem: semiotika chasov v sovetskoĭ kul′ture 1920-40-kh gg." *Filologiia i chelovek*, (Altai State University, 2007), 26

'dragging time off into the black expanses of fields… bringing it to a halt at stations'.[133] Time had frozen in the Russian village; the Soviet industrial machine was bringing time to the peasant village, socializing the peasantry. The Marxist 'locomotive of history' was running at full speed, and those who failed to jump aboard 'missed the train of time'.[134] Stalin declared that the regime 'must move forward with the main mass of the peasantry.'[135] Compressed time, according to the regime, produces the 'busy person' who merely fails to notice the passing of time. Frozen time, on the contrary, reflected a sense of pre-revolutionary idleness and a failure of the socialist consciousness. Fast-paced temporality was thus a condition of successful peasant socialisation. It becomes clear from peasant diaries that increased tempo was a feature of their temporal experience. Many peasants were able to compress their sense of time by eradicating the temporal importance of the more difficult aspects of Soviet life. In this sense, they used temporality as a means of self-fashioning their new Soviet selves. Conforming to Smith's interpretation, what may appear to be 'temporal disillusionment' is actually peasants seeking to incorporate and construct new 'conceptions of the individual in society'.[136]

On 30 April 1932, the anonymous Michurinsk peasant described how 'morning after morning, day turns to night without a glance… days and nights pass, and whole weeks and months pass… time flies'.[137] The statement appears out of place; he fails to situate the comment in context, following it with a discussion of a new literary assignment. Looking back to diary entries just ten days prior, clues emerge as to the origins of this sentiment. Complaining more generally about the difficulties of life in the village, and more particularly about the reduction in bread

[133] Pilnyak, Boris. "Mahogany". In *Chinese Story and other Tales*. (University of Oklahoma Press, 1988), 177; also cited in Williams, "The Russian Revolution and the End of Time", 394
[134] Williams, "The Russian Revolution and the End of Time", 394
[135] Stalin, *Works,* Vol.10, August-December 1927. (Moscow: Foreign Languages Publishing House, 1954), 263
[136] Smith, "Peasant Time", 194
[137] 'U͡tro za utrom den′ ne uspeesh′ ogli͡anut′si͡a vecher.... prokhodi͡at dni nochi i t͡selye nedeli prokhodi͡at mesi͡a͡tsa... vremi͡a letit.' Anonymous. "Diary". Entry: 30/04/1932

quotas, he wrote, 'Sleep! Sleep! I'll forget about this day.'[138] Elsewhere he wrote that monotonous, difficult days pass 'without impressions'.[139] He remained passive in his criticism of the regime, instead deciding to eliminate the temporal meaning of these events. By operating a kind of 'selective amnesia', time appeared compressed and 'time flies'. The 'skewing of time' was a control mechanism of the Michurinsk peasant. He socialized himself, appropriating official discourse of a 'flying time', whilst emotionally distancing himself from some of the harsher realities of Soviet life. Temporality emerged as a 'technology of the self' enabling the Michurinsk peasant to transform their sense of selfhood.[140]

The Michurinsk peasant further constructed his sense of self by appealing to 'nostalgia' and to a pre-revolutionary seasonal time-sense, whilst simultaneously criticising the social character of pre-revolutionary life. He wrote: 'I was reminiscing about my childhood… Springtime. When the snow was still deep in the peaks… the cuckoo crowing and unruffled music resonating in summer's quiet countryside'.[141] For him, these earlier rhythms of temporality transported him back to a comforting world of pre-Soviet life. It provided him with an avenue for visiting and reconciling his pre-revolutionary past with his new Soviet self. Whilst passively expressing grievances about the nature of his work, he continuously sought comfort in reminiscing about his childhood village, usually with reference to natural imagery.[142] Crucially, he was able to do so without explicitly yearning for pre-Soviet social life. By subtly employing nostalgia, he adapted an acceptable sense of past temporality to his idea of modernity. The 'post-revolutionary past', writes Friedman, becomes 'part and parcel of the modern

[138] 'Spat′! Spat′! Zabudu o nyneshnem dne' Ibid. 20/04/1932
[139] 'bez vpechatleniĭ'. Ibid. 24/01/1932
[140] Foucault, "Technologies of the Self", 18
[141] 'I͡a vspominal o detstve... Vesna. Kogda eshche snezhnyĭ pokrov zalegal v glubokikh vershinakh... kukovanie kukushek, ne ugomonnai͡a muzyka oglashaet tikhie derevenskie zori letom.' Anonymous, "Diary", 03/03/1932
[142] Ibid. e.g. 26/02/1932

imaginary'.[143] At the same time, the peasant was able to adamantly criticize those who long for pre-Soviet social life. For instance, he discussed how Yesenin's 'longing for a departing Russia… stifles [the] positivity [of his work].'[144] He wrote that in order to live, 'you have to participate in human progress'.[145] By appealing to past forms of temporality, he was able to shape his own pre-Soviet life to an acceptable modern, Soviet self.

Arzhilovsky's similarly discussed the 'pace' of his temporal existence frequently. He described how 'Life is like a speeding train. The ones who have a ticket ride, the others stand by and watch them pass by.'[146] Existing outside of the Soviet system – to not have a 'ticket' - was to exist outside of time itself. Arzhilovsky found himself 'walking' through life, having failed to board the train of revolutionary time.[147]As with the Michurinsk peasant, he sought to compress time as a means of regaining control over his life. He later described how 'time passes quickly'.[148] He explained this temporal turn: 'it often seems to me now that I never was in the [forced labour] camp, that it was all just a dream'.[149] Like the Michurinsk peasant, he eradicated the temporal meaning of his most difficult experiences and thereby compressed time. He internally constructed the impression of a fast-moving temporal existence, shaping himself to the requirements of the Soviet system. Arzhilovsky again used temporality as a 'technology of the self', transforming his temporal experience as a means of socializing himself.

For those living outside of society itself, the 'freezing of time' appeared as a characteristic of their existence and a symptom their complete loss of control. Lukichev, during the period of

[143] Friedman, *Modernity*, *Domesticity and Temporality*, 24
[144] 'tasku po «ukhod͡iashcheĭ rusi»... glushit polozhitel′nost′ ' Ibid. 08/03/1932
[145] 'nuzhno uchastvovat′ v chelovecheskom progresse.' Ibid. 13/03/1932
[146]Arzhilovsky, "Diary of Andrei Stepanovich Arzhilovsky", in *Intimacy and Terror*, Eds. Veronique Garros et al. (New York, 1995), 139
[147] Ibid.
[148] Ibid. 141
[149] Ibid.

his persecution, appeared to exist in a state outside of time itself. He wrote, 'Boring, tedious, nauseating days drag on. I ask for justice, but I don't see it anywhere'.[150] His sense of social exclusion manifested itself in this sense of temporal disillusionment with time standing still. He was no longer able to realise his own image of the individual within society. His temporal experience was appropriated by the authorities; only 'justice' could restore time and prevent its tedious, nauseating, dragging nature. On 1 September he wrote of being in the 'same position, without change'. [151] Time could no longer be transcended, but it occupied a constant, meaningful, drudgery. He thus commented on 4 September: 'The further you go, the more difficult life becomes'.[152] Lukichev's temporal alienation became a symptom of his inability to self-construct a vision of himself as an 'individual in society'. As a powerful source of socialization, temporality also served as an instrument for constructing lines of social exclusion.

Fig. 8, "To Join or not to Join the Collective Farm?" 1929. Exhibition "The Great Break": The emotional struggle of transforming from 'peasant' to 'collective farmer'.

[150] 'Skuchno, tomitel′no, toshno t͡ianutsi͡a dni, obrashchai͡us′ za spravedlivost′i͡u, no ne vizhu ei͡a nigde.' Lukichev, "Diary", 30/08/1931
[151] 'Bez peremeny tozhe polozhenie.' Ibid. 01/09/1931
[152] 'Chem dalee tem trudnee zhizn′.' Ibid. 04/09/1931

iii. ALIENATION OF THE PRE-INDUSTRIAL TIME-SENSE

Although regionally variable, the Soviet peasantry underwent a transformation from a pre-industrial time-sense to Taylorized patterns of social-time. In Strumilin's 1923 report, he spoke of the 'rudimentary' nature of peasant specialization, and the 'many… transitions' of activity in the peasant day.[153] We know from Shefter (1934) and Shekhter's (1936) reports that the government believed they were successful in reforming the unspecialized nature of agriculture. From Chapter 1, we have seen that clock-time was at least partially received in some peasant villages. In Chapter 2 we noted that peasants appear to have experienced a transformation in their seasonal time-sense. Here we consider the reception of these industrialized temporalities in the peasant village. For peasants, specialization inspired another form of 'temporal disillusionment' consonant with E. P. Thompson's industrial-temporal 'alienation'. Not only was 'time' owed rather than 'tasks', but peasants were now confined to repetitive, specialist tasks. Despite Smith's dismissal, Soviet peasants found these new industrial labour forms temporally antagonistic.

Writing about his joining of a factory in 1931, Ivan Yaroshenko described how 'I work in a factory… everything is the same… the industry is fast'.[154] For him, the industrialization process was experienced in the form of monotony ('everything… the same'), and an increased pace of life ('fast'). Moreover, Yaroshenko explicitly commented on its incompatibility with previous modes of labour. Joining an artel called "Progress", he described how 'work is not important, it is not *familiar* [my emphasis] to me'.[155] Industrial forms of labour, by forcing a system of specialized labour, corrupted the meaningful exercise of diverse pre-industrial

[153] 'takikh perekhodov osobenno mnogo.' Strumilin, "Biudzhet vremeni russkogo krest'ianina", 77
[154] 'Rabotaiu na zavodi… vse po staromu… ato industriia idet bystrym tempom'. Yaroshenko, "Diary", 1/09/1931
[155] 'Rabota nevazhna, dlia menia ne znakoma'. Lukichev, "Diary", 08/03/1936

peasant labour tasks. Monotony and fast-paced development became a central aspect of Yaroshenko's temporality. Smith's refutation of Thompson's thesis rests on the idea that change would have been 'accompanied by an ideological attack on workers' time behaviour' of which he finds 'little evidence' in his own studies.[156] Crucially, we see in Strumilin, Shefter, and Shekhter's studies a sustained critique of the 'pauses' inherent in pre-industrialized Soviet time behaviour, emanating from the peasant's 'transition from one job to another'.[157] Their solution to this issue was 'the division of labour and specialization'.[158] This is precisely the development which Thompson suggests provokes temporal alienation, and clearly related to the developments described in Yaroshenko's diary.

For the Michurinsk peasant, industrial clock-time was clearly antagonistic to his temporal existence. We can see from his diary that his labour was deeply rooted in clock-time. He wrote of getting up 'at 5 o'clock'[159], eagerly 'looking forward to the lunch bell'[160] and arriving 'home around 7pm'.[161] Elsewhere he wrote, 'As always, I worked 8 hours in production… the day passed without any bright impressions'.[162] He usually sustained a clear loyalty to the Soviet regime and its ideals, and he rarely offered comments on his attitudes towards labour. This experience of meaninglessness attached to his productive life constituted an important reflection. The Michurinsk labourer's experience of clock-time eliminated any sense of temporal meaning. He clearly rooted the lack of 'bright impressions' within the repetition ('as always') of new strictly time-related ('8 hours in production') labour practices. Contrary to

[156] Smith, "Peasant Time", 189
[157] 'pauzy... perekhode ot odnoĭ raboty k drugoĭ.' Strumilin, "Byudzhet vremeni russkogo krest'yanina", 77
[158] 'razdelenie truda i spet͡sializat͡sii'. Ibid.
[159] 'chasov v 5-t". Anonymous, *Diary*, 13/05/1932
[160] 'neterpeniem zhdal obedennogo zvonka.' Ibid.
[161] 'domoĭ okolo 7mi vechera.' Ibid. 17/04/1932
[162] 'Kak i vsegda 8 chasov rabotal na proizvodstve... Den′ proshel bez i͡arkikh vpechatleniĭ.' Ibid. 20/01/1932

Smith's arguments, in the case of Soviet peasants like the Michurinsk worker, the 'pre-industrial time-sense is necessarily a source of resistance to the factory'.[163]

iv. TEMPORALITY, CONTROL, AND SOVIET SELFHOOD

By accepting and synthesizing Smith and Thompson's conclusions on temporal 'alienation', this work has sought to expand the horizons of temporal studies. By manipulating experiences of temporality, peasants could control their sense of selfhood and adapt to a rapidly changing Soviet society. The government could equally construct new temporal norms which promoted Soviet ideals. For Torres, the final component of a temporal regime is 'governmentality': the presence of 'rules that govern individual and collective actions'.[164] Both the peasants and the government appear to have constructed new 'rules' upon which the new Soviet time was to be based. In this sense, we again see a clear transformation in the Soviet 'temporal regime'. This change in governmentality, whether forced onto the peasantry or self-imposed, manifested itself in the phenomenon of 'temporal disillusionment'.

[163] Smith, "Peasant Time", 194
[164] Torres, *Temporal Regimes*, 38

CONCLUSION

Norbert Elias claims that control of time, like the coining of money, is 'one of the [essential] monopolies of the state.'[165] The leaders of the Soviet Union realised this; they also took from their Marxist tradition the idea that this new 'Soviet' time would have to be secular and fast-moving. They ripped down bells, mass-produced clocks, rationalised agricultural processes, and imposed a new temporal regime upon the peasantry. Pasternak's character Yuri Zhivago was left feeling like 'in these five or ten years, we have experienced more than other people do in a century'.[166] The Soviet peasantry, too, experienced this fundamentally 'skewed' sense of time. Soviet time was, as authors such as Kataev, Orwell, Dziga Vertov and Pasternak recognized, something 'different'.

Fig. 9, "Leaders of the Country on the Podium of the Mausoleum." 1938: Temporal control at the heart of the Soviet state.

[165] Elias, *Time*, 53
[166] Boris Pasternak, *Doctor Zhivago*, (New York: Everyman's Library, 1991), 193

Hanson has argued that from the writing of the *Communist Manifesto* (1848) to the dissolution of the Soviet Union, there exists an '150-year revolutionary experiment in reordering the human relationship to time'.[167] Between 1923 and 1936, this 'experiment' became more than mere ideology. The government, consciously or otherwise, adopted new attitudes towards temporality. Historians such as Hanson have refrained from studying how people experienced this 'revolutionary experiment', instead calling for a future series of works which analyse the 'diverse reactions of different sectors of Russian society'. [168] Malte Rolf, writing in *Constructing a Soviet Time*, called for more research into the 'popular attitudes and mentalities generated by the party-state'. [169] The purpose of this study has been to fill this gap in the historiography, offering one of the very first studies of Soviet temporal experience.

Future works would, crucially, recognize temporalities produced according to other social factors such as gender, class, ethnicity, age and sexual identity.[170] Each of these factors are essential determinants of temporality and selfhood. By focusing on temporality, the historian can illuminate important differences in experience informed by these various social categories. Temporality is, as we have seen, an important aspect in controlling people as well as an essential means by which people are able to self-fashion themselves. As Glucksmann makes clear in her study of gendered temporalities in Britain: 'the intention is not to substitute the temporal for other perspectives, nor to suggest it as a new discovery'.[171] It is hoped that this study has demonstrated some new potentialities of temporal studies as a mode of social analysis.

[167] Hanson, *Time and Revolution*, x
[168] Ibid. xii
[169] Rolf, "Constructing a Soviet Time", 459
[170] Torres, *Temporal Regimes*, 39
[171] Glucksmann, "What a Difference a Day Makes", 239

The study of attitudes towards temporality offers a crucial insight into peasant relations with society and their constructions of selfhood. In Chapter 3 we recognized that 'temporal disillusionment' reflected the antagonisms between a new industrial society and older pre-mechanized agricultural practices. Equally, 'temporal disillusionment' was a means by which peasants operated control over their sense of self and adjusted to new ideas about their place within society. Time was not only a 'controlling' force over the peasantry, but a powerful instrument by which peasants could exert 'control' over their own lives. By recognizing the multi-levelled relationship between Soviet subjects and 'time', 'temporal studies' becomes an important analytical tool for understanding how peasants experienced the development of new productive relations, adjusted to new ideas about society, and controlled their place within it.

This study has considered three aspects of transformation: 'temporal divergence', 'temporal revolution' and 'temporal disillusionment'. This corresponds very closely to the three components of Torres's conceptual 'temporal regime': 'articulability', 'iterability', and 'governmentality'. Across the Soviet peasantry, articulations of temporal experiences diverged; new temporal ideas were reiterated across the countryside promoting a homogenous 'temporal revolution'; and new forms of temporal 'governmentality' produced a clear phenomenon of 'temporal disillusionment'.[172] By demonstrating concrete changes in all of these temporal spheres, this study highlights the creation of a new Soviet 'temporal regime' in the countryside.

Between 1923 and 1936, a revolution occurred in the peasant time-sense. The impact of this transformation reverberates to this day. In Etimelin's 2002 temporal analysis of Russian History, they argued that post-Soviet Russia is now 'involved in the process of designing and

[172] Torres, *Temporal Regimes*, 38

creating a new society… [and] the relations of various social groups to the past, present and future often become key.'[173] The reconstruction of day-to-day temporalities in the Soviet village is essential for understanding patterns of development following the fall of the Soviet Union. The interaction of Soviet temporalities with non-Soviet ideas of labour-time, competition, and religion has produced specific patterns of development in the post-Soviet period. In some cases, there is a lingering notion that a post-Soviet 'Russian time' continues to differ from 'Western time'.[174]

Fig. 10, "Keeper of the Kremlin Chimes." 1990: Maintaining control of temporal experience in the late-Soviet period.

[173] 'vovlecheny v protsess proektirovashm i sozdaniia novogo obshchestva.... otnosheniia razlichnykh sotsial'nykh grupp po povodu proshlogo, nastoiashchego i budushchego neredko stanoviatsia kliuchevymi.' Georgievich Etimelin, "Sub"ektno-vremennoĭ analiz rossiĭskoĭ istorii." (PhD diss, St Petersburg, 2002), 3

[174] See, for instance, *Cast Away*, directed by Robert Zemeckis, (20th Century Studios, 2001). Tom Hanks's Character is tasked with 'educating' post-Soviet Russians on how to operate according to 'western time'.

LIST OF IMAGES

Fig.1: Anonymous. “Kolokola chasov na Sukharevoĭ bashne”, Moscow, 1930, Exhibition “Moskva iz Muzei͡a Moskvy”, Muzeĭ Moskvy. https://russiainphoto.ru/search/archive/11807/?index=1

Fig.2: Privkin, Mikhail. “Kolokola. Sergiev Posad”, Zagorsk, 1930, Gosudarstvennyĭ Literaturnyĭ muzeĭ. https://russiainphoto.ru/search/archive/11813/?index=6

Fig.3: Prishvin, Mikhail. “Kolokola. Sergiyev Posad”, Zagorsk, 1930 Gosudarstvennyĭ Literaturnyĭ muzeĭ. https://russiainphoto.ru/search/archive/11919/?index=10

Fig.4: Anonymous. “Bashni͡a s chasami stroitsi͡a”, Turkmen SSR, Ashgabat, 1930. Archive of Alexey Zakharov https://russiainphoto.ru/search/archive/11924/?index=3

Fig.5: Prekhner, Mikhail. “Chaepitie v dome kolkhoznika.”, Moscow, 1934, Mul′timedia art muzeĭ, CC BY 4.0 License. https://russiainphoto.ru/search/archive/11808/?index=3

Fig.6: Shishkin, Arkady. “Smotr gotovnosti k sevu”, Collective farm “Vernyĭ put′”, 1933, Mul′timedia art muzeĭ. https://russiainphoto.ru/search/archive/11823/?index=8

Fig.7: Alpert, Max. “Beseda s krest′i͡anami”, 1930, Mul′timedia art muzeĭ. https://russiainphoto.ru/search/archive/11822/?index=9

Fig. 8: Shishkin, Arkady. “Vstupat′ ili ne vstupat′ v kolkhoz?”, Nizhny Novgorod region, Sovetsky district, 1929, Soyuz fotokhudozhnikov Rossii. Exhibition: Velikiĭ perelom. https://russiainphoto.ru/search/archive/11812/?index=6

Fig.9: Mikosha Vladislav. “Rukovoditeli strany na tribune Mavzolei͡a”, Moscow, 1938, Mul′timedia art muzeĭ. https://russiainphoto.ru/search/archive/11811/?index=7

Fig.10: Abaza, Alexander. “Khranitel′ kremlevskikh kurantov.” Moscow, 1990. Mul′timedia art muzeĭ. https://russiainphoto.ru/search/archive/11925/?index=9

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