



## PUBLIC CATERING POLICY IN THE SOVIET ERA: A FOCUS ON THE RUSSIAN FAR EAST

### POLÍTICA DE ALIMENTAÇÃO PÚBLICA NA ERA SOVIÉTICA: UM ENFOQUE NO EXTREMO ORIENTE RUSSO

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#### RESUMO

**Objetivo:** O objetivo deste artigo é examinar a influência política significativa do governo bolchevique no desenvolvimento da cultura e da indústria alimentícia na União Soviética, com um foco específico no Extremo Oriente Russo. O estudo explora a transformação das práticas de alimentação pública sob o regime soviético e a criação de uma cultura alimentar distinta conhecida como "Homo soveticus."

**Métodos:** A pesquisa utiliza uma abordagem histórica e analítica, combinando materiais de arquivo, revisão de literatura e entrevistas com contemporâneos. O estudo abrange o período desde a Revolução Bolchevique até o final da era soviética, analisando o impacto das decisões políticas na produção, distribuição e consumo de alimentos no Extremo Oriente Russo.

**Resultados:** Os resultados destacam como as políticas soviéticas, particularmente aquelas relacionadas à urbanização e industrialização, moldaram significativamente os sistemas de alimentação pública no Extremo Oriente Russo. O estudo também discute a padronização das práticas alimentares e o desenvolvimento de estruturas institucionais que contribuíram para o surgimento de uma cultura alimentar soviética unificada.

**Conclusões:** O estudo conclui que a era soviética, marcada por forte controle político e políticas transformadoras, teve um impacto profundo na evolução dos serviços de alimentação pública e dos hábitos alimentares no Extremo Oriente Russo. A pesquisa enfatiza a importância de entender o papel da governança política na formação das práticas sociais e culturais, particularmente no contexto dos sistemas alimentares.

**Palavras-chave:** Colapso transformacional. Mudança civilizacional. Lênin. Stalin. Khrushchev. Brezhnev. Gorbachev.





## ABSTRACT

**Objective:** The objective of this article is to examine the significant political influence of Bolshevik governance on the development of food culture and industry in the Soviet Union, with a specific focus on the Russian Far East. The study explores the transformation of public catering practices under Soviet rule and the creation of a distinct food culture known as "Homo soveticus."

**Methods:** The research employs a historical and analytical approach, utilizing a combination of archival materials, literature review, and interviews with contemporaries. The study covers the period from the Bolshevik Revolution to the late Soviet era, analyzing the impact of political decisions on food production, distribution, and consumption in the Russian Far East.

**Results:** The findings highlight how Soviet policies, particularly those related to urbanization and industrialization, significantly shaped public catering systems in the Russian Far East. The study also discusses the standardization of food practices and the development of institutional frameworks that contributed to the emergence of a unified Soviet food culture.

**Conclusions:** The study concludes that the Soviet era, marked by strong political control and transformative policies, had a profound impact on the evolution of public catering and food habits in the Russian Far East. The research emphasizes the importance of understanding the role of political governance in shaping societal and cultural practices, particularly in the context of food systems.

**Keywords:** Transformational breakdown. Civilizational shift. Lenin. Stalin. Khrushchev. Brezhnev. Gorbachev.

## 1 INTRODUCTION

The following messages necessitate the purpose of this study: the Soviet period in the history of gastronomic culture in the Pacific part of Russia is extremely poorly reflected in various publications, ranging from academic science to fiction. Undoubtedly, at that time very little attention was paid to the topic of everyday life of a Soviet citizen, and it would be interesting to shed light on this problem from the point of view of modern science. The Soviet period in the development of the mass catering industry outside the home organically fits the thesis "On the role of the individual in history". All Soviet leaders had a strong influence on the development of public catering in the country. Depending on the period of their governance, approaches to the development of public catering were changing, everything was taking place within a framework of a certain historical period; since our epistemological field has a large inertial mass, then from a methodological point of view it is very problematic to clearly define a rigid time frame for highlighting changes related to that or another ruler. Each of them had their own unique charisma and their own ideas about the path of development of the country, which had its impact on the food industry. Our leaders paid





close attention to nutrition, because "*hungry people are evil people*" (the author's italics), nutrition is a vital need and a strictly determined condition for the life of a person, both as biological and social species. Among the pantheon of great people there is a place for Anastas Ivanovich Mikoyan, according to biographers and numerous authors, it was he who paved the path of development of public catering in the Soviet country. Being in power for a long period of time, he systematically implemented the vision of the Soviet leaders about the way the Soviet people should eat.

During the Soviet period there was a major transformational breakdown in the country, the culture of consumption changed, new culinary technologies appeared, and nutrition was filled with ideological content. The program of institutionalization of public catering was adopted, which transferred public catering from a market path to a command-planned one. The population of the country was in a state of chronic nutritional stress, which had a significant impact on the eating habits of citizens both at home and outside it. The Bolsheviks believed that institutionalization would help overcome the food crisis in the country.

The processes that took place in the 20th century in tsarist Russia can be called civilizational shifts, first of all it is the development of capitalism which set in motion very powerful industrialization processes, different machines and devices began to actively take root in the life of the society, which led to the changes in all spheres of everyday life of people, including nutrition. Also, the transition from one formation to another created the basis for the appearance of various food habits in Russian society. Thus, several food habits of the population of tsarist Russia in the pre-revolutionary period can be distinguished as those belonging to nobles, merchants, peasants, workers and petty-bourgeoisie. A number of habitus can be attributed to the haute cuisine segment; this is primarily the nobility as the elite of the society. Having an excellent European education and aristocratic upbringing, they created the highest stratum in the gastronomic culture of Russian society. Immediately behind them were the carriers of habitus – the merchants, they possessed capital, sometimes exceeding that of the nobles. They could afford to safely bring to the table the best products from all over the world, they could hire a chef of the highest qualification, etc., that is, they were trying to reach the level of high society in the gastronomic field. Then came the petty-bourgeois gastronomic culture; having proper education in various fields, they possessed cultural capital (Baudrillard, 2016; Kapkan & Likhacheva, 2008), which allowed them to correspond to higher habitus at least in several ways.

Other processes that shook Russian society such as World War I, revolutions, Civil War set in motion huge masses of people, the movements from villages to cities, from east to west and in the opposite direction from south to west began, all this led to a mixture of





gastronomic cultures in various dyads "village-city", "noble-philistine", "philistine-worker-peasant", "ethnic-ethnic", etc. And unfortunately, the new paradigm of the revolution and industrialization in the field of nutrition brought to naught the gourmet direction (Grimaud de La Renier, 2014; Pokhlebin, 2008; Rodionov, 2012; Syutkina & Syutkin, 2016), the extermination of the nobility as carriers of high gastronomic culture led to the loss of the culinary school and the gastronomic culture of Russian haute cuisine. Gourmetism was brought to the altar of the revolution (Grimaud de La Renier, 2014). Only during the NEP period there was a surge of gourmetism in the history of the Soviet state. The coming of the Bolsheviks to power marked the arrival of a new nutrition paradigm; a new ideology organically lay down on the ready soil.

The industrialization of nutrition was a global trend, and the Soviet leaders actively picked up the idea of mass coverage of the population with out-of-home meals. The conditions created after the revolution dictated the need to introduce the industrialization of nutrition, which was characterized by the main requirements for mass nutrition: efficiency, calculability, predictability and controllability, all this was implemented in the modern fast food format in the McDonald's system; we added another requirement – to simplify the menu and dishes (Ritzer, 2011). The introduction of industrial nutrition led to the drop in the level of the culinary class training, their competencies were only on a basic level with a minimum level of creativity. All this led to the decline in the gastronomic culture of the population and to the simplification of nutrition, both outside the home and at home.

It must be admitted that the ideological machine of the Soviet government was the best and the most effective one, it managed to create hyperreality and various simulacra in society, including the gastronomic sphere (Baudrillard, 2016; Geller, 1994; Glushchenko, 2015). As many researchers note, one of the most important simulacra of the Soviet period was the book "On Tasty and Healthy Food" (Lebina, 2015; Ministry of Food Industry of the USSR, 1952). The ideological machine, using such a tool as a myth, created the hyperreality of the Soviet society and simulacra (Bart, 2014). The mentality of the Russian people has a pronounced paternalistic character and hence it has provided fertile ground for the Bolshevik agitprop. One of the pronounced features of the Russian mentality is tolerance and expectations of better times, this is why the simulacrum of an "imminent well-fed time" was formed, which transformed into a syndrome of "delayed happiness" for many cohorts of the USSR population. The ideological machine was actively forming the habitat for the society and a new type of Homo sovieticus (Geller, 1994; Zinoviev, 2000). To achieve this, they used all the military rhetoric such as "battle", "struggle", "victory", "front", etc., which allows us to conclude that it was difficult for the Bolsheviks to provide adequate nutrition for the





population. The USSR was providing the country's population with food in difficult conditions, and the authorities attached great importance to this process. Therefore, during difficult periods of the country, criminal and administrative offenses in the field of public catering took on a political color, and the offenders were labeled "pests", which automatically led to serious sentences.

The new ideology of women's liberation from kitchen slavery and mass eating outside the home was reflected in various spheres of education and propaganda (Sokhan, 2011). The mass media were the main channel of communication with the target audience, first of all print editions and then radio; with the advent of television the center of gravity moved to this channel. Thus, ideological conditions were created for the development of mass catering, which transformed into Soviet public catering and new eating habits.

Thus, ideological motives prevailed in the narrative of that period, for example, in poster art we see how an emancipated young girl calls another one to the new world, the world of canteens and kitchen factories that will free her from home cooking. Poster art was a powerful carrier of the ideology of public catering as the most simple, accessible and artistically powerful art; advertising stands very close, it should be recognized that advertising at that time was in its infancy and did not have a strong impact on the target audience (Chaus, 2010); literature as well had some descriptions of the nutrition of Soviet people (Hodger, 1979; Shestakova, 1984); in painting there is such genre direction as still-life, among the Far Eastern artists there were true masters in this field; cinema occupied a special place there, though, of course, we can't see a direct appeal to eating out (Levintov, 2008a), but quite often we can notice that according to the script many scenes are filmed in the interiors of catering establishments (Genis, 2003; Levintov, 2008b; Weil & Genis, 2013).

We have singled out several stages of Soviet agitprop: 1) when ideology demanded a complete rejection of the old regime and there was a complete rejection of everything bourgeois; 2) then came the softening stage, when ideologies began to accept something from the past – traditions, products, dishes, etc.; 3) the stage when the americanization of the life of the population took place in the country, when the Soviet people experienced some of the American life; 4) the fourth stage is characterized by an isolation policy in the form of an "iron curtain" and propaganda of everything Soviet, the development of domestic cuisine required the release of the creative energy of the chefs. During this period the Soviet party bodies encouraged special features of the regions, in public catering in particular; 5) this stage is characterized by further transformational processes, which led the country to one more revolutionary transition of the country from one formation to another. All the counterculture came to the forefront and became mass culture, including public catering.





Another global trend that fell on the fertile ground of Soviet ideology was the idea of rationalizing and medicalizing the nutrition of the population. The worker was considered as a kind of machine that needs to be refueled. Nutritional hygiene and other sciences related to nutrition were at that time actively developing a normative approach that made it possible to calculate the required number of calories to perform the work functions of Homo soveticus. In the available literature there are discrepancies about the person who began to implement this approach in Soviet Russia. According to P. Kozhanny, the developments of Professor Slotvsov (Gefter, 1955; Kozhany, 1924, p. 5) made it possible to calculate the required number of calories for different categories of workers and, respectively, the required amount of proteins, fats, carbohydrates in the required amount of food products. At the same time, all modern authors associate the development of this trend in Soviet cuisine with the name of Professor M.I. Pevzner (Kirilenko, 2002; Pokhlebkina, 2008; Syutkina & Syutkin, 2016); undoubtedly, the importance of Professor Pevzner's influence on the medicalization of nutrition can hardly be overestimated. He headed the Research Institute of Nutrition, it was that institute that created a powerful scientific and methodological basis for the medicalization of nutrition. The original purpose of medical nutrition went beyond its scope and entered the everyday practice of nutrition; and new meanings of corporality and self-identification began to form. We can single out two directions in the medicalization of nutrition: normative, when the calculation of the required number of calories for a full-fledged work activity is carried out; valeological, when a person considers his diet from the side of the "useful-unhelpful" dyad. Thanks to him, spices disappeared from the diet of a Soviet person (and the food became tasteless), diet with 3 and 4 meals a day consisting of standard dishes (first, second and third courses) appeared.

New gastronomic cultures and habits are being formed in the field of nutrition during the period of transformational processes in society. One of the distinguishing features of Soviet nutrition was the nature of the forced changes in food habits (Grimaud de La Renier, 2014; Kapustin, 2000; Zubkova, 2000). One of the important factors of such a policy was the shortage of food, which required the Soviet leaders to take action to find new sources of food products and replace them with other ones (Kirilenko, 2002; Kondratieva, 2009). In order to adequately develop the food industry, newcomers to the Russian Far East, both under the tsar and under the Bolsheviks, were well aware of the need to use the specialties of the local food landscape. The process of building food factories which processed local raw materials into food was actively going on throughout the country. The Bolsheviks made efforts to develop mining and processing bases throughout the entire Pacific Russia, especially in the regions of Kamchatka and Sakhalin, as well as coastal regions. Specialties





were actively introduced into the diet of Soviet people, namely, products of mariculture, flora and fauna (Chimitdorzhiev & Veretennikov, 2019; Pavlovskaya, 2016; Podmaskin, 2012); it should be noted that active ocean fishing as well as whale hunting (and also for probe other sea animals that were used as food by the local aboriginal population of the coast), catching seaweed, trepang, cucumaria, etc. began during this period, thus, it can be argued that the population of Pacific Russia had a stable pattern of ichtheophagous nutrition (Department of Trade of the Khabarovsk Regional Executive Committee, 1962; Kondratieva, 2009; Zubkova, 2000). The history of Soviet public catering has many examples when the authorities tried to introduce new forms of gastronomic cultures into the daily practice of the people: vegetarianism, slow food, fish day, etc. The history of our state is replete with dramatic pages, and the mentality of the people was formed under the powerful pressure of social cataclysms of various kinds which ultimately led to deprivation in the field of nutrition from deficiency to hunger (Zubkova, 2000). The nation formed a special type of behavior – survival, and the entire cosmos of the Soviet person was directed to the struggle for survival.

## 2 METHODS

We have used all the available literary material, with the help of monographic method we managed to reconstruct the everyday life of the Soviet period. The method of interviewing contemporaries of that period, we have used various modifications of the survey, starting with a structured survey and ending with an in-depth interview. Taking advantage of the moment, we have used the method of longitudinal observation.

## 3 RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

The Soviet period in the history of Russia begins in 1917 when the Bolsheviks came to power and it is marked by us as the Lenin's period. Along with them came a new ideology of nutrition. "Steady, systematic measures towards (transition to the "Masseuspeisung"), towards the replacement of individual household by the collective feeding of large groups of families" (Lenin, 1974, p. 75). Such a task was set by V.I. Lenin to the Soviet party apparatus of young Soviet Russia in 1918. In 1919, the Bolshevik Party set a new task, laying the ground for the transition to mass nutrition. The breaking of the old socio-economic formation took place in the most difficult conditions: lack of food inherited from the previous Provisional Government, external isolation and aggression, internal counter-revolutionary activities of the old government and Civil War, all this led to a natural shortage of products and the





emergence of the ugly phenomenon of "military communism". Undoubtedly, this saved the new government and introduced into the minds of people the normative-distributive system, which ran like a red thread through the entire history of the Soviet society. As we have written above, the Bolsheviks sought to destroy the old way of life and pull a woman into the public life of the country. It seems to us that a number of factors forced the Bolsheviks to take this radical step. The factor connected with the lack of workers, the war decimated the male population and led to a shortage of workers. The emancipation factor, Lenin wanted to be in the global trend, the communication with the leaders of the movement for women's equality was not in vain. All this organically fit into the global trend of food industrialization and allowed the USSR to join this trend. The new government tried to introduce eating out. Catering establishments began to serve large numbers of visitors and were aimed at a quick turnover of the table. As we have stated above, it is impossible to rebuild the power supply system of such a country as Russia in a short time. The early Lenin's period was limited to the declaration of intent and the preparation of the food industry for the transfer to the rails of mass nutrition. From the beginning of the revolution until the end of the Civil War the Bolshevik Party sought to feed the people at minimal cost and remain in power. During this period it was impossible to quickly and fully introduce a new food system into the life of the population; accordingly, it was necessary to use the old food infrastructure outside the home. Many restaurants and taverns were converted into canteens and tea houses. This period can be characterized as declarative, when the main goals of the development of mass catering industry were outlined. The formation of public catering institutions began, the Research Institute of Nutritional Physiology was organized in 1920, it was headed by a prominent scientist Professor M.N. Shaternikov (Federal State Budgetary Institution of Science, n.d.), in 1923 the cooperative "National Nutrition" ("Narpit") was organized, the founders of which was the Central Commission for Combating the Consequences of Famine under the All-Russian Central Executive Committee ("Posledgol") with the support of the Central Union, the All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions, the People's Commissariat of Food, the People's Commissariat of Health and a number of other people's commissariats (Kozhany, 1924). Lenin's period was held under the slogan "We will destroy the old world and build our new world", the cultural revolution began. One of the distinguishing features of that time was the housing revolution, the Bolsheviks began to pursue a policy of compaction in the housing sector. As a result, the era of communal culture started in the Soviet society that greatly influenced the nutrition system of the population. This policy continued in the future, the party and the government tried to stop eating at home at the expense of the housing policy.







For Pacific Russia this period was not purely Soviet; despite the fact that there were Soviets on the territory, not the Bolsheviks but also other parties (Mensheviks, Socialist-Revolutionaries, anarchists, etc.) took their seats in them, and naturally they did not support the policy of the center. Also, a buffer formation in the form of the DVK (Far Eastern Territory) appeared on the territory of Pacific Russia, which allowed the Bolsheviks not to scatter their insignificant resources over such a vast space.

When I.V. Stalin came to power, the ideological component in the organization of nutrition intensified, an active reflection of the new nutrition system was taking place. The Stalinist period can be described as the most ideological in the history of public catering in the USSR. During this period simulacra of Soviet gastronomy and the hyperreality of society were created. The Stalinist period is a sinusoid of the development of the people's nutrition, its rise and fall. During this period two giant stresses are evident: the industrialization of the country and the Great Patriotic War, which brought to life the extraordinary adaptive capabilities of the people and clearly showed their character and mentality; these periods passed under the slogan "Our cause is just and we will win." Between these two events there were periods of relative prosperity which passed under the slogan "Life has become better, life has become more fun", when the "grand style" was formed. The "grand style" manifested itself in all spheres of social life, it included, first of all, imperial monumentality, splendor, pomposity, and food was no exception (Lebina, 2015). Such hyperreality and simulacrum were mainly formed in the elite of the Soviet society, the bulk of the population had other simulacra, their own food codes. The Stalinist period manifested itself in two formats of public catering – mass canteens with a meager assortment, low quality and unsafe food, and the second format was a small number of restaurants with a good menu, higher quality products and service, as well as the monumentality of the restaurant interior. Stalin and People's Commissar for Supply Mikoyan began to introduce into the Soviet public catering system the format of factory-kitchens as an example of the industrialization of nutrition. The practice of eating corresponded to the habitus of P. Bourdieu (2004), for the bulk of the population it was a "taste for necessity", high calorie content, abundance of food and drinks. The elite adhered to this habitus, since their bulk came from the low classes and carried the entire archetypal load of their stratum, it differed only in the set and quantity of products within the distribution system. After his trip to America, Mikoyan was finally convinced that the direction of the nutrition development of the Soviet person was correct and began to implement the experience of the American food industry (Vrublevsky, 2013), so the American fast food format appeared (Glushchenko, 2015; Lebina, 2015; Weil & Genis, 2013). In our opinion, it was the system of canteens at plants, factories, schools,





hospitals, prisons and other institutions that was actively forming the out-of-house food habitus. A typical set of food products for three-course meal was formed: the first and second courses and compote. The national policy was the continuation of Lenin's policy, the Bolsheviks inherited from the Russian Empire a huge multinational country with its own national cuisines. The Bolsheviks also continued the imperial policy of uniting nations, and one of the instruments of national policy was Soviet cuisine. Even under Tsarist Russia, Russians were familiar with Caucasian, Asian, Baltic and Slavic cuisine. The Bolsheviks used special features of every cuisine, borrowing dishes, products, technologies from other peoples, so it is not surprising that many ethnic dishes have become supra-ethnic (Chimitdorzhiev & Veretennikov, 2018).

As for Khabarovsk, it should be noted that there were not so many available canteens, there were only 5 public catering establishments in Dalnarpit in Khabarovsk. One of the features of Pacific Russia was underdevelopment of the catering infrastructure, the construction of new premises was not actively carried out because all attention was directed to the construction of plants and factories. Also, some forms of private entrepreneurship still existed on the territory, which created competition for Dalnarpit; such feature as the existence of private catering establishments in national settlements, in particular, in the Chinese sloboda, should also be mentioned (Presidium of the Khabarovsk City Council, 1937). The Stalinist period is characterized by the beginning of the growth of urbanization and consequently there were certain changes in the growth of the catering infrastructure of the Russian Far East (Syutkina & Syutkin, 2016). The emphasis in the development of public catering was placed on canteens in organizations, factories, schools, etc. (Glushchenko, 2015; Kapustin, 2000; Zubkova, 2000). The region began to actively develop public catering enterprises of the "amerikanka" type (Kondratieva, 2009; Lebina, 2015; Pokhlebin, 2008).





Figure 1. Advertising in the newspaper "Pacific Star" No. 65 of July 21, 1927

It was during the Soviet period that active assimilation of the local indigenous population began. The Soviet authorities tried to organize the life of the aborigines according to their ideas, allocated funds for their settling down, built houses and resettled the aborigines there. The illiteracy eradication program was launched, children were removed from their usual habitat and sent to boarding schools in regional centers, the diet changed dramatically, which, eventually, resulted in body resistance decrease and degradation (Podmaskin, 2012). Active construction of a network of public catering and trade in national regions led to the change in the diet of the adult population as well, the aborigines began to adopt the model of nutrition from newcomers, especially the Eastern Slavs. At the same time it should be noted that the newcomers could not perceive the local ethnic cuisine due to taste, aesthetic, historical and cultural factors (Chimitdorzhiev & Veretennikov, 2018).

After the death of Stalin the period of Khrushchev's rule began. This period is characterized by the democratization of nutrition, destruction of the "grand style", introduction of the American type into the Soviet eating habitus, growth of the cafe format, rising reflection on gastronomic culture in works of art (Levintov, 2008a, 2008b; Weil & Genis, 2013). We can say that the Soviet cuisine began to be actively reflected by the creative intelligentsia in their works at that period of time. The power of works of art was to raise the level of gastronomic culture, both of restaurateurs and guests. The Book on Tasty and Healthy Food remained the main simulacrum of Soviet gastronomy. The urban space began to transform to meet the needs of society (Zweig, 1987), public catering enterprises



began to change from a place to eat into a third place (Genis, 2003; Oldenburg, 2014; Weil & Genis, 2013). The cafe became a gathering place to discuss the reforms of the Khrushchev period; the changed style of design of public catering establishments attracted attention and corresponded to that time of romanticism and democratization. "The style of the era required lightness, mobility, openness. Even cafes were built in the manner of aquariums – with glass walls for everyone to see everything. And instead of solid names like "Dining Room – 43", the cities and highways of the country were strewn with frivolous "Smiles", "Minutes", "Winds", "Friendship" – the emotion that swept the 60s" (Weil & Genis, 2013, p. 144); the phenomenon of the "shestidesyatniki (the sixtiers)" appeared at that time, and cafes and restaurants became the places where they used to gather. The government demanded that restaurateurs use modern decoration materials in their design and move away from the materials of the Stalinist period, which weighed down the cafe space; according to Khrushchev, the interior space should become airy and lightweight in techno style. The Khrushchev period was also full of hardships and privations for the Soviet people in the sphere of nutrition. Voluntaristic reforms in the field of agriculture led to a sharp shortage of food, which automatically affected public catering, the cooks were forced to invent new dishes from what was at hand. We should also emphasize the idea expressed above, that mass construction of housing led to the emergence of a type of housing popularly known as "khrushchevka", where the kitchen area was ridiculously small and was not suitable for full-fledged cooking, so the process of squeezing the habit of eating at home and the transition to eating out continued. During this period the formats of house (domovaya) kitchen and culinary in the retail trade system began to develop actively, it was assumed that they should free the housewives from cooking, the personal kitchen was supposed to be the final point of preparing the semi-finished food. During this period, the technological process of cooking was institutionalized; in 1955, the Institute of Nutrition developed the "Collection of recipes for dishes and culinary products for public catering establishments", which contained technological and technical requirements and standards, a kind of standard in cooking. At first it was advisory in nature but soon became mandatory, the control system led to its mandatory character (Pokhlebkin, 2008; Syutkina & Syutkin, 2016), according to informants, "We mainly checked two indicators: the yield of products and the price." The state attached great importance to ensuring the nutrition of people, in 1956 the resolution "On measures to improve public catering" was adopted, according to which the public catering network should be increased in the country, its efficiency should be ensured by raising the technological effectiveness of cooking and using the latest achievements in Soviet science. Since Khrushchev was essentially a westerner, many





borrowings in Soviet society came from America. Household appliances including refrigerators appeared in the country, hamburgers, cocktails, popcorn, cola came to us from food practices related to catering, and people joined the Western gastronomic culture. His era of rule was held under the slogan "Catch up and overtake."

The Khrushchev era was beneficial for Khabarovsk, new catering establishments appeared in the city, the segment of restaurants grew up especially, prior to 1965 several new restaurants were opened (Vrublevsky, 2013). The development of the restaurant segment intensified leisure practices for the population, the live music was typical for the entire catering system, guests liked to relax with music and dance. It was a playground for musical groups of the city, according to the recollections of informants, there were several good musical groups in the city that played in different restaurants. The mentality of a Soviet person always demanded music and dancing while visiting cafes and restaurants, this archetype can already be traced back to the tsarist period, the press analysis of that time shows that all restaurants had their own musical groups or invited guest performers. This archetype was also taken into account in the Soviet period, many restaurants and cafes had their own musical groups (Jung, 2019). The most famous groups worked in the restaurants "Central", "Gudok", "Dalnyi Vostok", "Vechernyi", "Intourist", "Amur", "Ussuri", "Sever", "Aquarium", cafes "Dauria", "Uyit". Contests were regularly held between musical groups in order to increase the level of performance and replenish the repertoire and its control. Live music and singing created a unique warm and sincere atmosphere, cheered up and relaxed the guests. The restaurant could be considered a special place where one could listen to music, the restaurant allowed to combine several needs of a Soviet person: to eat, to listen, to dance, to chat, etc. Musical leisure had its own peculiarities associated with the ideology: "Do not forget one more nuance: the repertoire of restaurant ensembles was monitored by various supervisory authorities" (Khamzin, 2020), from an interview with our informant we have learned that the director of the restaurant was responsible for the repertoire, he coordinated it, and, apparently, the coordination took place in the ideological department of the district committee of the CPSU. The repertoire usually consisted of what the whole country was singing, depending on the location, the themes of the given region were added to it (blatant and semi-blatant songs, etc. were the informal part of the repertoire). "Musicians made good money. Not very big money was paid for the performance of a song on order, the usual fee was three to five rubles. Rarely ten. It happened sometimes that the visitors who went on a spree were ready to give 25 rubles, and even 50 rubles, for their favorite composition! ... So during 2 evenings it was possible to earn money equal to the monthly salary of a young engineer only performing songs on request!" (Khamzin, 2020). For





example, in Magadan, indecently large sums could be spent during one evening (Chimitdorzhiev & Veretennikov, 2019). This aroused attention to the work of the musical groups from the part of certain authorities.

The segment of house kitchens was actively developing in the city, providing quality food to the population, allowing women to actively participate in the economic life of the country (Sokhan, 2011). During this period of time local industry was developing actively, providing trade and public catering with local raw materials. Beginning with 1930 the development of the marine resource base started in the Russian Far East, during the Khrushchev period marine production switched to an industrial basis, a powerful catching and processing industry was created on the coast. New products were introduced into the diet of the population of the Russian Far East: whale, crab, sea animal meat, fish (sea, river, lake), caviar, seaweed, etc.

The dubious dark red color and even more dubious price (only fifty kopecks per kilo) did not earn it fame and popular love. ... – cold-smoked kityatina (whalemeat): the upper translucent layer is pure salmon, the lower one is distinctive meat. They smoked whale meat on the ships of the whaling flotilla completely illegally, of course. (Levintov, 2008a, p. 101).

As our informant said, “We did not understand whale meat and mainly used it as a filler in various minced meats, and it was very cheap.”

From my personal experience, I will say that whale products still remain in Chukotka; according to international agreements, whale hunting is limited only to the needs of the indigenous population of the North. In my opinion, the most tasty delicacy is mantak, “Dare ad proficuum maris” (Grimaud de La Renier, 2014, p. 458)

After the stormy and chaotic reign of N.S. Khrushchev, L.I. Brezhnev came to power, these era can be characterized as stagnation, and as Weil rightly notes, since the late 60s the period of “no” times has come (Weil & Genis, 2013, p. 362). Under Brezhnev’s rule the movement towards the eradication of house food continued; housing projects such as “brezhnevka”, “panelka” (*folklore, the author’s italics*) prevailed in housing construction, where the kitchen space was discriminated again, as under Khrushchev. The growth of the public catering network continued, the types and forms of public catering enterprises were clearly spelled out in the documents. When Brezhnev came to power, Mikoyan was removed from the management of the industry, so the joke “From Ilyich to Ilyich” appeared. The person who had created and adjusted the subtle mechanism of the feeding function of the state left (Glushchenko, 2015). But his work continued until the last days of the Soviet Union and became the launching pad for the reform of the food industry during the Yeltsin period of modern Russian history. In fact, we can say that the Brezhnev period moved on the inertial





mass created by Mikoyan. Brezhnev inherited problems in agriculture, which he never managed to cope with, the shortage of food continued in the country. The era of Brezhnev's rule was held under the slogan "The economy must be economical." The regions intensified the policy of local food production.

We assume that an active process of forming the identity of the Far Eastern cuisine began during this period of time. Despite the existence of the "Collection of recipes for dishes and culinary products for public catering", people were looking for an outlet for the creativity of chefs and implementation of the program for the development of the local feeding landscape. Thus, culinary councils were created under the local authorities which made decisions on the introduction of various dishes in the menu of catering establishments in the region and thereby secured the copyright of chefs on their dishes (Chimitdorzhiev & Veretenniko, 2019). During the rule of all CPSU general secretaries, local party bosses tried to surprise high-ranking guests with local dishes. Local master chefs were actively involved in this process and developed unique dishes from local specialties (Chimitdorzhiev & Veretenniko, 2018, 2019), regional culinary councils assisted them in this.

For Pacific Russia, the main contingent of restaurant guests were students, bohemians (consisting of creative and sports intelligentsia), shadow "guild workers" (speculators, fartsovshiks or black marketers, poachers, etc.), which corresponded to the general trends in metropolitan cities of the USSR; according to our informants, the distinctive feature was the presence of the military (mainly junior officers), since a huge mass of the military was stationed in the territory.

The short-term periods of Andropov and Chernenko as CPSU general secretaries did not affect our object, and we took the liberty of omitting this period in the study.

In 1985 M.S. Gorbachev came to power, his reign was held under the slogans "Glasnost and perestroika" and was marked by significant events in the field of public catering. From the point of view of the people, the most odious decision was the fight against alcoholism, which resulted in non-alcoholic events.

And drunkards with rabbit eyes

"In vino Veritas!" are screaming" (Blok, 1997, p. 122).

From the point of view of the state, this was an important source of income, which significantly participated in the formation of the country's budget. "*With each glass, another obligation to society is removed* (the author's italics)" (Weil & Genis, 2013, p. 89). While at the beginning the Bolsheviks had the illusion that the new system and way of life would automatically eliminate the drunkenness and alcoholism of the population, then during the period of Stalin's rule they realized that this was a complex medical and social problem, "...





drunkenness: it inevitably rolled towards alcoholism" (Weil & Genis, 2013, p. 93), besides, it was a profitable budgeting item. The habitus and mentality of a Soviet person demanded to drink alcohol when visiting public catering enterprise. "Drunkenness created a fluid, mobile, egalitarian reality" (Weil & Genis, 2013, p. 90), as N.B. Leбина (2015) has correctly noticed, "Drinking determines consciousness". Gorbachev's anti-alcohol campaign created great inconvenience for citizens when visiting restaurants and cafes and gave rise to some ugly forms of alcohol consumption. Due to Gorbachev's efforts, viticulture and winemaking in the Soviet Union were destroyed, centuries-old vineyards in traditional regions were cut down, unique grape varieties were lost, and along with them the wines. Until now, Russian winemaking cannot fully recover (Kukuruin & Nikulina, 2007; Leбина, 2015).

The transformational breakdown in the last years of the USSR led to a sharp change in consumption practices and transferred them to a different level and model of habitus. The forms and content of the life of the country's population have changed, political processes have had a drastic effect on all spheres of people's lives, "The old gods are gone, the new gods have come" (Merton, 1966, p. 299).

## 4 CONCLUSION AND FINDINGS

Summing up the preliminary macro-result of the Soviet cuisine project, we will try to formulate a number of conclusions that correspond with those of the Syutkins (Sutkina & Sutkin, 2016).

1. Soviet cuisine was subject to ideological pressure in the early period.
2. Constant stress on the country's food security has led to the simplification of technological processes and ingredients. The introduction of new products into the diet of the people and the forcible instillation of new tastes.
3. The industrialization of public catering led to the phenomenon of "McDonalization", the unification of the tastes of the Soviet people was taking place. The consequence of the sovietization of the nutrition sector led to the loss of individuality of cooks.
4. Soviet cuisine is a vivid example of the concept of medicalization of nutrition.

The meso-result of the Soviet period in the development of public catering in the territory of Pacific Russia as a whole was the trend of changes in the field of nutrition, but it had its own characteristics:

- a) The territory was remote from the central and southern regions of the country, the cost of transportation was high, and so the authorities pursued the policy of developing the local food industry through cooperation, state trade and public catering.







b) The territory had a rich feeding landscape, taiga and water resources were able to cover the needs of the whole country in food products, and the diet of newcomers was ichtheophagous in nature.

c) Despite active contacts with the indigenous population, the newcomers could not fully accept the local ethnic cuisine, on the contrary, it was during the Soviet era that the natives lost their ethnic cuisine and switched to the Soviet model of nutrition.

d) The cuisine of the Russian Far East with its own characteristics began to take shape.

e) Canteens at enterprises, educational institutions, etc. became the main and dominant formats of public catering.

f) The rapid process of urbanization has led to the growth of the catering network in the Russian Far East.

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