

Geography and Chronology in Food and Warfare

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This anthology brings together historians employing a diverse range of methodologies and international perspectives to study the relationships between food, warfare, and postwar debates during the past hundred and fifty years. While intentionally broad in scope, the book's unifying theme is how soldiers, civilians, and communities have attempted to use food (and its absence, deprivation and hunger) as both a weapon of war and a unifying force in establishing governmental control and cultural cohesion during times of conflict.

Although they are tremendously varied, the essays in *The Provisions of War* fall into two broad categories. Chapters in part I (“Expanding Geographic Boundaries”) examine lesser-known conflicts in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries from the perspective of foodways or discuss how an emphasis on food systems allows for an examination of armed conflict in a more general sense—such as the role of food and starvation in decolonization, passivist resistance, counterinsurgency, civil warfare, and internal uprisings. Other chapters in part I examine familiar conflicts such as World War II or the U.S. Civil War from international perspectives, emphasizing the study of foodways as a means of comparative history.

Chapters in part II (“Expanding Chronological Boundaries”) discuss the role of food in shaping prewar political debates and postwar experiences of both soldiers and civilians. As these chapters point out, war-related hunger did not end the moment a battle concluded or a treaty was signed—indeed, malnutrition and hunger often caused hardships far after

the war's conclusion. As the chapters in part II demonstrate, the echoes of war continue in successive generations, as dietary adjustments brought on by military campaigns reshaped national and individual foodways and identities long after the cessation of hostilities.

In short, this anthology argues that a focus on foodways problematizes historians' typical periodization of war and prompts a reexamination of which conflicts receive scholarly attention and of how warfare is studied. Examining how communal kitchens and food sellers were targeted by counterinsurgency programs in Malaysia and Peru, for instance (as discussed by Yvonne Tan and Bryce Evans in this volume), or how agricultural reform aimed to subjugate the post-Civil War South and colonial Africa (as argued by Erin Mauldin) broadens the definition of warfare to include a range of conflicts and policies that are often overlooked in conventional textbooks. Several chapters in this volume address the broad issues of colonization and decolonization, arguing that the impact of European colonization (in terms of violence, pacifism, and internal civil conflict) relied on reconceptualizing food (a point made by Karline McLain, Christopher Rose, and Ahmar Alvi). In short, rather than illustrating how a single nation mobilizes its food resources during one of the great cataclysms of the past, the essays in this anthology examine food as a way of drawing comparative perspectives and highlighting understudied aspects of armed conflict.

300 Million Hungry People Are Watching Your Plate

Hanging on my office wall, only a few feet from where I write this, are two historical posters that summarize the contrasts that form the basis of this anthology on food and warfare. Both posters demonstrate the centrality of food to home-front mobilization, government propaganda, and wartime preparedness in World War I—pivotal themes in the efforts of Great War belligerents and an overarching premise of the chapters that make up this book. Yet these two expressions of propaganda from a century ago present diametrically opposing views of food and wartime motivations.

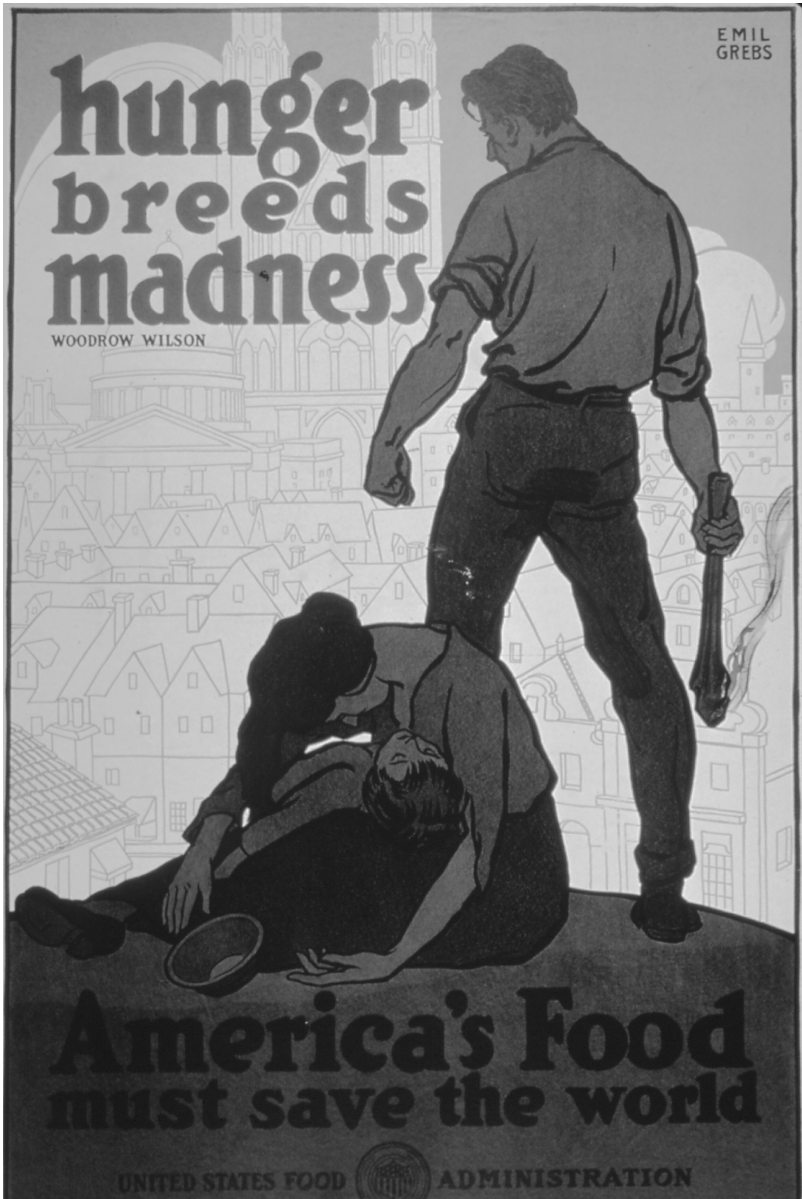
The first poster displays U.S. president Woodrow Wilson's proclamation "Hunger Breeds Madness" to depict a nightmarish image of wartime violence, deprivation, and loss. The foreground shows a woman and boy, slumped with downcast faces. The woman's outstretched hand rests near an empty food plate, and her child rests motionless on her lap (suggesting to the viewer that the child is starving or has starved to death). A

man, shown in profile, raises a torch and clenches his fist, staring toward the background, which shows a bold, gleaming city. The city's brilliant white skyline contrasts sharply with the dark hues of the starving family and the smoldering torch. Wilson's statement "Hunger Breeds Madness" appears next to the desperate man, as he prepares to descend on the city. The poster's message is unmistakable, even more than a century after it was printed—wartime starvation has pushed the man to inflict violence and destruction on the distant city, thus securing food for all is a military necessity and a matter of national survival.¹

Ironically, given the nightmarish imagery in this first poster, nations mobilized for World War I with an enthusiasm and bravado that would later seem shocking on six continents and among a myriad of ethnic, religious, linguistic, and national groups. Eager to embrace what philosopher John Dewey termed "the social possibilities of war," the other propaganda poster describes wartime food in an uplifting, even utopian light.² This broadside depicts a ship of immigrants arriving in New York harbor. In the background, the Statue of Liberty, framed by a brilliant rainbow, beckons newcomers to the U.S.—new arrivals in the foreground gesture toward the statue and wave. The first line of text (which was printed in multiple languages to be read by new immigrants) exclaims "FOOD WILL WIN THE WAR," and continues, "You came here seeking Freedom, you must now help to preserve it. Wheat is needed for the allies. Waste nothing."³

This visual appeal to viewers (both immigrant and native-born alike) is two-fold. First, newcomers flocked to wartime participation, in both military and civilian life, as a chance to demonstrate to native-born observers that they too were good Americans and deserved recognition for their patriotism.⁴ Second, the reference to "the allies" reminds viewers, especially those of French, British, Italian, Romanian, Serbian, or Greek descent, that supporting American food conservation could provide aid to extended family overseas. This international focus promoted U.S. wartime mobilization (evoking the phrase "America's food must save the world") but also positioned these efforts during the Great War alongside allies throughout the world (a topic echoed by Nel de Mûelenaere, Carol Helstosky, and Evan Sullivan later in this anthology).

Following 1917, the U.S. mobilized not only soldiers but also an informal army of volunteer speakers charged with promoting the sale of war bonds, conscription drives, and, importantly, food conservation efforts. Nicknamed the "Four Minute Men" because of the short and pointed addresses, these speechmakers received detailed instructions



Hunger Breeds Madness. U.S. Food Administration.

from the wartime Committee on Public Information (CPI) and U.S. Food Administration (USFA). A prevailing theme in such wartime speeches was the need for allied cooperation—as one instructional bulletin put it, American wartime efforts were “sealed in the mingled blood of the fighting men of so many nations,” a sentiment followed by an appeal to citizens, “not [to] rest content with speaking no evil of our friends; rather let us resolve to hear no evil of them and to lose no opportunity to call attention to the splendor of their services and sacrifices in our common cause.”⁵

Nowhere was the CPI’s message of “services and sacrifices” more significant than in promoting efforts to increase food production on farms and ranches and decrease domestic consumption. Propagandists congratulated themselves and their allies, saying “the roster of heroism is too long to even touch upon” while also warning of ongoing starvation in Europe, especially in Serbia, where for thousands “nothing was left to eat, and old men, women, and children could be seen tramping the roads looking for a morsel of food.”⁶ Likewise, USFA posters warned viewers “300 Million Hungry People Are Watching Your Plate” hoping U.S. food conservation could enable more food shipments.⁷ Propagandists warned of global starvation in a staggering variety of regions—not simply Western Front allies (Britain, France, and Belgium,) but a variety of countries that desperately required food imports, including Syria, Persia, Poland, Armenia, Greece, and Japan. Since most of these regions contained virtually no U.S. military presence, American food shipments and rhetoric had a much broader reach than the American Expeditionary Force itself.

Weeks before the Great War’s conclusion, the CPI issued a “Food Program,” laying out a vision of food production and conservation that would extend beyond the armistice. Insisting that “the American people appreciate the importance of food in this war, to the winning of which we have dedicated our life as a Nation, our entire resources, and our honor among nations,” speakers were tasked with expressing a need for food to maintain armies in the field and thwart civilian starvation. “We have sent our sons and loaned our funds to weave the fabric of force,” the CPI directives stated, “so we shall sustain that fabric with whatever may be asked of us at home in the saving and conservation of food. Indeed, none will ask it more earnestly than our own hearts.” Yet, as the U.S. Assistant Secretary of Agriculture Clarence Ousley warned, the armistice and peace treaty ending the war would prompt an increase, not a reduction of Europeans’ dependence on American food supplies. “Truly,” Ousley insisted, “the need for careful conservation will not end with the war.”⁸ American food



FOOD WILL WIN THE WAR

You came here seeking Freedom
You must now help to preserve it

WHEAT is needed for the allies
Waste nothing



UNITED STATES FOOD ADMINISTRATION

Food Will Win the War. U.S. Food Administration.



שפייז וועט געווינען דיא קריעג!

איהר קומט אהער צו געפינען פרייהייט.
יעצט מוזט איהר העלפען זיא צו בעשיצען.
מיר מוזען דיא עלליים פערזארגען מיט ווייץ.

לאזט קיין זאך ניט גיין אין ניוועיץ



יונייטעד סטייטס שפייז פערזואלסטונג.

Food Will Win the War. U.S. Food Administration.

could sustain Europe, both on battlefields and home fronts. Or, as the CPI more triumphantly put it, “We must save food to save civilization.”⁹

Of course, this euphoric vision of American magnanimity and paternalism faltered when delegates assembled at Versailles a century ago. When food was mentioned in the Treaty of Versailles it was in the context of German indemnification and the requirement to pay the cost of feeding and maintaining Allied occupiers. Food, in the post-armistice era, became a tool for occupation, and the postwar peace reflected the paradox of optimism and destruction reflected in USFA materials.¹⁰ Yet, I begin with the Great War and Versailles treaty not only because of its present centennial but because the themes mentioned here—international dimensions of wartime food policy and the lingering postwar implications of food and warfare—are the central components of this anthology. The forthcoming chapters explore the role of warfare on six continents and examine wartime and postwar implications of foodways, describing soldiers’ and civilians’ postbellum traumas and political conflicts surrounding food and deprivation.

Expanding the Boundaries of Food and Warfare

As this brief case study from a century ago demonstrates, food is a crucial lens through which to view military fronts and civilian home fronts. The connections between food and identity are many and varied—beyond the simple phrase “you are what you eat” lies a more complex social identity linked to food that creates a common set of assumptions and attitudes that bind eaters together. The word “companion,” as historian Hasia Diner reminds us, literally translates to “someone you share bread with.”¹¹ As Etta Madden and Martha Finch demonstrate, “foodways that regulate what goes into one’s body . . . reflect a primary concern with regulating the social boundaries around the community.”¹² Nearly all religious communities highlight food’s meaning through restrictions, culinary taboos, or fasting rituals. Likewise, the CPI and other wartime messengers elevated this message to a national or international audience. Wartime rationing and food sacrifices therefore are reimagined as a shared national fast experienced by civilians and soldiers alike.

Furthermore, maintaining and mobilizing the nation’s food resources extends government control and curtails individualism and personal rights under auspices of wartime exigency. Christopher Capozzola calls the propaganda of wartime food conservation an exercise in “coercive

voluntarism.” Promoting solidarity through food in wartime served as “significant manifestations of coercive voluntarism” that positioned political obligation ahead of individual choice, Capozzola maintains.¹³ Celia Kingsbury echoes this argument. Throughout World War I, she argues, “food became a powerful political force. Because it is a necessary commodity, food served the cause of social control as well as any other source of propaganda.”¹⁴ One of the salient issues for this anthology, then, will be to address this essential contradiction in food and warfare—how and why does food serve to both heighten communal solidarity among soldiers and civilians on one hand, while limiting individual food choices on the other?

From Plutarch’s comment that “the same intelligence is required to marshal an army in battle and to order a good dinner” to Napoleon’s notion that “an army marches on its stomach,” politicians, writers, commanders, and philosophers have mused about the overlap between food and war.¹⁵

Numerous prior studies have examined how one particular army or nation addressed its own food concerns in a specific conflict. But one of the first examinations of how food could be an effective lens through which to study such broad concepts as imperialism, colonization, warfare, civil conflict, and international diplomacy was Lizzie Collingham’s exemplary studies *Taste of War: World War II and the Battle for Food* and, in particular, *The Taste of Empire: How Britain’s Quest for Food Shaped the Modern World*.¹⁶ Collingham emphasizes how food was the major impetus for British exploration, trade, and colonization for centuries and how foodways reinforced colonial mindsets among natives and foreigners around the world. Similarly, food emerges as the focal point of revolution in Stephane Henaut’s *A Bite-Sized History of France: Gastronomic Tales of Revolution, War, and Enlightenment* and Katarzyna Cwiertka’s *Cuisine, Colonialism, and Cold War: Food in Twentieth-Century Korea* and *Modern Japanese Cuisine: Food, Power, and National Identity*. These works, and similar historical studies, demonstrate how access to food shaped warfare and revolution from the perspectives both of conquerors and of colonized people.¹⁷

Yet, other writers focus on the absence of food—how hunger, deprivation, and famine have shaped global conflicts for the past two centuries. In *Silent Violence: Food, Famine, and Peasantry in Northern Nigeria*, Michael Watts outlines the impact of famine through a case study of village life, emphasizing how emerging market capitalism and the impact of colonialism contributed to the disruption of rural life in Nigeria through

the 1970s.¹⁸ Likewise, Melanie Tanieliean's examination of the Middle East during World War I demonstrate the role of warfare and the challenges of humanitarian aid in wartime, while Alex De Waal outlines how similar patterns of violence, food disruption, and global inequality persist into the modern era.¹⁹

These historians provide a foundation on which *The Provisions of War* rests in two important and interconnected ways. First, viewing food as the focal point for studies of warfare, violence, revolution, and empire disrupts previous notions that food should be reserved for a private place of home and family, moving it to the center stage of public life. Second, these studies bring an international dimension to the study of foodways, emphasizing how food and starvation are linked to global conflict. By examining food and food denial campaigns as part of wartime strategy and the efforts to expand (or challenge) imperialism, historians have begun to consider food as essential to broader social, political, and military trends throughout the past two centuries.

In short, as prior studies and the forthcoming chapters in this book clearly demonstrate, food is history and can be viewed alongside such traumatic international events as battlefield maneuvers, violent uprisings, colonial and anti-colonial campaigns, and political clashes. The chapters in *The Provisions of War* are organized chronologically within two sections. In part I of this anthology ("Expanding Geographic Boundaries") authors present global comparisons and international perspectives on food and warfare, beginning with Erin Mauldin's discussion of food and conquest in the U.S. South and colonial Africa in the late nineteenth century. Her chapter on "Yankee Pigs," argues that armies on both sides of the Atlantic forced subjugated people to adapt to new agricultural methods that reflected and benefited the attitudes of conquerors under the guise of improving or developing the land and also outlines how the wartime spread of hog cholera provided justification for postwar debates about food policy in conquered territory. Matthew Richardson's chapter on the Boer War likewise features discussions of colonial Africa, focusing on food as a weapon of war during sieges between British and Dutch colonial forces in South Africa. Richardson examines efforts at long-distance provisioning and links between food, soldier morale, and the impact of food in wartime on civilian populations in Africa.

While these chapters emphasize food as an aspect of colonization efforts in the nineteenth century, Karline McLain's chapter on Gandhi's intentional communities in Africa and India and Ahmar Alvi's discussion

of Indian vegetarianism make clear that food can be a powerful symbol in resisting foreign colonial powers. McLain outlines how two foods—sugar and salt—served to shape Gandhi’s early opposition to British rule in India and his formation of discrete communities in which to enact his growing commitment to pacifism and protest. Adopting a restrictive diet meant that Gandhi distanced himself from the British plantation agriculture as well as the violent colonial practices that made crops like sugar, coffee, and tea profitable. Alvi also examines food and colonization, outlining a discourse of eighteenth- and nineteenth-century India in which meat-eating symbolized British colonizers’ domination, masculinity, and social control while Indian vegetarianism came to represent inferiority, impoverishment, and savagery. His chapter on “The Making of Indian Vegetarian Identity” explains how Indians challenged this mindset and questioned the binary between the meat-eating of allegedly superior foreigners and vegetarian natives. Moreover, his chapter examines warfare in a broad sense, discussing how Indian vegetarianism shaped British military strategy, internal riots, and violence and sparked civil warfare during and after British colonization.

Next, Jing Sun examines several different regions (Japan, Southeast Asia, and East China) to describe a crucial paradox in food policy and military strategy. Japan’s elusive quest for self-sufficiency in its food supply prompted its invasion of Manchuria (followed by other regions of East Asia) which, ironically, required greater imports of food than they produced in exports, ultimately making them a drain on Japan’s food supply during the Second Sino-Japanese War. International perspective on the World War II are also the focus of Leslie Przbylek’s chapter “We Don’t Need More Red Tape, We Need More Red Meat.” Przbylek examines rationing practices in the U.S., Australia, Canada, and United Kingdom in the 1940s, explaining that wartime propaganda often clashed with the realities of the black-market sale of meat and other commodities.

The following chapter, Yvonne Tan’s discussion of the New Villages in Malaysia, describes how food insecurity overlapped with imperialism, Cold War politics, chemical warfare, ethnic conflict, and counterinsurgency during the period of emergency that extended from 1948 through the 1960s. Tan focuses on street hawkers and small-scale food producers, who were demeaned and attacked by governmental authorities but served a vital role in the national food supply, creatively providing food for a population that has itself been the target of imperial aggression and military occupation. Her chapter emphasizes how Cold War counterinsurgency

and deployment of chemical weapons used food denial as a weapon of war in the twentieth century.

Taken together, the chapters in part I emphasize how international warfare was both focused on and exacerbated by access to food, and how food served as both a military necessity and a cultural symbol as nations struggled with issues of invasion and autonomy. The chapters in part II focus on shifting the chronological focus of war, particularly by discussing prewar planning and postwar implications of food and hunger. Christopher Menking's chapter on the U.S.–Mexico War, for instance, describe how the conquest of Mexico exposed soldiers to new cultures and cuisines, which sparked the growth of Mexican-American foods in later decades. Foods that are ubiquitous today first became available outside of Mexico as soldiers sought to “calm [their] rebellious stomachs” in the 1840s.

The next four chapters examine the role of food in World War I, especially its postwar implications. Christopher Rose's chapter “Food, Hunger, and Rebellion” examines wartime hunger in Egypt and how the British colony was pressured to provide food for soldiers even as its civilian population suffered skyrocketing food prices and food riots. Hunger and food scarcity, which lasted well after the 1918 armistice, resulted in political turmoil and contributed to postwar revolutions and calls for Egyptian independence in the 1920s. Evan Sullivan likewise examines how access to food influenced postwar debates. He discusses military hospitals and soldiers' recovery from illness in the 1920s, demonstrating that debates surrounding food and hygiene provided soldiers a way to express complaints and demand fair treatment well after the final battles of the Great War were fought. Carol Helstosky's chapter also points out the role of food in postwar debates. Using early twentieth-century cookbooks printed in the U.S. that featured foreign recipes, Helstosky explains how food and recipes provided a sense of community identity between U.S. citizens and immigrants to North America before and during World War I, and anticipated the growth of European fascism in the decades after 1919.

Nel de Mûelenaere's chapter “Still Poor, Still Little, Still Hungry?” examines how food and hunger during World War I continued to shape the diets and bodies of Belgian children throughout the 1920s. Using health records from schools and philanthropic agencies, de Mûelenaere describes wartime food scarcities from 1914 to 1919 as well as limitations in Belgians' postwar diet in successive years. Breanne Robertson focuses

on a different facet of food and warfare—her chapter “Planting Pan-Americanism” describes how the United States’ Good Neighbor Policy in the 1930s and 1940s employed images of corn to promote a sense of shared identity and culture in North America through the advent of World War II. Studying artistic murals, food advertising, children’s books, and other examples of popular culture, Robertson maintains that corn became a symbol of cooperation and interdependence within the hemisphere, establishing cultural and culinary connections between nations. Kwong Chi Man’s chapter “Six Taels and Four Maces (*Luk-Leung-Sei*)” describes wartime starvation in Hong Kong from the Pacific War in the 1930s through 1946. Describing British imperialism and Japanese occupation in China, Kwong recounts efforts to mitigate starvation during invasion and occupation and explains how wartime food shortages led to a refugee crisis, ultimately shaping postwar memories throughout the late twentieth century. Lastly, Bryce Evans’s discussion of food and counterinsurgency in Peru during the outbreaks of violence in the 1980s and 1990s likewise connects food and internal conflicts. During the late Cold War era, both sides of the Peruvian insurgency singled out community kitchens (and the women that served food there) for punishment and intimidation. Like other chapters in this anthology, that by Evans describes the conflict over food and hunger as examples of counterinsurgency, civil and guerilla warfare, and decolonization—arguing that the conception of warfare exists beyond pitched battles and massed armies, and includes the crucial role of propaganda and civilian population control.

The contributors to this anthology describe a diverse set of geographical regions and chronological periods, yet they share a common belief that an emphasis on foodways is an essential part of the methodology of studying the history of international conflict. For the past hundred and fifty years (and before), food has served as a means of cementing alliances and waging war and of establishing or destabilizing colonial regimes, and as a sign of supporting or deteriorating home-front mobilization, and a way of extending the war into successive generations or shifting the methodology of warfare itself. In short, as the anthropologist Sydney Mintz has noted, “War is probably the single most powerful instrument of dietary change in human experience.”²⁰ Thus, the aim of this anthology is to showcase several dimensions of this overlap between food and warfare and to encourage further research in this crucial area of historical study.

NOTES

1. *Hunger Breeds Madness . . . America's Food Must Save the World* [Poster]. U.S. Food Administration. Educational Division. Advertising Section. (01/15/1918–01/1919) Still Picture Records Section, Special Media Archives Services Division, College Park, MD [hereafter NARA]. ARC Identifier 512553 / Local Identifier 4-P-114.
2. Kennedy, *Over Here: The First World War and American Society* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2004): 50.
3. *Food Will Win the War* [Poster]. NARA. ARC Identifier 512499 / Local Identifier 4-P-60.
4. On immigrant wartime participation, see: Christopher M. Sterba, *Good Americans: Italian and Jewish Immigrants during the First World War* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2003); On the role of visual media in mobilization and food conservation efforts, see: Pearl James, *Picture This: World War I Posters and Visual Culture* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2010).
5. *Four Minute Man Bulletin*, December 24, 1918, 2. On the role of speakers in wartime mobilization, see: Alfred E. Cornebise, *War as Advertised: The Four Minute Men and America's Crusade 1917–1918* (Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, 1984).
6. *Four Minute Man Bulletin*, December 24, 1918, 20.
7. “300 Million Hungry People are Watching Your Plate,” NARA, ARC Identifier 512557 / Local Identifier 4-P-118.
8. *Four Minute Man Bulletin*, October 4, 1918, 2.
9. *Four Minute Man Bulletin*, October 4, 1918, 2.
10. The classic account of the Treaty of Versailles is Margaret MacMillan, *Paris 1919: Six Months that Changed the World* (New York: Random House, 2003); On the specific role of food in the World War I and its aftermath, see: Avner Offer, *The First World War, an Agrarian Interpretation* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1989).
11. Hasia R. Diner, *Hungering for America: Italian, Irish, and Jewish Foodways in the Age of Migration* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2001): 4.
12. Etta M. Madden and Martha L. Finch, eds., *Eating in Eden: Food and American Utopias* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2006): 15.
13. Christopher Capozzola, *Uncle Sam Wants You: World War I and the Making of the Modern American Citizen* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2008): 101.
14. Celia Kingsbury, *For Home and Country: World War I Propaganda on the Home Front* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2010): 36.
15. Plutarch's full statement continues: “The first must be as formidable as possible, the second as pleasant as possible, to the participant.” Quoted in Peter Nowak, *Sex, Bombs, and Burgers: How War, Pornography, and Fast Food have Shaped Modern Technology* (Guilford, Conn.: Lyons Press, 2011): 144.
16. Lizzie Collingham, *The Taste of Empire: How Britain's Quest for Food Shaped the Modern World* (New York: Basic Books, 2017). For another example of Collingham's description of food and Empire, see: *Curry: A Tale of Cooks and Conquerors* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2007).
17. Stephane Henaut, *A Bite-Sized History of France: Gastronomic Tales of Revolution, War and Enlightenment* (New York: New Press, 2018); Katarzyna

- Cwiertka, *Cuisine, Colonialism, and Cold War: Food in Twentieth-Century Korea* (London: Reaktion Books, 2012); Cwiertka, *Modern Japanese Cuisine: Food, Power and National Identity* (London: Reaktion Books, 2015). For discussions of the role of food in colonization and warfare, see also: Jeffrey Pilcher, *Food in World History* (New York: Routledge, 2017); Erika Rappaport, *A Thirst for Empire: How Tea Shaped the Modern World* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2017); Helen Zoe Veit, *Modern Food: Moral Food: Self-Control, Science, and the Rise of Modern American Eating in the Early Twentieth Century* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2013); Amy Bentley, *Eating for Victory: Food Rationing and the Politics of Domesticity* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1998); Anastacia Marx de Salcedo, *Combat-Ready Kitchen: How the U.S. Military Shapes the Way You Eat* (London: Current, 2015).
18. Michael J. Watts, *Silent Violence: Food, Famine, and Peasantry in Northern Nigeria* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1983).
 19. Melanie Tanielian, *The Charity of War: Famine, Humanitarian Aid, and World War I in the Middle East* (Palo Alto: Stanford University Press, 2017); Alex De Waal, *Mass Starvation: The History and Future of Famine* (Cambridge: Polity, 2018). On the overlap between food and warfare, see also: Rachel Laudan, *Cuisine and Empire: Cooking and World History* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2015).
 20. Sydney Mintz, *Tasting Food, Tasting Freedom: Excursions into Eating, Power, and the Past* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1997): 1.