of the canned beef imported from the United States. Food in cans was a symbol of modernity and viewed very positively as food that had already been used by American, British, and other Western armies for a long time.

Japan's modernization involved not only building up its military but also establishing a nationwide educational system, large-scale transportation facilities, factories, and other modern institutions. All of them required the introduction of bureaucracy, mass production of food for communal meals, standardization, and rationalization of cooking procedures. It was thought that, to provide meals in large quantities, Western cuisine was more appropriate than indigenous Japanese dishes in terms of nutritional balance for one's health, simplicity of cooking methods, and convenience of preparation.

The third stimulus was the Japanese traditional palate. No matter how vigorous the Westernization and rationalization drives were, one cannot ignore the power of tradition, and the aesthetics of taste that the Japanese possessed. Although the nutritional aspects were emphasized in the early stages of Japanese-Western fusion cuisine development – as reflected in the slogan, "Eat beef and get healthier" – even beef dishes were prepared using Japanese cooking methods and with Japanese seasonings, thereby conforming to the principles of Japanese food aesthetics.

As the consumption of meat by the emperor, political and military leaders, and other elites increased, Western cuisine became more popularized and the demand for it appeared in the middle classes. Sayings such as "If you cannot eat meat, you are uncivilized" were in vogue. Butcher shops opened in cities, and restaurants serving *gyu-nabe* (beef hotpot), made of beef and vegetables seasoned with soy sauce and sugar, sprang up everywhere. There is no doubt that beef was a Western ingredient for the Japanese since they had not traditionally eaten it, but all the vegetables and seasonings for *gyu-nabe* were indigenous and the dish was eaten in the Japanese way. In other words, there was no problem with staying true to the Japanese cooking system as long as the ingredients were Western.

Japanese-Western fusion cuisine emerged in the early 20th century through this process of incorporating ingredients and some cooking methods of the West. Culinary schools appeared and women's colleges started offering classes on Western cuisine around the same time. Familiarity with Western food among young men who had served in the military and many college students ensured the demand for fusion cuisine. By the end of the Meiji period (around 1910), fusion cuisine evolved into a harmonious mixture of Western and Japanese culinary traditions. Fusion dishes created in modern Japan – *kare-raisu, tonkatsu,* etc. – were disseminated to Korea and other regions through colonial rule and gained a wide currency.

One of the obstacles to the introduction of Western cuisine was the difficulty to obtain ingredients. During the early Meiji period, there was a shortage of beef and an insufficient supply of Western vegetables such as onions, cabbage, carrots, celery, and tomatoes. However, from the 20th century, the mass production of onions, cabbage, and carrots started in Hokkaido, which contributed to the development and spread of fusion cuisine.

The establishment of canned food manufacturing, development of refrigeration technology, modernization of cooking utensils, and other industrialization projects played an important role in the modernization of Japanese food. The popularization of *korokke* was largely related to the large-scale cultivation of potatoes in Hokkaido. The early 20th-century launch of domestically produced curry powder, which had previously been imported from England, led to wider consumption of *kare-raisu*. Cooking the dish in Japanese homes became possible when the manufacturing of solid curry roux began in 1950. Japan also started the industrial production of coarse breadcrumbs for *tonkatsu* and exported them overseas. The simultaneous industrialization and modernization of the country was a decisive factor in the development of Japanese-western fusion cuisine.

So far, rice has maintained its position as the primary staple in fusion dishes. If bread replaces it, this will trigger another major transformation in Japanese food culture. It may usher in a new stage of food Westernization, following the introduction of Western cuisine during the Meiji Restoration and the proliferation of Japanese-Western dishes. On the other hand, culinary traditions from other countries in Asia and beyond are entering Japan, rapidly shifting its food landscape in the multicultural direction. Consequently, the Westernization/modernization fervor is not as strong as it was during the Meiji period, even though Japanese-Western fusion cuisine continues to serve as an important platform for changes in the food culture. It will be interesting to observe how Japanese cuisine will transform in the future based on the influences of different cultures.

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# Imperialism and colonialism in the food industry in East Asia: focusing on instant Ramen

**Young-ha JOO**


ONE EVENT OF PROFOUND INFLUENCE on the food cultures of Korea, Taiwan, and Japan after World War II was the supply of surplus wheat by the United States in the form of grants or on credit. In 1953 and 1954, American farms yielded an extremely bountiful wheat harvest. From the position of the US government, it was a surplus product. In the early post-war years, American surplus agricultural produce was given as aid to the countries of Western Europe. However, as the productive capacity of European agricultural industries quickly recovered, they no longer needed American surplus products. In this situation, Washington turned its focus towards Japan, Korea, and Taiwan as potential destinations for its excess farm commodities. The three countries shared important similarities: all of them suffered from shortages in staple foods and all three were under the political, economic, and military umbrella of the United States.

In 1945–1953, during the periods of the United States Military Government and the Korean War, the United States supplied a substantial amount of foodstuffs to Korea under the Military Defense Assistance Act (MDAA). For instance, between 15 December 1948 and 31 December 1949, the grant-type food assistance amounted to US$ 13million. From 1953 to 1961, surplus agricultural produce was supplied along with military aid under the Mutual Security Act (MSA). In 1954, the Foreign Operations Administration (FOA), which was in charge of planning American overseas assistance, shipped to Korea barley worth US$ 1.785 million, wheat worth US$ 2.007 million, and beans worth US$ 0.691 million. Korea received even more aid in accordance with the 1956 revised Public Law 480 (PL480). Barley alone amounted to US$ 13.863 million.

The circumstances in Taiwan and Japan were not much different. Inflow of American surplus wheat to Japan would eventually lead to the invention of instant ramen in the country. The historical reason making such an invention possible was Taiwan's experience of Japanese colonial rule. Japan's first instant ramen was developed by the founder of Nissin Food Products Co., Ltd., Momofuku Ando (1910–2007). Born in Taiwan, he started his own business in Osaka in 1933, married a Japanese, and was naturalized in Japan. There is a good chance Ando's Chikin Ramen (chicken ramen) was inspired by *jī sī miàn* (鶏絲麵, shredded chicken noodles) of the southern region of China. In this way, the occupation of Taiwan by

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the Japanese Empire and naturalization of a Taiwanese as a Japanese citizen prompted the invention of instant ramen. According to Ando's biography, he came upon a 20–30 meter queue in front of a black market food stall on a cold winter's night; they were all waiting to buy a bowl of ramen. "The faces of the people who were slurping warm ramen looked happy. The Japanese really like noodles. Looking at the line in front of the stall, Ando got a feeling that there was a big demand hiding there. The sight printed a proto-image of ramen in his mind."

Momofuku Ando developed his chicken ramen against the background of a surplus supply of wheat from the United States after the war. The Japanese government of the time actively encouraged the Japanese to eat bread made with that wheat. Critical of the policy, Ando said in 1947 to Kunidaro Arimoto, who worked for the Health Ministry, "With bread, you need toppings or side dishes. But the Japanese are eating it only with tea. It is not good for their nutritional balance. In the East, there is a long tradition of eating noodles. Why not also promote noodles, which the Japanese already enjoy, as a flour-based food?" To his bold question, Kunidaro replied, "Why don't you solve this problem?" Ten years later, in 1957, Ando purchased a second-hand noodle-making machine, Chinese pot, 18 kg of wheat flour, cooking oil, and other ingredients, and embarked on a study of noodles that one can easily make, at his home in Osaka. Instant ramen under the trademark 'Chikin Ramen' came into being and entered Japanese stores the following year, in 1958.

In Korea, Samyang Ramen was first produced in 1965. The founder of Samyang Foods Co., Ltd., Jung-yun Jeon (1919–2014) had been interested in the Japanese ramen industry since 1965. He adopted the instant ramen technology of a Japanese company which, unlike Nissin Food Products, had the soup separated from noodles in the product, and put the ramen business into orbit with the surplus wheat imported from the United States. Making noodles for ramen once he had a noodle-making machine was not a difficult problem. The manufacturing process was relatively simple: he poured the water mixed with salt and soy sauce on wheat flour, kneaded the dough, spread it thinly, and drew noodle strips from the machine. The problem, however, lay in the quality of the flour. From 1955, the US government provided aid mostly with non-processed wheat, explaining the change as being due to the large stock of wheat in the United States. Milling it with Korean domestic technology of the time meant that the quality of flour was inconsistent. Consequently, it was hard to make uniform dough, and the noodle strips were often deformed or snapped. The noodles would then have to be fried in edible beef tallow or lard. To do so, Samyang Industrial Corporation processed the green oil obtained from slaughterhouses in-house or used soybean oil provided to the military. In the end, Jeon requested the assistance of the Korean government and was able to import edible beef tallow and lard from the United States.

In the case of Taiwan, American excess farm commodities were brought in from 1945. Wheat turned out to be highly efficient in resolving the food shortages. It was the main ingredient for staple foods to many Han Chinese who migrated from China's mainland. Accustomed to noodles, the Taiwanese imported Chikin Ramen from Japan ten years after it was invented. Taiwan's Uni-President Enterprises in cooperation with Japan's Nissin Food Products released a ramen product with separate seasoning in 1970.

However, Uni-President's ramen failed to attract consumers' attention at first. There already were different kinds of noodles on the market and the locals who moved from the mainland after the 18th century consumed them as a staple food. It was only after Uni-President developed Tǒngyī-miàn (統一麵, Uni's noodles) – a variety of ramen similar to *yóu-miàn* (油麵, oil noodles) which had a long history in Tainan – and coordinated its launch with a television commercial campaign in 1971 that people noticed the company's ramen. To cook the product, one had to put the noodles into a bowl, sprinkle the seasoning over the noodles, and add hot water.

Momofuku Ando's son and current president of Nissin Food Products, Koki Ando (b. 1947) posed the question of how instant ramen, a processed food product, could become a global hit. His own answer? "In every country, there is a cook who did his best to recreate [in ramen] the taste inherited in that country for generations. The product itself is convenient and easy to localize. In this way, ramen swiftly penetrated into the everyday life of people in every corner of the world." Koki Ando considered localization the main reason for the popularity of ramen with five spices in China and ramen with *tom yam* soup in Thailand. When discussing Korea, he pointed out the spicy flavor of *kimchi*, selected by Nongshim Co., Ltd. for its Shin Ramyun, as a typical example. He said, "It is not simply spicy, as many Japanese would assume. We have tried several times, but it is very difficult for a Japanese to achieve such a savory spiciness."

Thereby, every country has adopted the Japanese technology for making instant ramen and given the product its own flavor. However, instant ramen derives its basic production technique, marketing strategy, and distribution method from the Japanese modern food industry, which emerged in the late 19th century. The addition of American surplus wheat made the invention of instant ramen and its expansion possible. Furthermore, during the colonial period in Korea and Taiwan, the Japanese modern food industry acquired the image of being advanced, and this contributed to the rapid dissemination of instant ramen in those markets.

In short, it is no exaggeration to say that the combination of 'old imperialism' symbolized by Japan and the 'new imperialism' represented by the United States gave birth to instant ramen. Even though the colonial period was formally over, the flavors of food products spread by an empire in its colonies were continuously reproduced in their localized forms by the former colonial peoples after liberation.

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## Chinese food: basic theories and diverse realities

**Rongguang ZHAO**

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A CHINESE PROVERB GOES, "Different kinds of water and soil raise different kinds of people (一方水土一方人)." There is a similar saying in the West: "You are what you eat". Only when you know the entire history of a nation can you fully understand its food culture.

The basic concepts and theories of Chinese food science that exercised a profound influence on the diet and food culture of the Chinese were largely determined during the Warring States period (5–2 centuries B.C.E.). They can be summarized by the following four principles.

1) Unity of food and medicine (食醫合一): In traditional Chinese pharmacology, whose history goes back over 4,000 years, medicine originates from food. The idea of the unity of diet and treatment was systemized and popularized during the Zhou dynasty (11–3 centuries B.C.E.). Food and medicine were considered distinct yet inseparable from each other.

2) Nursing one's health with food (飲食養生): Lao-tzu and Chuang-tzu emphasized that, when consuming food, one should remember "the tongue cannot be satisfied". According to them, not until one restrains his desire, common for all humans, to try every taste, can he gain health; and even though the tongue wants delicious food, one should not have it if it is harmful to one's health.

3) Theory of the nature of taste (本味論): The Chinese, since olden times, have contemplated the 'nature of the taste' of ingredients, the taste of food, and the influence that the interaction of the two has on a person. Believing that the nature of an ingredient is revealed in its taste, the ancient Chinese attached great importance to the type of an ingredient's taste.

4) The food philosophy of Confucius and Mencius (孔孟食道): A food philosophy that mainly refers to "be refined on two things, be appropriate with three issues, and avoid ten wrongs" (二不厭、三適度、十不食《論語 · 鄉黨篇》) - from Confucius' and Mencius' idea that "One cannot eat just for survival but has to work hard to get food, more than that, one has to get food in a proper way as well as respect and practice food rituals." (食志一食功一食德) It is worth mentioning that some of these ideas are extensions to the 'nursing one's health with food'; for instance, maintaining an authentic taste, being rational and refraining from excess, following rules of nature, and seeking peace by nursing one's health.

The food culture of the Chinese nation is characterized by five features, in terms of its forms and historical development: the broad spectrum of available ingredients, abundance of dishes, flexibility of cooking methods, continuity of regional customs, and cultural exchanges between different regions. These features underlie the tradition and essence of the Chinese food culture to this day.

China has always been very diverse geographically, and this explains the existence of the wide variety of food ingredients and the extensive range of their distribution. The Chinese made edible many living things that are not known or considered taboo in other nations; some of these became delectable dishes.

It is this wide scope and abundance, along with the unique Chinese ideology on food and culinary art that predetermined the flexibility of traditional ways of Chinese cooking. "Collecting experience by hand" is an important characteristic of the traditional Chinese cuisine, stemming from its history.

Areas with different food cultures have developed in China separately from each other. From the perspective of food history, the culture and character of each of those areas has evolved gradually through a long historical process. In China of the Middle Ages, different regions were able to maintain their distinctive features for a relatively long time because of their isolation, self-sufficient natural economies and the conservative feudal politics on one hand, as well as the primitive commodity economies and poverty of the common people on the other. The scenes of daily life in rural, mountainous, and border areas in premodern China are well described in the following saying: "Neighboring states face each other, can hear when a neighbor's rooster cries and dog barks; yet their people grow old and die without stepping outside of their state."

Despite the economic and systemic barriers, there were frequent exchanges between the areas. Merchants and travelers play an important part in the introduction and dissemination of different cultures. Wars and chaos stimulated food cultural exchanges widely, quickly, and aggressively. While another significant route for foodways were appointments of public officials, study trips of Confucian scholars, hired labor, stationing of armies, expulsion of criminals, migration, escaping turbulence, and so on.

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