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Cold War University

Editors
Christopher Balme & Nic Leonhardt

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Special Issue
"Cold War University"

Guest Editors
Judith Rottenburg & Lisa Skwirblies

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Nic Leonhardt

Editorial

An extraordinary year lies behind all of us. Since March 2020, a pandemic has changed our everyday lives, turned our working lives and leisure time behaviour upside down worldwide, and presented people with sometimes existential challenges. The cultural sector lay fallow in most countries, new forms of learning and working, “home schooling” and “home office”, are still also impacting universities, research and teaching. Digitization was both a curse and a blessing in the so-called "new normal": digital tools and repositories were a blessing for enabling collaboration and scholarly activity, yet they represent a curse in regions where digital access is difficult or even impossible for a variety of reasons. Education and scholarship thrive on exchange and lively discourse - which is possible online, but cannot replace face-to-face encounters.

This issue of the *Journal for Global Theatre History* thus sees the light of day in what is still a memorable time, and it focuses on a memorable topic area of an equally tumultuous time: all chapters refer to the role(s) that the university, the humanities, the academy, and higher education played in and for the Cultural Cold War. After 1945, in a world of emerging nations, the development of academies, curricula, and university institutions was high on the agenda of cultural policy and diplomatic efforts. Educational institutions also proved to be powerful tools of cultural diplomacy and soft power influence.

The papers in this volume are revised presentations from the international symposium, “Cold War University. Humanities and Arts Education as a (Battle)field of Diplomatic Influence and Decolonial Practice”, jointly organized by Judith Rottenburg and Lisa Skwirblies in the context of the ERC project *Developing Theatre* (GA No. 694559). Initially, the symposium was planned to take place at the Center for Advanced Studies (CAS) of LMU Munich. Due to the strict constraints occasioned by the pandemic, the scientific exchange ultimately took place as a one-day online workshop.

The output is impressive: the thematic issue, curated by guest editors Judith Rottenburg and Lisa Skwirblies, provides numerous insightful readings. Each article raises new questions about an entity that is often taken for granted, the university, and shows how teaching and learning are also subject to political and ideological conditions and goals.

On behalf of the editors, I would like to thank you for your interest in our journal and wish you a stimulating read.

Nic Leonhardt, Munich, June 2021

Judith Rottenburg and Lisa Skwirblies

Cold War University. Humanities and Arts Education as a (Battle)field of Diplomatic Influence and Decolonial Practice Introduction

Keywords

Cold War University, Theatre Development, Third World University, Philanthropy, Drama Education

Authors

Judith Rottenburg is an art historian who specialises in histories of modern and contemporary art of Africa and Europe in the 20th and 21st centuries. As a member of the international doctoral program MIMESIS at the Ludwig Maximilian University of Munich (LMU) and as a research fellow at the German Centre for Art History in Paris, she completed her PhD in 2017 on the arts in post-independence Senegal, circa 1960-80. Between 2017 and 2020, she was a postdoctoral research associate in the ERC-funded project "Developing Theatre. Building Expert Networks for Theatre in Emerging Countries after 1945" at the LMU. Currently, she is a research associate at the Institute of Art and Visual Studies at the Humboldt University of Berlin and a member of the international research group "Aby Warburg's Legacy and the Future of Iconology".

Lisa Skwirblies is a theatre historian and works currently as a post doc researcher at the institute for theatre studies at the Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität München. Her research interests are theatre and performance historiography, postcolonial and decolonial theory, and the history of protest. She obtained her PhD from the University of Warwick in 2018 and held an EU Marie Curie COFUND fellowship between 2018 and 2020.

Recent calls to "decolonize the university" have captivated campuses all over the globe. From the #RhodesMustFall movement in Cape Town and Oxford to campaigns against casteism in Indian universities, the supposed universality of the university and its epistemologies are under public scrutiny. Students and scholars across the world increasingly question the terms upon which the university and education more broadly exist and operate. In 2012, Ramón Grosfoguel, Capucine Boidin and James Cohen dedicated a special issue to the question, asking "what it could mean to decolonize the Westernized university and its Eurocentric knowledge structures" (Boidin, Cohen, and

Grosfoguel 2012). They claim that "one important path to renewal would involve opening the university resolutely to interepistemic dialogues with a view to building a new university". This university is imagined as a "pluriversity", based on an understanding of "universal knowledge as pluriversal knowledge" (ibid.).

This special issue seeks to address these epistemological questions from historical, geopolitical, and institutional perspectives by investigating the mutual influence of Cold War politics and universities. The contributors to this issue elaborate on the role Cold War politics played in the development of the university and arts education – in particular theatre education – as we understand them today; and, conversely, the role that the university and arts education – again, in particular theatre education – played in Cold War politics and the politics of decolonization that formed part of it.

"The Cold War reshaped university structures and the content of academic disciplines, just as it penetrated the whole fabric of political and intellectual life" (Montgomery 1997, XII). Far beyond the US, this observation made by historian David Montgomery with reference to the impact of the Cold War on the American University, applies to the university in a global context. At least after the Bandung conference in Indonesia in 1955, where delegates of the participating African and Asian countries condemned "colonialism in all of its manifestations" (Encyclopedia Britannica 2020) and discussed politics of non-alignment, the Third World emerged as a new field of cultural diplomacy and potential influence for the US, the USSR, and Europe alike. According to Natalia Tsvetkova, universities were "at the epicenter of the ideological competition between the superpowers" (Tsvetkova 2019, 139). When Third World countries gained independence from colonial powers, the university became a key institution in the newly independent nation states and closely related to their processes of nation building. American and Soviet Cold War politics allied with these nationalist ambitions in their battle for labour and mineral resources, and for the hearts, minds and allegiance of postcolonial subjects.

American philanthropic institutions such as the Rockefeller, Ford and Carnegie Foundations invested large sums of money in higher education. The Rockefeller Foundation ran the "University Development Program (UDP)", later renamed the "Education for Development Program (EDP)", between 1961 and 1981, supporting the evolution of fifteen universities in twelve countries, including Nigeria, Tanzania, Uganda, the Philippines, Chile, Columbia, and Indonesia. In the words of James Coleman, who was involved in the UDP in Africa, "[at] the turn of the 1960s, Africa offered compelling attractions as a unique historical opportunity for external assistance agencies interested in university institution building. Nowhere was there such a manifestly urgent need for indigenous high-level manpower to replace the departing Europeans [...]. Nowhere was there such apparent uninhibited receptivity, not only for external aid but for alternative university models to those inherited from the colonial power" (Coleman and Court 1993, 90).

Along these lines, American foundations often tried to present their activities in Third World universities as altruistic acts of philanthropy and to conceal their strategic ideological ends against the critique of many contemporaries who saw them as attempts to construct intellectual hegemony. Political scientist Inderjeet Parmar analyses them with the help of Gramscian ideas and shows how American foundations constructed "international knowledge networks" which had a significant impact on the Third World, "helping to consolidate US hegemony after 1945, fostering pro-US values, methods and research institutions" (Parmar 2002, 13). However, the international knowledge networks

that emerged in those decades are much more than merely the result of a unidirectional influence the US exercised on the rest of the world.

In addition to the large-scale American programmes, the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe had their own educational programmes. They offered scholarships for students, sent professors and experts to teach in Third World countries, and created educational institutions. The Soviet Union founded institutions of higher education in countries such as Algeria, Tunisia, Mali, Guinea, Ethiopia, India, Burma, Indonesia and Syria - either as "gifts" or with "low-interest Soviet loans, which were quickly rescheduled and later written-off" (Katsakioris 2017, 262). In 1960, the newly founded Peoples' Friendship University, later renamed the Patrice Lumumba University, opened its doors in Moscow exclusively to hundreds of students from the Third World, mostly from Africa, Asia and Latin America. Between 1960 and 1991, more than 43,500 students from Sub-Saharan Africa received post-secondary education in the USSR (ibid., 260).

Actors in the postcolonial world also had an impact on the development of educational mobility. In many African countries, for instance, non-state initiatives and networks played a crucial role in sending prospective students off to campuses in the global North between 1950 and 1990 (see e.g. Burton 2020). Postcolonial student migration became a desirable tool for cultural diplomacy on both sides of the Iron Curtain. These global exchanges in higher education had a profound impact on the countries receiving students as well as on those sending students. In the spirit of the conference of Bandung, students from the postcolonial world residing on German campuses in the 1950s and '60s, for instance, intervened in the German public spheres with anti-imperial and decolonial political protests that politicized the nascent German student movement into action. Students returning to Nigeria, on the other hand, converged with resistance movements of local actors and championed initiatives of decolonization and liberation.

These examples testify to the agency and mobility between "East", "West" and "South" during the Cold War and call into question the simple dichotomies of East vs. West or socialism vs. capitalism. They show that a much broader set of actors defined the role of the Cold War university, with many individual actors from formerly colonized countries actively making use of migration opportunities provided by these educational exchange programmes. Here, the Cold War University was readily used as a platform for liberation movements in the postcolonial world. Their fight for decolonization and the politics of non-alignment represented a challenge to the bloc mentalities.

The papers in this special issue address these dynamics and discuss Cold War politics and the university as two interrelated phenomena. Focusing on the humanities and arts education, they highlight the connections between Cold War politics, nationalism and higher education. From a specific theatre and performance studies perspective, they discuss how Cold War bloc mentalities and nationalist ambitions as well as their critique and fractions are reflected in the educational programmes and curricula of theatre studies, how theatre education went through a phase of "universitization" (Balme) during the Cold War period, or how performative protests of Global South students brought the drama of decolonization to 1960s European campuses.

Christopher Balme's paper offers an introduction to an institutional history of art education within the university - or to what he calls the "universitization" of arts education - with a particular focus on the emergence, development, and changes of theatre studies programmes during the Cold War period. Based on neo-institutional theory, this paper discusses the adaptability and suitability of art institutions for the different environments

in which they find themselves and asks whether the European model of the university is actually decolonizable.

Gideon I. Morison's paper discusses how funding from the US as well as the legacies of colonialism influenced the changing trajectories of theatre practice and scholarship in Nigeria and how the theatre programmes at Nigerian universities found themselves centre stage in the "dichotomy of directions". He shows that Nigerian students returning from universities in the Global North had a considerable impact on the development of university education programmes during the Cold War.

Hasibe Kalkan's paper explores the role of the Rockefeller Foundation in the history of theatre education in Turkey by following the trajectories of Turkish and American protagonists. The paper shows how theatre makers in Turkey carved out transnational spaces of agency for themselves, navigating between the developmentalist agendas of the US, represented by the Rockefeller Foundation, and their own artistic ambitions and international career paths.

Lisa Skwirblies' paper discusses the reverse phenomenon: In the aftermath of the conference of Bandung, both German republics recruited hundreds of students from the Global South. Rather than living up to their role as agents of Cold War diplomatic ties, the foreign students performed the politics of non-alignment, decolonization, and liberation in what were new forms of political protest for the nascent German student movement.

Viviana Iacob's paper deals with the Theatre of Nations University, which started in 1961 as part of the Festival of the Theatre of Nations, a sister organization of the International Theatre Institute. Through this example, Iacob describes an early history of the "educational turn" in the arts that Irit Rogoff attested for the 21st century (Rogoff 2020) and shows how the motivation for building a Theatre of Nations University was based on the aim of universalizing theatre training around the globe.

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Christopher Balme

Arts and the University: Institutional logics in the developing world and beyond

Abstract

This paper discusses the emergence of arts education at universities and associated institutions of higher learning in the developing world after 1945. In the first part, the question of the university as an institution will be discussed from the point of view of neo-institutional theory and especially the processes of isomorphism that have been frequently described in this theoretical approach. The second section examines the emergence of arts education in the Global South between 1950 and 1970, i.e. at the height of the Cold War. The third section proposes a topology of arts education and the differential realisation of these models in different parts of the world. The final section shows how in one country in the Global South, New Zealand, concrete steps have been taken at universities to realise a decolonial epistemology through the creation of culturally specific spaces which adhere to the cultural exigencies of the host cultures.

Keywords

Neo-institutionalism; arts education; theatre studies; theatre training; decolonisation of the curriculum

Author

Christopher Balme holds the chair in theatre studies at LMU Munich. His publications include Pacific Performances: Theatricality and Cross-Cultural Encounter in the South Seas (Palgrave Macmillan, 2007); Cambridge Introduction to Theatre Studies (CUP, 2008); The theatrical public sphere (CUP, 2014); The Globalization of Theatre 1870-1930: The Theatrical Networks of Maurice E. Bandmann, (CUP, 2020). He is principal investigator of the ERC Advanced Grant “Developing Theatre: Building Expert Networks for Theatre in Emerging Countries after 1945”.

This paper discusses the emergence of arts education at universities and associated institutions of higher learning in the developing world after 1945.[1] To understand current debates on decolonising the university, especially in the area of the performing arts, it is necessary to engage with the historical development of tertiary education in the Global South. Current attempts to reform curricula, or to advocate for decolonial epistemologies need to engage with the apparent paradox that institutions appear notoriously resistant to change, often called institutional inertia, while on a research level continual, even relentless, innovation and originality are the order of the day. The context of education and training in the performing arts in the Global South is primarily the university rather than

conservatories which remain in Europe the main locus of professional training. The article is divided into four sections. In the first part, the question of the university as an institution will be discussed from the point of view of neo-institutional theory and especially the processes of isomorphism that have been frequently described in this theoretical approach. The second section will look at the emergence of arts education in the Global South between 1950 and 1970, i.e. at the height of the Cold War. The third section proposes a topology of arts education and the differential realisation of these models in different parts of the world. The final section shows how in one country in the Global South, New Zealand, concrete steps have been taken at universities to realise a decolonial epistemology through the creation of culturally specific spaces which adhere to the cultural exigencies of the host cultures. It will be argued that such models may provide a pathway to create greater pluriversity in the so-called 'universal' university.

The temporal focus will be on the Cold War period, roughly the 1950s to 1970s, as it played out in the postcolonial world, but the analytical focus will not be specifically on the geopolitical aspects of the conflict. It will come into play in other ways, however, especially regarding the organizational forms adopted in specific countries. My approach is based on institutional theory, in particular sociological neo-institutionalism, which has gained enormous influence in the broader field of studying institutions and organisations. The paper departs from recent research into what can be called the global university (Readings 1996; Mittelman 2017). This research either critiques the neoliberal, corporate university or studies the incontrovertible success story of the university as an institution and how it disseminated throughout the world, especially in the last fifty years. Sociologists David Frank and John Meyer note:

> A once-parochial institution particular to Western Christendom has spread to all parts of the world—sometimes with colonialism, but often independently, as societies have voluntarily and eagerly subscribed to this institutional goose, hoping for its putative golden eggs. (Frank and Meyer 2020, 11).

Although it originated in mediaeval Europe as an appendage of the church, the university has become one of the most successful institutional models to emerge from the nineteenth century. Its success story is nowhere more observable than in the Global South, where universities have been founded at the same rate as in more developed countries and in some cases even superseding them. John Meyer observes that “even in sub-Saharan Africa, which enters postcolonial society with almost no tertiary education, we find the same growth pattern… Some African countries now easily have enrolment ratios that exceed European countries of a few decades ago” (Krücken and Drori 2009, 359).

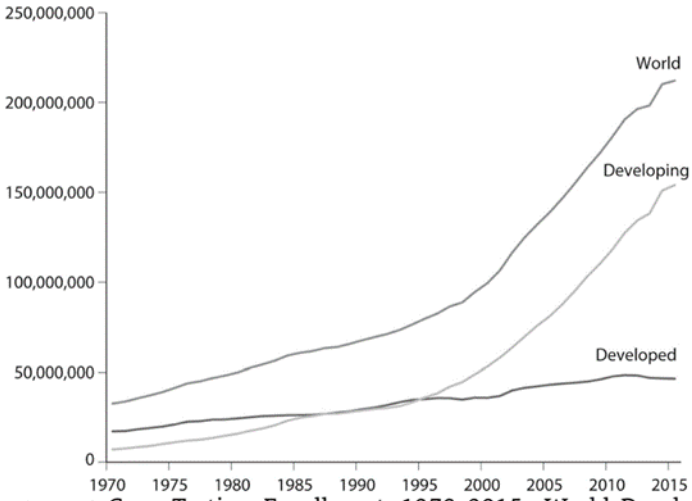

FIGURE 3.2. Gross Tertiary Enrollments 1970–2015—World, Developed Countries, Developing Countries.

Fig. 1 Tertiary enrolments 1970-2015. Source: Frank & Meyer 2020, Figure 3.2.

The university: almost always the same but not quite

David Frank and John Meyer propose the controversial thesis that the institutional model of the university is distinguished principally by its overwhelming homogeneity. They argue that as an *institution* the university is largely homogenous, whereas as an *organisation* it demonstrates high levels of heterogeneity. This observation is backed up by empirical data going back to the late nineteenth century, the period in which the university begins its diffusion around the (non-European) world. They define the university in neo-institutional terms as being based on common beliefs rather than on a highly differentiated and specialised response to specific problems and fields of knowledge. The university, they argue, is so successful because it is largely isomorphic: its content, the types of courses, research specialities, even the designations of professorships, vary little around the world. This does not mean that nothing changes. New disciplines are introduced but they are adopted relatively uniformly around the world. Before 1945 there were only a handful of departments of theatre studies (probably less than ten), today there are hundreds.[2]

Any specific university derives meaning and authority from its status as a particular instance of a permanent, widespread, and now global institution: "So physics and economics or sociology are presented in Kerala, India, as though they had every element in common with the same subjects in Berlin, Germany" (Frank and Meyer 2020, 22). While this may seem a somewhat outrageous claim (surely sociologists in Kerala study different sociological phenomena than their counterparts in Berlin?), it is more comprehensible if we understand the theoretical foundations on which the empirical research is based.

Both authors are neo-institutional sociologists. Indeed John W. Meyer is one of the founding fathers of this highly influential strand of institutional research and has authored a number of widely cited papers (several are collected in Krücken and Drori 2009). Fundamental to neo-institutional theory is the distinction between institution and organisation. While organisations may be highly disparate, they operate often within an

institutional framework that constrains them to become isomorphic, i.e. they begin to resemble one another.[3] Isomorphic processes usually result from the dynamics at the organisational level where the latter form into 'organizational fields' where there is initially a lot of diversity but ultimately they align themselves with prevailing 'myths' (Meyer & Rowen 1977) at the institutional level in order to gain and retain legitimacy. Myths are rationalized institutional rules that come to have the status of obvious truths.

The legitimating myth of the university as a "world institution" and perhaps the most important conveyor of the "global knowledge society" is its commitment to and responsibility for a body of knowledge that is believed to be "universally or ultimately true" (Frank, David John, and Meyer 2020, 3). They term this a "cosmological supposition" that reality is the same everywhere and always, for example, the belief in the existence of gravity. There is probably no university in the world where it is not generally accepted that gravity exists or indeed that the world is round, whereas there certainly exist groups of individuals who do contest this (but they are not generally active in universities). This means that such knowledge can be examined and taught under one cultural and institutional frame so that it can be discussed and compared in highly distinct cultural localities.

These "cosmological" foundations of the university are in no way at odds with its rationalised qualities. Frank and Meyer do argue, however, against an understanding of the university in functionalist terms as far as its educational activity is concerned. Indeed, they argue, whenever societies have attempted to redefine the university in terms of rationalised specialisation, it has very often failed, and the long-term result has been a reabsorption of such specialised organisations into the bosom of the university proper.

It is equally important to assume and accept that human beings everywhere can acquire access to this knowledge through training and learning. Persons who possess an adequate level of education, normally acquired through schooling, can begin the process of gaining knowledge and some may even ultimately extend it (by doing a PhD for example). It is also obvious that the university as a place of knowledge acquisition and expansion is, or should be, indifferent to questions of nationality, race or gender. The university is in this neo-institutional understanding quite literally universal.

University education also affects personhood and identity. The authors note that the certificates and diplomas acquired at university provide the holders not only with an elevated social status but that this status remains a lifelong symbol of achievement. University degrees do not have an expiry date. They can even have a certain resonance beyond death (gravestones will often enshrine an individual's academic credentials). In Germany, the doctoral degree – and in Austria even the old *magister* degree, - is integrated into the holder's name, leading to changes in passports and identity documents. They also argue that the impact of the university on human identity has been significant, perhaps most obviously in the sense that it confers on individuals the status of altered personhood. The latter is "institutionalised in human rights, and it is assumed to be invariable across social groups, and indeed the whole world" (2020, 7).

Despite the impact on human identity and the universalisation of a concept of personhood, universities have proven to be particularly ill-suited and ill-equipped to actually engineer social change on a purely functional level: "The university was relatively useless as an instrument for basic social progress" (ibid., 15). This is because much of the teaching and research done in universities seems to be detached from any immediately plausible social benefit: its very "academic" nature almost precludes the university from

being an efficacious actor in the social field. The commitment to basic research means by definition that the knowledge generated does not provide immediate utilitarian benefits but is more abstract and generalised. Therefore, the authors argue, the mediaeval church institution should have given way to many more specialised centres for research and training. This was indeed attempted at different phases in its history: after the French Revolution, throughout the Soviet Union and its spheres of influence, and in the early period of the United States before the research model of the German university was adopted. These proved, however, to be relatively short lived and impractical because the functions they were designed to perform were often superseded by the development of knowledge and research and often became obsolete. Not so the university, which proved much more flexible and adept at absorbing change, integrating new fields of knowledge without fundamentally altering the institution itself.

The university as institution has been able to accommodate and even flourish under myriad organizational forms: state-financed and fee-paying, state-financed without fees, private endowment, church- or faith-based and so on. The neo-liberal corporate university with its proliferation of self-assessment, and evaluations doesn't fundamentally alter the institution as a belief system. It manifests itself rather on the organizational level where we see strong isomorphic forces at work too, as marketization (mal)practices find purchase around the world. They are especially pronounced in those systems that are operated with budgets dependent on a high number of fee-paying students.[4]

Learning the arts: proto versus real universities

Under the broad umbrella of the isomorphic development of the university model, other institutions of higher education also sprang up, sometimes in direct competition with, sometimes broadly allied to the university. Initially they were distinct from the latter. These included music conservatories, art academies, military academies and polytechnics, whose distinguishing characteristic was an emphasis on professional training with little to no interest in basic research. Art schools have of course a long lineage that in Europe goes back at least to the seventeenth century. Although the French *école des beaux-arts* was originally a highly selective and elitist organisation, it was emulated wherever the French language was spoken which, in the light of French colonialism, was in a great number of countries. The same can be said for music conservatories which spread in the nineteenth and in the twentieth centuries beyond the European continent. In fact, arts institutions are probably the most expansionist of all the various "kin institutions at the margins of the university", as Frank and Meyer term them (2020, 27). In their analysis of higher education in the twentieth century, they calculate that schools of law, medicine and theology grew 30 times between 1895 and 1969, whereas schools of art "grew by orders of magnitude around 200" (Figure 2).

TABLE 2.1. Proliferation of Universities and Other Institutions of Higher Education

Minerva 1895	*Minerva* 1938	*Minerva* 1969
248 universities & colleges	1,066 universities & colleges	3,892 universities & colleges
231 other institutions of higher education:	1,870 other institutions of higher education:	10,182 other institutions of higher education:
61 agriculture	187 agriculture	658 agriculture
7 art	129 art	1,734 art
6 business	124 business	1,386 business
12 education	158 education	1,280 education
33 law	251 law	690 law
56 medicine	337 medicine	1,159 medicine
32 polytechnic	237 polytechnic	2,627 polytechnic
24 theology	447 theology	648 theology

Figure 2 (Frank and Meyer 2020: 26, table 2.1).

Indeed, the arts seem to be much better suited to such proto-universities than to the university sui generis with its much more generalised principles and commitment to basic research. The budding cello player, while certainly not indifferent to the history of music, has quite different and compelling requirements than a music historian who probably feels happier in a university-type faculty of arts than in a music conservatory. If we follow the principal of institutional isomorphism then the latter is not to be found in the relationship between the proto- and the 'real' university but rather in the forms adopted by the many arts institutes across the world. In 1969, the *Minerva Jahrbuch* lists "the Hanoi Dance and Ballet School, the Rhodesian College of Music, the Pyongyang Institute of Dramatic and Cinematographic Arts, and the Kabul Art School" (Frank, David John, and Meyer 2020, 26) It can be safely assumed that at the Hanoi Dance and Ballet School the same études at the bar were being practiced as in Moscow or Leningrad and the Rhodesian College of Music provided instruction in classical music like the conservatories in Europe.

Frank and Meyer base their global analysis of the university on the *Minerva* yearbooks (1891 – 1969). Subtitled *Jahrbuch der gelehrten Welt*, these almanacs were published in Germany from the late nineteenth century and aimed to record all universities, scholarly disciplines and even individual scholars. They also included supplements on museums, libraries, archives and research institutions. Publication ended in 1969 when the task of tracking higher education from a global perspective became impossible. The following analysis is based on data from the early and mid-1950s and late 1960s in respect to institutions devoted to the arts, especially architecture, music, the fine arts and theatre /dance, the categories referenced in the publication. For ease of reference, I have concentrated on the proto-universities, conservatories and arts academies, and not on the programmes offered within universities as part of BA programmes because they are normally not recorded.

The yearbooks distinguish between Europe and "außereuropäisch", i.e. outside Europe which includes the United States. I have disaggregated the data and created a new category for the United States because the sheer number of organisations certainly rivalled Europe

by the 1950s. It is important to note that the data recorded in the yearbooks is by no means exhaustive but is certainly representative of the relative importance of the artistic genres and disciplines represented.

Figure 3 compares the relative number of organisations in the respective art forms. Even in Europe in 1952, only 15% of organisations were devoted to the theatre and dance compared to 33% for the fine arts and 46% for music. This number decreases significantly when we look outside Europe (excluding the United States): in 1956, only roughly 6% offered training in theatre and dance compared to 47% in music, 45% in the fine arts and 30% in architecture. In the USA music (57.4%) and the fine arts (52%) predominate with theatre and dance at basically the same low level (6.4%) as in other non-European countries.

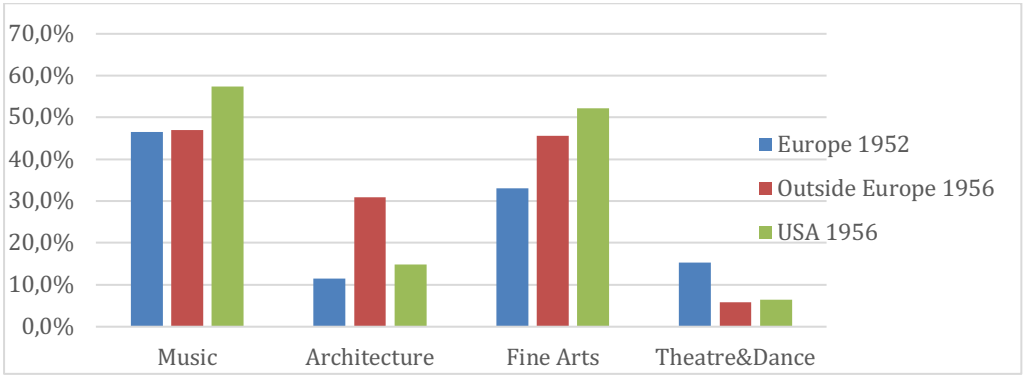

Figure 3: Arts Education worldwide 1956. Source: Minerva 1952 and 1956.

These numbers improve somewhat a decade later (Figure 4) when now 9% offer theatre and dance and we see a relative decrease in the other art forms. The importance of architecture in non-European countries compared to Europe is notable and is linked to the fact that most of these countries were developing countries and therefore invested significantly in training and architecture.

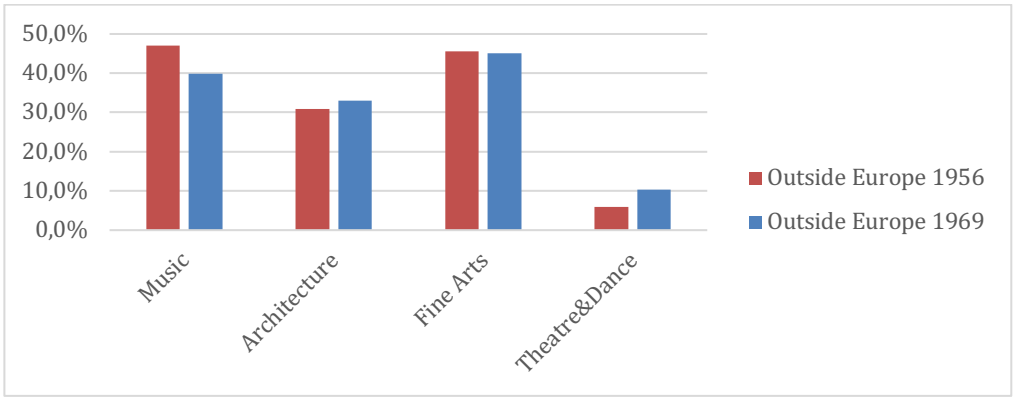

Figure 4: Arts Education outside Europe (excluding the USA) 1956 and 1969. Source: Minerva *1956 and 1969.*

The geographical distribution demonstrates similar overall growth rates in the decade between the mid-1950s in the late 1960s. Except for Algeria, Morocco and Egypt in the North and South Africa, Africa has according to the Minerva yearbook no institutes whatsoever.

By 1969, the situation changed significantly. In West Africa, a School of Drama at the University of Ibadan in Nigeria had been established as well as other arts institutions such as an *École nationale des beaux-arts* in the Ivory Coast and a similar school in Senegal. In East Africa, there is a conservatory of music in Kenya, and another in Rhodesia (Zimbabwe). The background to this expansion is a massive effort to invest in universities by local governments, the former colonial powers such as Britain and France as well as American state and philanthropic aid, where the big foundations such as Rockefeller, Ford and Carnegie were particularly active. In numerical terms, the number of institutes outside Europe and USA grows from 137 in 1956 to 332 in 1969, an increase of almost 60%. However, the number of institutes with a theatre and/or dance focus remains still quite small at the end of the 1960s.

Universitization of theatre education

The number of specialized theatre training institutions outside Europe and USA remains small: in the absence of professional theatre in many of these countries, the need did not and – in some cases – still does not exist. This section of the paper is devoted to what I shall call the "universitization of theatre education". Rather than trying to count the different organisations (Minerva discontinued publication in 1969), a topological approach will be followed (Figure 5). The evolution of theatre education and studies can be better understood on the basis of an institutional typology which reveals ever greater isomorphism.

Type/model	Conservatory and national drama schools	Theatre university: example GITIS	MFA	BA/MA	University of the Arts
Main geographical distribution	Western Europe, Commonwealth	Russia, China and former Socialist countries	USA	global	global

Figure 5: A typology of tertiary-level theatre education and training.

Seen from a global perspective the integration of theatre studies, education and training conforms to roughly five types or models which we find in different countries with a different emphasis depending on linguistic and cultural heritage. The oldest model is the conservatory, which goes back to the nineteenth century (and in some cases even further). A conservatory is by definition vocational, highly specialised and usually pays only lip

service to scholarly endeavour or research. The best acting conservatories are highly prestigious such as RADA in London, or the Ernst Busch Hochschule in Berlin. A special feature of the developing world and the settler colonies are the various national drama schools established within a few years of one another in Australia (NIDA 1958), India (NSD 1959), Canada (the bilingual NTSC, 1960), and somewhat belatedly in New Zealand (NZ Drama School, 1970), to name only some. They are primarily acting schools which may also include directing, design and other theatre professions, and now are sometimes affiliated with a university. Here too we see a high degree of isomorphism which is reflected not just in their names that almost invariably bear the notion of 'national' but also in curricular content and support through state funding.

A second widespread model is the MFA (the Master of Fine Arts) which we find mainly in the USA and in a few anglophone countries. Here professional training is integrated institutionally into the university, departments often have an academic branch, where they are termed "theory and criticism", but the primary focus is on the "industry". The MFA is an institutional response to the need for high-level artistic training in the absence of state-run conservatories so the university stepped in to provide the organizational framework. The first university to admit students to the degree of Master of Fine Arts was the University of Iowa in 1940.

A third model, which I term here the theatre university, emerged in Russia after the October Revolution and became enshrined in the famous GITIS (*Gosudarstvenniy Institut Teatralnogo Iskustva)*. In 1922, GITIS was established in Moscow, as the name suggests, as a State Institute for the Theatre Arts. It had gone through a number of name changes in a genealogy going back to 1878 when it was part of a music school under aristocratic patronage. Its current self-description reads:

> GITIS is the largest and oldest independent theatrical arts school in Russia, founded in 1878. We train students in various disciplines and provide *a combination of traditional university education* and innovative up-to-date methods. More than 1500 students from various countries study at the School. GITIS is proud to be a direct heir of the famous Stanislavski's system.[5]

Its *Modellcharakter* lay in the combination of a university-type education in the liberal arts and humanities with vocational training in different genres of the performing arts.

The new Soviet form became the model for many similar institutes wherever the Soviet Union exercised influence directly or indirectly. Imitations or approximations were established in most Eastern European countries including former Yugoslavia, East Germany (GDR), China, in Syria, Iraq and Mongolia. The special characteristic of this proto-university was the combination of a broad selection of specialised training for different genres of the performing arts and departments devoted to theatre history and criticism, and sometimes even dramaturgy.

With the end of the socialist system in 1989 in Europe, the GITIS model lost its isomorphic force. Although it still exists in Russia, its imitations in former East Germany, for example, were disestablished or reformed in such a way that most of the university components (especially theatre studies) were relocated to universities and the vocational training part consolidated as proper conservatories or as part of Universities of the Arts. With its 1500 students, GITIS is a very small university indeed, and in fact is not really a

university at all but rather an extended conservatory, a proto-university at best in Frank and Meyer's terminology.

BA/MA

The study of the performing arts, whether as a humanistic discipline or for vocational purposes, remains a hybrid affair. While the GITIS model proved attractive as long as state funding was available, it was (and is) a very expensive form of tertiary education for very few students. Across the capitalist world, we find another kind of isomorphism at work, namely conservatories being either integrated into or allied with universities. This process is perhaps most observable in the UK where traditional conservatories were either associated with universities, or new universities, mostly former polytechnics, opened up theatre and dance studies programmes that had a large component of practical work. Conservatories always precede university study of an art form because they absorb and 'institutionalize' the older master-apprentice model.[6] What we can observe in the realm of the performing arts since 1945 is an unmistakable trend towards integrating training into the university, thereby confirming the thesis that as a rule proto-universities are eventually folded into the university proper. This led in the 1990s to major problems because the university has by definition an increasingly important research component, and most of the staff engaged in providing training for the theatre arts were not research-active in the sense defined by the classical university. There were two solutions to this problem, both of which were followed in the UK and other countries. One was to set up a research department which saw the implementation of MA and PhD programmes at august conservatories such as the Central School of Speech and Drama and an affiliation with an established university (in this case the University of London). The other was to redefine artistic work as research where researchers were either practitioners reflecting on their practice or where the research component of artistic work was recognized as such rather than being distinct from it.

The discipline of drama studies in the UK had always seen itself as different and able, at least potentially, to unite "the heart and the head" (Boenisch 2020, 238) and thereby counteract the increasing specialization of academic disciplines. Ever since the foundation of the first department at the University of Bristol in 1947 (Shepherd, Simon, and Wallis 2004, 7), practical work had been part of the curriculum without any claims to providing professional training, which did not mean of course that graduates did not go on to become artistic professionals. The driving force behind the 'practical turn' in theatre and performance research emerged in the 1990s with the global move towards quantifying research and using it as a benchmark for so-called 'excellence'. As Frank and Meyer note, the university has tilted in the past two decades away from teaching and towards research, at least at the so-called 'research universities' with the new denomination itself a sign of a need for internal differentiation: "The institution increasingly prioritizes active knowledge production, such that research now rivals, or perhaps even trumps, the knowledge transmission in teaching as the university's central purpose" (Frank, David John, and Meyer 2020, 61).[7] Global North countries reacted in different ways but since the 1990s there has been an ineluctable movement towards adjudicating success and thereby access to mainly state funds through research 'outputs'.[8] The decisive turning point according to David Whitton was not integration of practice itself, but rather the claim repeatedly made

during the 1990s that the creative process of the artist-researcher and their results (mostly artistic performances of some kind) should be evaluated as valid outputs analogous to peer-reviewed articles or monographs (Whitton 2009, 80). This claim has been largely accepted in the academy in the anglo-world (excluding the USA perhaps). It is still contested in some European countries with their traditional institutional divisions between conservatories and universities, where 'practice' still plays a relatively minor role.[9]

Theatre and the University of the Arts

Tertiary education in the creative arts has expanded significantly since 1945. As we noted above, there has been a 200-fold increase over the past century. The most recent institutional response to integrating the creative and especially the performing arts into a university-like structure has been the emergence of Universities of the Arts. This a relatively new development, at least under the current name. As a Google Ngram survey (Fig. 6) reveals, the term is almost non-existent before 1980.

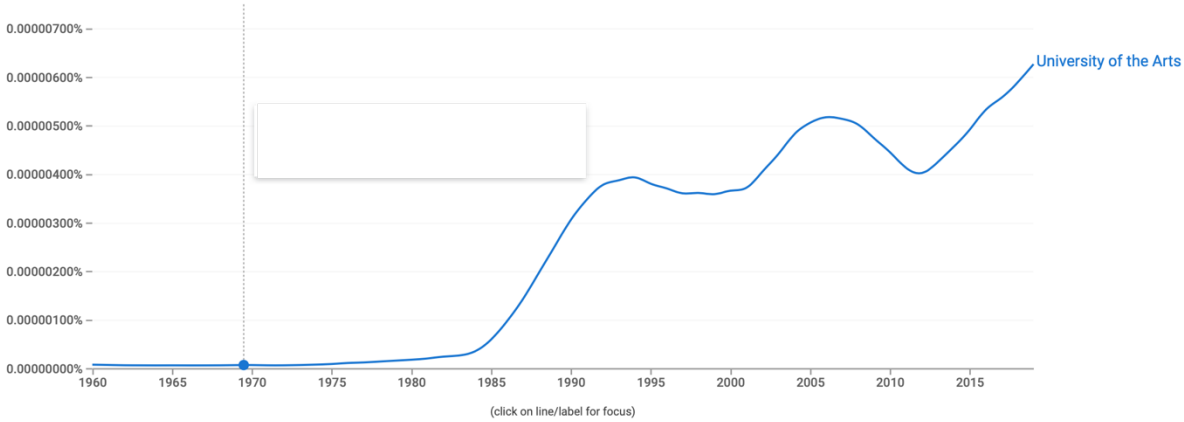

Figure 6: Frequency of the term 'University of the Arts' in the Google Corpus 1960-2019.

By 2000, there were already scores of organisations terming themselves a 'University of the Arts' in some variation of the name. These range from the Universität der Künste in Berlin, the University of the Arts in London (UAL) to the University of the Arts in Alberta, Canada and to the University of Arts from Târgu-Mureș in Romania. The Victorian College of the Arts in Melbourne is now a faculty of the University of Melbourne.

If we look at a constant-case sample of four organisations using the title 'University of the Arts' or a variation of it, we can observe the historical evolution from one specialized art form, often a music conservatory, to a much broader church encompassing many denominations and disciplines (Figure 7). It is noteworthy that the university status was in most cases only granted after 2000. This is a sign of broader isomorphic trends that pushed various 'schools of arts', academies and such-like, even if they were state-funded, to become universities in their own right or to come under the wing of an established university as an additional faculty.

Despite enduring cultural and geographical differences, the four featured examples have a number of factors in common. Firstly, none was founded *ex nihilo* but rather emerged from various predecessor organisations, incorporations and mergers. Each organisation is usually proud to point to its lineage, claiming in some cases a pedigree going back to the seventeenth century as in the University of Arts, Berlin. The usual foundational narrative sees them being set up as training academies for the fine arts or as music conservatories. The theatre arts are seldom seen before the twentieth century and often not until after 1945. In most cases, we can also observe a constant process of restructuring, renaming, mergers and incorporations before the final (ultimate?) university status is achieved: the institutional point of no return. Usually there is an intermediary proto-university status, a common feature of the 1960s and 1970s when private academies came under the wing of state.

Name	Victorian College of the Arts, Melbourne,	University of Arts Târgu-Mureş, Romania	University of the Arts, Berlin	University of the Arts (Philadelphia)
Established	1972	1950?	1975	1985
Predecessors, mergers and incorporations	Victoria Art school (1867); School of Music (1974);, the School of Drama in 1976 the School of Dance 1978 i Film and Television (1992).	Hungarian Conservatory of Music and Dramatic Arts in Cluj-Napoca (1946); Art Institute in Romanian in Cluj-Napoca (1948); Szentgyörgyi István Theatre Institute (1950); Studio Theatre (1972); Acting department in Romanian (1976); Academy of theatre (1991);	*Staatlichen Hochschule für Bildende Künste* and *der Staatlichen Hochschule für Musik und Darstellende Kunst 1696 (die Kurfürstliche Academie der Mahler-, Bildhauer- und Architectur-Kunst); 1822 das Königliche Musik-Institut Berlin; 1951 Max-Reinhardt-Schule für Schauspiel*	Philadelphia College of the Performing Arts; Philadelphia College of Art, (1870), the Philadelphia Musical Academy (1877) the Philadelphia Conservatory of Music (1944), the Philadelphia Dance Academy..
University status	2007 Faculty of University of Melbourne	2009 University of Arts Târgu Mures	2001 (UdK)	1985
Programs and disciplines	18 disciplines from acting to social practice and community engagement	8	70 degree courses	41 programs in 6 six schools (Art, Design, Film, Dance, Music and Theater Arts.)
PhD	yes	Yes in Theater Studies (2005)	yes	PhD in Creativity
students	1300	530	3500	1700
faculty				

Figure 7 Four Universities of the Arts.

(Theatre) Arts and alternative epistemologies

In the Global South, particularly in Africa and Latin America, a vigorous debate has emerged critiquing the university on account of its ties with colonialism, or even more fundamentally with enlightenment thinking. Is there an alternative to the university, one that has little or no connection to its colonial heritage? Do the performing arts within the university have a special role to play in this ongoing debate? Firstly, the university does not have a monopoly on knowledge production and diffusion. Perhaps the most significant development in the academy in the field of the creative arts, especially in the Global South, is the widespread call to "decolonize the curriculum". This discussion ranges from pragmatic attempts to revise reading lists to much more fundamental calls for a decolonial epistemology, the latter forming "the rallying cry for those trying to undo the racist legacies of the past" (Mbembe 2015, 8). I shall engage with Achille Mbembe's paper, "Decolonizing Knowledge and the Question of the Archive" (2015) and discuss it in relation to the observations of Frank and Meyer, the neo-institutional sociologists from Stanford, whose study only mentions the term 'postcolonial' in passing, although it does explore colonial traditions in the diffusion of the university.

Mbembe's intervention is a wide-ranging critique of South African universities in particular but some of his arguments can be extended more generally to what could be broadly called the neo-liberal university which sees in tertiary education a wealth-generator for the country both through the improvement in human capital and more brazenly as a way to generate cash by charging fees, especially for foreign students. The latter is a critique that applies to large sections of tertiary education across the globe, especially in the anglophone world. (It is also the financial model that has come to a screeching halt in the wake of the Corona crisis). I shall focus here on those parts of his argument that pertain more narrowly to "decolonizing the curriculum" and the colonial epistemological heritage.

Mbembe's critique is multi-faceted and refers principally to the way current curricula result from a fixation on European epistemologies, especially the Eurocentric canon:

> a canon that attributes truth only to the Western way of knowledge production…It is a canon that disregards other epistemic traditions…Western epistemic traditions are traditions that claim detachment of the known from the knower. They rest on a division between mind and world, or between reason and nature as an ontological a priori… The knowing subject is thus able, we are told, to know the world without being part of that world and he or she is by all accounts able to produce knowledge that is supposed to be universal and independent of context. (2015, 9)

The philosophical claims define a basically Cartesian ontology which still holds for those fields that define themselves as scientific in the sense of the natural sciences. The final point – Western epistemic traditions lay claim to universality – would probably find agreement with Frank and Meyer, with the added proviso: universal in as much as the knowledge is legitimated institutionally through the university.

Mbembe's argument moves through a discussion of 'Africanization' as 'decolonization', a historical phase of the early post-independence period, which was savagely critiqued by Frantz Fanon in *The Wretched of the Earth* (1962). For Fanon Africanization meant an ideology enabling the emerging African middle class to transfer wealth to themselves,

"masking what fundamentally was a "racketeering" or predatory project – what we call today "looting" (Mbembe, 11). It also leads to what Fanon calls "retrogression": when "the nation is passed over for the race, and the tribe is preferred to the state". This leads ultimately to xenophobia and racism among Africans: "In other words", Mbembe notes, "we topple Cecil Rhodes statue only to replace it with the statue of Hitler." (12) Mbembe follows Fanon's radical understanding of decolonization as a form of "self-ownership", i.e. a property of the individual subject that is a radical departure from the European, colonial heritage, "a politics of difference as opposed to a politics of imitation and repetition" (13). The ultimate goal of which is to free people "from the shock realization that the image through which they have emerged into visibility (race) is not their essence" (15).

He then shifts to a discussion of Ngugi wa Thiong'o's work (mainly *Decolonizing the Mind*, 1981 but see also Ngugi 2012) for whom Africanization means re-evaluating African languages as a vehicle of communication in more spheres than the everyday, especially for the arts and the stage. More broadly, Ngugi understands Africanization as a "re-centering" project, i.e. placing African culture and traditions as the main focus rather than seeing them as a derivative extension of European traditions. Decolonization for Fanon and Ngugi and by extension Mbembe means breaking out of these colonial predeterminations with the ultimate goal of creating "a new species of men" (sic!). Borrowing from Latin American critics of European epistemology such as Boaventura de Sousa or Enrique Dussel (and one could add Walter Mignolo), Mbembe evokes the notion of "pluriversity" in place of the university, "a process of knowledge production that is open to epistemic diversity" (19).

How can we, if at all, reconcile the "universalizing" nature of the isomorphic university with calls which, in most cases, prioritize the local and would seem to question fundamentally the "cosmological" foundations of the university as a place of unitary truth production and reproduction. If the university's truths are broadly universal (which does not mean that they are implicitly European or Western but only that they are agreed upon wherever the university is not constrained by state or religious interference), then that would seem to counteract moves towards a fundamental localization of knowledge production and dissemination.

One could argue with Frank and Meyer that the university is so successfully universal because it can absorb and sustain pluriversity not only on an organizational level (where it is obvious) but also epistemologically. The thinkers Mbembe cites all studied and most worked at universities and their ideas circulate there and beyond. Indeed, it is the very basic foundation of the university that a plurality of ideas is able to circulate (the Humboldtian freedom of teaching and research). Where this is curtailed institutionally – say by a repressive state – then the university is threatened at its very core. This why at the height of the Cold War – with the exception of the McCarthy era – both Marxists and Marxist ideas were able to circulate relatively freely throughout Western universities and have a significant impact on the humanities (some would say too much).[10] The question is more why certain ideas and ways of thinking have more purchase than others and how pluriversity can be better encouraged.

Perhaps the performing arts in particular have the potential to encourage and realize such pluriversal approaches. We have seen that in the Global South the older European models of the conservatory never really took root except in former settler colonies. Education in the arts has been located largely in the university because there has never been a justification for highly specialised conservatory-style training. The battleground, if we can use the term, will remain in the university. The university of the arts, itself an

outgrowth of conservatory-style training, successful as it has proven in the Global North, has never fully established itself in the Global South either.

There certainly exist examples of localized, alternative epistemologies being integrated into the university. Most if not all universities in New Zealand now host a traditional Maori *marae*, or meeting place, which is not just used for ceremonial purposes but is also a place of learning, a venue for conferences (the ceremonial *hui* is now used almost synonymously as a word for conference). This has no doubt been assisted by the fact that Maori language and culture are relatively unified, notwithstanding the importance of tribal affiliations. The first university-based *marae* was established at the University of Auckland in 1983 after considerable debate and controversy. It was followed by Victoria University in Wellington in 1986. Now most, if not all, New Zealand universities have integrated *marae* into their architecture and systems of teaching and research.

Figure 8. Fale Pasifika on the Auckland University campus. In the background are the offices of the Department of Pacific Studies and the sculpture Toa Pasifika by Samoan sculptor, Fale Feu'u. (Photo: Christopher Balme).

The most recent addition is the Fale Pasifika (Figure 8) at Auckland University (2004) which is particularly relevant to the topic of decolonizing the curriculum because it demonstrates that the model established by the earlier struggles to establish Maori *marae* on university campuses can be extended to other cultural groups as well. Auckland is the largest Polynesian city in the world and hosts communities from all over the Pacific. Just as the Auckland Maori *marae* was not based around a particular tribal group as is normally the case for *marae*, but aimed at all Maori, so too was the Fale Pasifika designed in a pan-

pacific or pan-polynesian mode. Although recognizably Samoan in shape, it integrates elements from other islands as well. Perhaps most importantly it is embedded in a teaching and research environment, typical of the university. It is used as a performance and exhibition space, among many other functions. Both the *fale* and the *marae* are quintessential performance arenas, spaces of ritual encounter. [11] They are used intensively for the performing arts as well as a broad range of teaching and research activities.

The importance of an alternative epistemology in the area of theatre training can be seen in the way the New Zealand Drama School (Figure 9) was quite radically refashioned in the early 1990s to absorb and accommodate Maori performance culture. It is now better known by its Maori name, Toi Whakaari, and the curriculum is heavily influenced by Maori customs and protocol. [12] The refashioning of this national conservatory as a bicultural training institution demonstrates how theatre training can be successfully decolonized. Although somewhat controversial at the time, it is now accepted practice.

Figure 9. Atrium of Te Whaea, the National Dance and Drama centre which houses both Toi Whakaari and the New Zealand School of Dance. Toi Whakaari: NZ Drama School, Te Whaea, Wellington, New Zealand. (Photo credit: Philip Merry).

Conclusion

If alternative, potentially decolonized, epistemologies can take root anywhere it will be in the area of the arts, especially the performing arts. Following the argument of this essay, we can state that the arts have always been on the margins of the university, the most marginal of the "kin institutions at the margins of the university". The reasons for this marginalization have been enumerated above: the adherence of the arts to an alternative “belief system” that is only partially compatible with the dominant institutional framework of the university. This marginality harbours a strange paradox. As we have seen, the

provision of arts education worldwide proliferated more than other disciplines over the past century, 200-fold in fact. The arts struggle more than other disciplines to find their place within the university with models ranging from non-university conservatories to fully developed, autonomous (and usually highly selective) Universities of the Arts. For the Global South, the university proper has provided the most reliable haven where the unique combination of teaching, research and artistic practice has provided the arts, perhaps, with a greater degree of freedom to experiment with alternatives that the traditional disciplines do not have. The challenge is to balance the isomorphic tendencies of the globalizing university with innovations of a local nature that can potentially regenerate and be fed back into the pluriversal university.

Endnotes

[1] Research for this paper was conducted with funding received from the European Research Council (ERC) under the European Union's Horizon 2020 research and innovation programme (grant agreement No. 694559 — Developing Theatre).

[2] The QS World University Rankings listed in 2020 693 universities offering 'performing arts' as a subject: https://www.topuniversities.com/universities/subject/performing-arts. The same isomorphic processes can also lead to the disappearance of disciplines. For example, QS no longer lists 'cultural studies' as a subject of study, a discipline that expanded in the 1980s and 1990s.

[3] The economic historian Douglas North explains this distinction between institutions and organisations famously as the rules of the game (the former) versus the players (the latter): "Institutions are the rules of the game in a society or, more formally, are the humanly devised constraints that shape human interaction", while organisations "are groups of individuals bound by some common purpose to achieve objectives." (North 1990, pp. 3 and 5).

[4] Most recent discussion of the university has focused on the adoption of the neoliberal model around the world with its supposed potential to generate economic growth by collecting substantial fees, especially from foreign students, thus becoming part of a globalized economy. For Frank and Meyer even the neoliberal university is still just an organizational variation with many subforms of the still largely isomorphic institutional model.

[5] https://www.gitis.net/en/about/. Emphasis added.

[6] The extremely small 'master classes' at academies of fine arts and one-on-one tuition at music conservatories retain aspects of the master-apprentice model.

[7] See, for example, the Russell Group, established in 1994, a lobby organization consisting of currently 24 UK universities that define themselves as "world-class" and "research-intensive".

[8] This is manifest in various research excellence initiatives that emerged in the 2000s with considerable and predictable isomorphic dynamics and interchangeable acronyms: the REF in the UK, the Excellence Initiative in Germany, ERA in Australia, the Canada First Research Excellence Fund etc. While the names and organizational forms vary considerably (sometimes even in the same country) the overall aim of diverting additional research funds to leading players in a competitive system is the same. While the aim appears to be to differentiate on the national level (universities are not all the same), internationally isomorphism reappears as countries copy and vary the same idea.

[9] Some departments of theatre studies in Germany still do not have stages or any kind of performance spaces.

[10] An exception is the US during the period of McCarthyism where universities, especially state universities, were targeted. See Schrecker (1988). In Germany, the *Radikalenerlass* (a law passed at the height of RAF terrorism campaign) meant that you could give a seminar on Marxism without repercussions but membership in the German Communist Party (DKP) might cost you your job or future state employment.

[11] For a whole series of 'rituals of encounter', see https://www.auckland.ac.nz/en/on-campus/life-on-campus/pacific-life/the-ritual-of-encounters.html.

[12] See, for example: "Toi Whakaari's teaching and learning model (…) draws on mātauranga Māori and tikanga marae frameworks." This can be translated as Maori knowledge and marae custom and protocols: https://www.toiwhakaari.ac.nz/academic-policy.

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Gideon I. Morison

Undercurrents of Anglo-American Collaboration: Funding, Training and Cold War Influences on the Theatre Studies Curriculum of Selected Nigerian Universities[1]

Abstract

The Cold War played a crucial but often underestimated role in educational developments across the Third World. In these territories, the drama of decolonisation was often negotiated, scripted, and enacted through a range of initiatives championed by returning students whose activism in politics and academia converged with resistance movements of locally based actors to spur nationalist consciousness, which ultimately led to the triumph of independence across Africa in the 1960s.

This paper shall argue that Cold War politics allied with nationalist fervour to engender a deregulation of colonial higher education policies in West Africa, especially in Nigeria. The campaign for access to mass (university) education, the establishment of the University College of Ibadan (UCI) and later its School of Drama, opposition to its British elitist education heritage and the fear of communist infiltration were just some of the things that prompted Anglo-American collaborations in the Nigerian educational system, especially at the tertiary level, via funding, training, and support from institutions such as the Carnegie Corporation and the Rockefeller and Ford Foundations. By examining the curriculum of theatre studies in selected universities in the country, this paper shall advance that not only did sponsorship, funding, and training influence the trajectory of theatre practice and scholarship, but the legacy of colonialism and circulation of experts also played a crucial role in the battle for the future of the practice that manifested not only at Ibadan and Calabar but across theatre departments in most first and second generation institutions in the country.

Keywords

Funding, Training, Cold War, Theatre Studies, Curriculum, University

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Introduction

Of the many remarkable features of the Cold War, the most pertinent, especially as regards discourse on the Third World and Africa in particular, is that it coincided with and played a crucial role in decolonisation. As has been variously established, decolonisation in Africa took diverse forms and yielded different outcomes – from the largely peaceful transition to independence to a violent, bloody affair in various notable theatres around the continent.[2] The underlying, even unifying, element in the formation and activism of liberation movements across the continent was the heightened consciousness and experience of individuals exposed to western (university) education either in the colonies or in the metropolises of colonial empires. Although several organisations and movements interlinked under the umbrella of Pan-Africanism were instrumental in raising concerns and awareness about the exploitative tendencies of colonial governance on the continent and elsewhere, the end of World War II marked the beginnings of a new era in the struggle against colonisation and its inherent racialism. Not only was the tone and tenor of the struggle altered permanently from the rhetoric of gradualism to that of pragmatism, the formation of liberation movements across the continent made it such that mobilisation towards the end of colonial domination became inescapable. Central to these changes was the return of African students from across the mainly Euro-American metropolises who drew on their experience of racism, protest organisation and mobilisation, aligning with locally based elite actors to engineer multiple waves of mass protests and uprisings against colonial (mis)rule.

Even though the United States and the Soviet Union (later Russia) were not directly linked to the scramble for territories/colonies in Africa, the emerging dynamics of the Cold War, which were characterised by mutual suspicion and antagonism after 1945, meant that the struggle for liberation across Africa and much of the Third World became intertwined with the Cold War strategies of these competing forces as collaborations and strategic partnerships emerged. Nowhere were these collaborations and strategic partnerships more visible than in the educational sector, especially in the formation of the university system in these territories. In West Africa, for instance, the establishment and funding of universities and selected programmes provided fertile ground for Anglo-American collaborations as well as the consolidation of this influence, while the clamour against the elitist management of these institutions coincided with demands for access to mass

university education to accentuate nationalistic fervour and anti-colonial initiatives that culminated in the triumph of decolonisation on the continent in the 1960s.[3]

As communities for the production and propagation of universal knowledge, universities became sites where diverse knowledge forms and development models competed for recognition, supremacy, and adoption. In addition, they also provided a platform for awareness and experimentation with radical ideas while also serving as a veritable breeding ground for emergent national icons, social activists, political dissidents and radical revolutionaries. It is within the ambience of these convergent forces that the central assumption of this paper is located. This paper argues that not only did the vortex of Cold War politics comingle with nationalistic demands to spur a deregulation of British higher education policies in West Africa, especially in Nigeria, but also, given that it took intensive campaigning by nationalists for access to (mass) university education for the establishment of the University College of Ibadan (UCI), opposition to its British elitist education heritage and the fear of communist infiltration were just two of the factors that prompted Anglo-American collaborations in the Nigerian educational (university) system via funding, training, and support from institutions such as the Carnegie Corporation and the Rockefeller, and Ford Foundations. The construction of this collaboration along with the loopholes of hidden agendas and urgency of independence resulted in a plethora of missed opportunities in the planning of the higher education sector and, most especially, in the field of theatre studies as the exclusively western curriculum hindered effective collaboration and experimentation with theatrical idioms emanating from the East. To specifically situate this argument, the paper shall attempt an examination of the curriculum of theatre studies in selected universities in the country in order to show that not only did sponsorship, funding, and training influence the trajectory of theatre practice and scholarship, but also the legacy of colonialism and circulation of experts played a crucial role in the battle for the future of the practice that manifested not only at Ibadan and Calabar but across theatre departments in most first and second generation institutions in the country. However, before delving into this topic, I will first present a summative appraisal of the connections between the Cold War, nationalism, and education reforms in colonial Nigeria as well as a brief historicization of the establishment of the University College Ibadan and the network of funding that enabled the formation of its School of Drama in the 1960s.

Nationalism, Cold War, and the Politics of Educational Reforms in Nigeria

The narrative of nationalism in Nigeria is long and often fraught with conspicuous regional interpretations. The overwhelming evidence of this discourse tends to coalesce around the assumption that cites Southern Nigeria as the "birthplace of Nigerian nationalism".[4] This claim evinces that not only was the emergence of nationalism in the south an accidental episode emanating from the vagaries of contacts with foreigners and colonialism, but also its rise and growth was solely through (western) education since the idea of nationhood

and nation was introduced from the 'outside' by returning slaves and intellectuals.[5] The roots of this claim are somewhat strengthened by the fact that southern Nigeria was one of the earliest landing places of European, mainly Portuguese explorers/traders, serving as an important base from which the growing network of European commercial interests expanded into the hinterlands.

Whilst it is common knowledge that, before the creation of what is now referred to as modern Nigeria, the territory was comprised of distinct but loosely organised kingdoms, ethnic and cultural groupings[6], the enthronement of British colonialism by means of trade and Christian missionary activities brought the territory into the commonwealth of the British Empire as an appendage to its expanding commercial and political interests in the 1900s. With the amalgamation of the Northern and Southern Protectorates into the colony of Nigeria in 1914 under the administration of Frederick Lugard, the seed for the protracted history of British influence over the emergent nation was sown. However, the actual governance structure of the colony, which was based on indirect rule, drew criticism and resistance from the natives and gradually fuelled the embers of nationalism that culminated in the country's independence in 1960.[7]

Politically, the colonial administration ran what has been described as a strong central government to enable it to unite the diverse ethnic and often opposing cultural elements of the country, with the territory divided into provinces and the provinces further sub-divided into districts that were administered by a British officer. The economic policy operated by the colonial administration was largely laissez-faire with undue advantages granted to foreign firms over local enterprises. As a result of this and the fact the colonial administration did not establish any prominent industry in the country, there was a growing suspicion among nationalist elements that the British might not after all want Nigeria to become an industrial country, but instead to "serve as an oversea market for their manufactured goods".[8] Interestingly, what proved to be the most controversial of the policies of the colonial government in Nigeria was the inconsistencies in its educational policy. While the Northern region was shielded from western influence and largely allowed to run its Quranic[9] schools with little interference from the colonial government, Christian missions were given free rein in relation to education in the south, with the government content to provide grants to missions and carry out inspections. In fact, the earliest wave of nationalism manifested due to a combination of factors including the activism of the native church movement or "Ethiopianism", resistance to colonial taxation, criticism from a largely free and independent press and strong opposition to land tenure, but most importantly, it was a reaction to the curriculum of Christian mission schools.[10] The type of Christian education provided at the time was mainly literary and religious and aimed at keeping the natives under western control, with elementary school the highest level of schooling available, since higher education did not feature in the purview of the church and very few African clergy were allowed access to college education. As such, the nationalists considered this type of education "poor, inadequate and inferior" and sought ways to address this using a variety of means, some constitutional, but mostly by means of civil disobedience, especially protests and riots. Although resistance to British colonialism was tempered or temporarily suspended during the war years, it re-emerged and gathered momentum in the inter-war period with the emergence of pressure groups, student unions, and political parties. The most prominent pressure groups and movements, student unions, and political parties that emerged during this time included the National Congress

of British West Africa (NCBWA) founded and led by Joseph Ephraim Caseley Hayford and Dr. R. A. Savage; the Nigerian National Democratic Party (NNDP) founded in 1922 by Herbert Macaulay; the West African Student Union (WASU) founded in 1925 by Ladipo Solanke; and the Nigerian Youth Movement (NYM) founded in the 1930s by a group of nationalists including Ernest Ikoli, J. C. Vaughan, Oba Samuel Akinsanya and H. O. Davis. Other pressure groups included tribal unions such as the Ibibio Welfare Union (later Ibibio State Union), Ibo Union, Egbe Omo Oduduwa, Mutena Arewa, and the Calabar Improvement League. Led by emerging elites who had studied in the metropolises and had been exposed to ideas from the Pan-African Congress movement under the leadership of William Edward Burkhardt DuBois (1836-1956), they lobbied and/or protested for better living standards and governance in the colonies.[11]

One of the groups that emerged during this period and played a crucial role in the burgeoning nationalist movement not only in Nigeria but also across West Africa, especially in relation to educational development and reforms, was the West African Students' Union (WASU). Philip Garigue has shown that, despite the challenging circumstances that surrounded its formative years, WASU, while drawing on a network of collaborations and alliances from existing African student bodies in England at the time, grew to become one of the most influential and vocal in advocating changes in the governance and administration of African colonies.[12] What set WASU apart, according to Garigue, was its ability to attract membership from "a special group of West Africans who were more sensitive than the average to racial discrimination and colonial status, and who came together to protest against them".[13] WASU's activism did not just begin and end in Britain; it founded a network of chapters across various important cities in British West Africa, including Accra, Cape Coast, Elmina, Sekondi, Nsawam, Freetown, Bo, Lagos, Kano, Jos, Ibadan, Enugu, Ile-Ife, Zaria, Abeokuta, Ago-Iwoye and Ijebu. These chapters, frequently led by ex-members, returning students or prominent educated elites, served not only as platforms for networking or channels for self-expression through organised educational and advocacy programmes, but also became conduits from which funds were generated and funnelled to support WASU hostels in England, while also promoting nationalistic agendas and providing leadership to emergent political movements across these territories. In Nigeria, for instance, this served as the foundations for the most sustained and effective wave of nationalism that, in alliance with Cold War politics, prompted collaborations and engendered higher education reforms from the 1950s onwards.

Although direct governmental intervention in education began in 1887 with the first Nigerian Education Ordinance, moves toward the establishment and regularization of higher education in the country were not formalised until the 1930s.[14] Following the realization by colonial officials that there was a severe lack of African manpower in its services, the first seed towards the establishment of some form of higher education for the training of colonial subjects for service in the colonial administration was sown in 1932 when a 'higher college' with the aim of providing post-secondary training and education to Nigerians was proposed. The Yaba Higher College eventually became a reality in 1934. The plan was for it to begin as a "Higher College" but be built up gradually over time to attain the standards of a British University.[15] However, the institution faced extensive criticism from nationalist movements which labelled it "inferior" since graduates from the college could only qualify for entry and lower-level jobs in the colonial government service and the

degrees awarded by the institution were valid only in Nigeria.[16] Given that (higher) education was held in such high regard that it was considered the "key to the white man's magic" and, thus, central not only to personal success, the nationalists envisioned the rate of educational growth as synonymous with the attainment of their goals – full participation in government, self-governance as well as rapid development and modernisation of the country.[17] Whereas colonial officials linked training in higher education to the practical needs of the society and thus sought to control what they considered the rapid growth of nationalist sentiment in the country, the nationalists for their part viewed the localized and gradualist educational approach of the colonial government as a deliberate attempt to hamper the agenda of national progress. Furthermore, by demanding full-fledged universities offering standardized, professional, and competitive higher education with universally recognized degrees, the nationalists demonstrated an unwillingness to compromise that resulted in the constitution of the Walter Elliot Commission on Higher Education in West Africa in 1943 to study and submit an extensive "report on the organisation and facilities in the existing centres of Higher education in British West Africa, and to make recommendations regarding development in that area".[18] The formation of the commission marked an important milestone in response to the outpouring of nationalist agitation for reforms in the colonial educational system, while also signalling a major change of attitude from the colonial administration.

Of the myriad factors suggested to have prompted this change in attitude from Britain, the threat of communist infiltration and the need to securely weld the country to western influence as the Cold War emerged has been highlighted as the most paramount.[19] This threat became glaring after 1945 when the Soviet Union made substantial in-roads into Africa and Nigeria specifically via a range of initiatives that included not only scholarship offers, technical training and education but also active support and sponsorship of trade unions, student movements and the widespread decolonization agenda of nationalist movements across the Third World.[20] As the clamour for university became a rallying cry for nationalists, the proliferation of these movements and their increasing alignment with a burgeoning community of communists prompted a multi-levelled response from the colonial government, which included an anti-communist crackdown and Anglo-American collaborations towards educational reforms across British West Africa.[21] According to Anyanwu, the Second World War and Cold War politics played a crucial role in shaping Britain's higher education policies, resulting in the establishment of the Elliot and Asquith commissions in 1943 to "examine the university question for Africa".[22] Although the Elliot and Asquith commissions were both set up and submitted their reports in the same years (in 1943 and 1945 respectively), their focus, composition, and outcomes were markedly different. Historians such as Stephen Ashton and Sarah Stockwell have shown that the Elliot Commission was planned as a direct response to the Yaba College controversy, whereas the Asquith Commission was a relatively late addition created to examine the wider (empire) contexts of the West African situation. Furthermore, while the term of reference for the Elliot Commission was limited and specifically directed at assessing the prospects and facilities for university education in West Africa and making corresponding recommendations, that of the Asquith Commission was to focus on evaluating and formulating primary guidelines for teaching and research in higher education as well as the development of university colleges across all the colonies in the British Empire.[23]

Timothy Livsey's in-depth examination of the formation and work of the Elliot Commission has shown it was comprised of members drawn from across the spectrum of politics, civil service and academia, and also composed of African representatives from the colonies. Pursuant to its mandate, the Elliot Commission undertook a three-month tour of West Africa, held public meetings and collated petitions that helped guide the final report published in June 1945.[24] Scholars have noted that the commission was marred by internal wrangling, as seen in the dichotomy of reports submitted – the so-called majority and minority reports.[25] The majority report or 'trinitarian' camp, which drew support from J.R. Dickinson, James Duff, Walter Elliot, K.A. Korsah, Eveline Martin, Mouat Jones, Israel Ransome-Kuti, H.E. Taylor-Cummings and A.E. Truman, recommended the establishment of three universities based on the existing colleges in Nigeria, the Gold Coast and Sierra Leone. The minority report, on the other hand, which was supported by the 'unitary' camp comprising Creech Jones, Julian Huxley, Margaret Read, Geoffrey Evans and H.J. Channon, advocated the establishment of a single university college for the region in Ibadan in Nigeria. Beyond the split, the commission recognized and agreed with the fundamental argument of nationalists that the quality of higher education in the colonies should be equivalent and comparable to British standards.[26] Although the Colonial Office initially adopted the minority report for implementation, a mixture of both reports was eventually implemented after protests from the Gold Coast and Sierra Leone. This led to the emergence of University College Ibadan, the University of Gold Coast, Legon as well as a significant upgrade of the Fourah Bay College in Sierra Leone.

The establishment of the University College Ibadan (UCI) in 1948, following the broad guidelines of the Asquith Commission and the specific recommendations of the Elliot Commission, was initially heralded as the fulfilment and culmination of nationalist agitation for higher education in the country. Nationalist projections were that the university would provide gold standard education as obtainable elsewhere in the British Empire, ensure ease of access to high-quality university education for the masses and that the contents of its curriculum would contribute to rapid modernisation and socio-economic development. However, in the years that followed, it gradually became apparent that UCI would not meet these nationalist aspirations as it struggled to cope with the enormous demand for higher education and the human resource needs of the country. Various challenges that contributed to UCI's failure in this regard include a lack of facilities, a narrow and unsuitable curriculum, and strict entrance requirements.[27] These challenges were largely subsumed in the university's founding philosophy and attracted renewed criticism from nationalists and campaigns for the expansion of access to the college. Expanded from the goal of creating 'useful' natives to training a 'well-educated class of African leaders', the mandate of UCI was to serve as one of the centres through which this goal would be achieved. For critics of the policy, such as Obafemi Awolowo and most specifically Nnamdi Azikiwe and his team of American-educated activist including Eyo Ita, Nwafor Orizu, and Mbonu Ojike, the form and direction of training was not only exclusionary in nature but also insufficient in terms of meeting the future development needs of the country.[28] The renewed campaign for mass university education and the unfolding Cold War situation provided the perfect opportunity for American intervention and extension of influence into Nigeria's higher education system. This came via American philanthropy led primarily by the Carnegie Corporation, whose goal of containing the

spread of communist ideas in Africa allied with on-going British efforts to suppress the threat of communism in Nigeria.

America's grand intervention in Africa, as exemplified in Carnegie's efforts at mediation in the university reform stand-off between the nationalists and the British colonial government, was considered strategic in the sense that, while, on the one hand, helping to forestall potential Soviet influence on the continent, it could, on the other hand, provide the opportunity to subtly challenge Britain's power base in Africa by offering "an alternative, more inclusive higher education system".[29] Along with the Rockefeller and Ford Foundations and other organisations engaged in the promotion and propagation of American values and interests internationally during this time, the Carnegie Corporation viewed the funding of education programmes through the prism of Cold War competition where the transfer of knowledge and skills imbued with the values, modus operandi, and institutions of the American/West would help secure not only robust socio-political and economic development in these territories, but would also bind them more securely to western influence.

In *The Politics of Access: University of Education and Nation-Building in Nigeria, 1948-2000*, Anyanwu has charted the depth of diplomatic networking and political manoeuvrings that helped secure British agreement and collaboration in the reform of British educational policy in Nigeria in the late 1950s. For instance, with the decision to intervene in Africa's educational development taken by the Carnegie Corporation officials on 11th May 1954 and the choice of Nigeria as a preferred destination of study, Alan Pifer began the somewhat onerous job of lobbying the British colonial establishment into accepting the corporation's proposal for reform by organising various conferences and meetings related to education in Africa, including the informal conference held between 16th and 18th June 1955 at the University College of West Indies, Jamaica to "re-evaluate the principle of elitism endorsed by the Asquith Commission".[30] It was at this conference that Pifer first pitched Carnegie's reform agenda, offering America's 'mass' university education as a possible model for British colonies in Africa. Even though this proposal was initially rebuffed, Pifer's continued push for Anglo-American collaboration in this area, Nigeria's looming independence, and Carnegie Corporation's readiness to finance the study on Nigeria's educational needs resulted in British acquiescence in 1958. Berman has noted that the primary reason for this acquiescence was the "ideological compatibility between the colonial office and the Carnegie Corporation and the necessity for joint Anglo-American cooperation in the face of the threat engendered by the Cold War."[31]

Consequently, the Greenbrier Conference held between 21st and 25th May 1958 at White Springs, West Virginia with participants drawn from universities, foundations, businesses, and government agencies across the UK and US was organised and sponsored by the corporation to devise programmes of common interests for African states with "political and economic viability, and friendship, or dependency on, the West".[32] As noted variously by Berman, Anyanwu and Adamu, the Greenbrier Conference provided the impetus for the establishment of the Commission on Post-Secondary and Higher Education in Nigeria that became widely known as the Ashby Commission. Composed of three Britons, three Nigerians, and three Americans and with a grant of $100,000 from the Carnegie Corporation, the commission commenced work on 4th May 1959. The activities of the commission included extensive research, meetings, and regional field trips, with the

specific mandate to conduct an "investigation into Nigeria's needs in the field of post-secondary and higher education over the next twenty years, and in the light of the commission's findings make recommendations as to how these needs can be met".[33]

The Ashby Commission is considered a watershed in the history of higher education reforms in Nigeria, not only because it provided an opportunity for the re-examination of the guiding philosophy of British higher education policies in Nigeria, helping to streamline the educational sector towards socio-economic and political relevance, but also because it provided the basis for national harmonization by way of a blueprint for the country's post-independence educational agenda. Nevertheless, analysis of the background of the Ashby Commission shows the subtleties of Cold War politics that established the Anglo-American influence in Nigeria's higher educational system that continues to this day. As Berman states:

Nigerians were led to believe that the study had really been their idea all along, when in reality the entire scheme was planned in conversations between Carnegie representatives and individuals from the Inter-University Council and the colonial office and presented to the Nigerians as a fait accompli, to accept or reject.[34]

Furthermore, Carnegie's sponsorship of the commission's work ensured that it not only exerted influence over or, rather, shaped the recommendations of the Ashby Commission, but it also bought a permanent place for American concepts in Nigerian (African) education, while also providing a model for educational planning in which American influence and involvement became "almost obligatory".[35]

The Circulation of Theatre Experts in Nigeria: UCI and the School of Drama

As mentioned above, the establishment of the University College Ibadan (UCI) in 1948 was an outcome of the conflict between sustained nationalist agitation and the colonial government, mediated by the Walter Elliot Commission on Higher Education in West Africa. UCI was officially opened in January 1948 with Kenneth Mellanby emerging as its first principal. Unlike Yaba Higher College, the university was affiliated via a 'special relationship' with the University of London. This relationship meant that the university college endured a strict process of vetting on staffing, courses, curriculum, and examinations from London in order to merit the 'gold standard' degrees, equivalent to those obtainable in Britain, issued for its programmes. However, the challenge of maintaining this standard and the lack of facilities affected access to the college, with enrolment remaining limited even in the face of overwhelming demand for university education in the country, prompting a mixture of criticism, resentment, and activism for its expansion from leading nationalists. Thus, as the number of Nigerians studying abroad increased, the fervour of the campaign for reforms to ensure access to the college intensified, ultimately not only resulting in Carnegie Corporation's intervention but also creating a pattern that was adopted by other major American philanthropic foundations, especially Rockefeller, in their funding of educational projects in the country.[36]

In her archival study of the Rockefeller Foundation, Nic Leonhardt observed that there had been a "connection between philanthropic enterprise, theatre, and development since the end of the second World War" and that this connection yielded a 'fruitful relationship' that sometimes had 'profound effects on the theatre practice and history of those years'.[37] It is also established that the scope of the foundation's interest in drama and theatre from the 1930s to 1960s was not only rich and vast, but that its heterogeneity also meant that support or sponsorship for different individuals, theatre practitioners, academics, and authors on study trips and such projects within the US and overseas were contingent on support from institutions such as schools, departments, and colleges.[38] It is therefore not surprising that it was during this period that the foundation provided a grant for the establishment of the School of Drama at the University College Ibadan.

Furthermore, in the article "Building Theatrical Epistemic Communities in the Global South: Expert Network, Philanthropy and Theatre Studies in Nigeria, 1959-1962", theatre historian Christopher Balme has mapped out not only how the contributions of the Rockefeller Foundation resulted in the establishment and growth of modern theatre studies in Nigeria, but also the transnational network that linked cultural and educational institutions as well as elite scholar-artists from the Third World to American Philanthropic funding.[39] Given that the Rockefeller's grant of $200,000 played a pivotal role in the formation of the School of Drama under the tutelage of Geoffrey Axworthy and Martin Banham, the UCI and indeed Ibadan occupied an enviable position by serving as a central hub for the production and circulation of artistic, cultural, and intellectual experts in various disciplines, particularly in theatre practice across the country, as the 'massification' of higher education began after independence in the 1960s. It could be argued that the model of Anglo-American collaboration that enabled the formation of the Ashby Commission also played a role in the establishment of the School of Drama at the University College Ibadan. American philanthropic funding backed leading British scholars or experts in employing like-minded local actors to join them in establishing an organisation or institution amenable to the propagation and perpetuation of Western ideological influence over a territory of interest. As can be seen in the training and access to funding provided to these experts for their careers and artistic projects, the goal was not only to prevent access to and the entrenchment of communist ideology in the institution and to bind these artist-scholars to the tail-coats of western ideological orbit, but also to project them as icons and ambassadors of this ideology in order to consolidate and disseminate this influence via teaching, artistic productions, and research.

A closer look at the staff associated with the School of Drama during this period, either as foundational scholars, fellows or later recruits, such as Joel Adedeji, Wole Soyinka, Demas Nwoko, Ebun Clark, Dapo Adelugba, Dexter Lyndersay, Bill Brown, Peggy Harper, Martin Banham, Geoffrey Axworthy, Kola Ogunmola, Funtayo Sowunmi, Betty Okotie, Bayo Oduneye, Yinka Adedeji, Uriel Paul Worika, Tunji Oyelana, Bode Sowande, and later Zulu Sofola, reveals a strong western influence.[40] Often, the itinerant career of these artist-scholars and the students they tutored ensured that this influence was successfully distributed across the locations where they subsequently worked as permanent, visiting, examining or research scholars or administrative or artistic personnel. In fact, a survey of the career of scholar-artists such as Wole Soyinka, Dapo Adelugba, Demas Nwoko, Peggy Harper, and even Dexter Lyndersay, would reveal that they have held numerous academic, research and administrative positions in various universities across Nigeria, and an

appraisal of their map of influence within the boundaries of theatre practice would reveal a network that extends beyond the shores of Africa. A brief overview of Wole Soyinka's career (in Nigeria), for instance, reads thus: Rockefeller Research Fellow in Drama, University of Ibadan, 1961-62; Lecturer in English, University of Ife, Ile-Ife, 1963-64; Senior Lecturer in English, University of Lagos, 1965-67; Head of the Department of Theatre Arts, University of Ibadan, 1969-72 (appointment made in 1967); Professor of Comparative Literature and Head of the Department of Dramatic Arts, University of Ife, 1975-85; Founding Director, 1960 Masks Theatre, 1960, Orisun Theatre, 1964, and University of Ife Guerrilla Theatre, Ile-Ife, 1978 amongst others.[41] Hence, it is safe to say that as the first theatre studies department in Nigeria, the School of Drama at UCI laid the foundations and shaped the direction for theatre practice in the country in many ways, not least in terms of the curriculum and the circulation of theatre experts to theatre departments that emerged subsequently.

A Dichotomy of Direction: Undercurrents of Anglo-American Influence in Nigerian Theatre Education and Practice

As Balme rightly notes, the brand of theatre practice adopted in the School of Drama at UCI incorporated both the conservatory and academy approaches – a western modernist theatre tradition as practiced in both America and Britain.[42] As expected, the overly western curriculum, while ignoring certain aspects of knowledge identifiable with the Soviet/Eastern bloc, emphasized the teaching of classical histories, close reading and interpretation of modern theorists, practitioners and texts, the staging of performances drawn from the theatrical milieu of western canons, and the adaptation, re-writing, re-interpretation and re-calibration of traditional performances into this mould of cultural production.[43] The range of courses on offer during this time covered a broad spectrum of western theatre pedagogies, including acting and movement, speech, voice and oral interpretation, mime, dramatic criticism, history of classical theatre, directing, playwriting and technical theatre, make-up, stage management, design, costume, publicity and business management, script interpretation and dance, with little or no courses adapted from the African performance idiom.[44] These were further expanded to include courses on radio, television and film production with experimentations aimed at incorporating African performance elements into the curriculum. Interestingly, these transmutations seemed to have occurred with the upgrade of the school's programme within the university system from a mere Diploma course in 1962/63 to a Bachelor of Arts degree (Single Honours) programme by 1969 and later a standard Department of the Theatre Arts with a functional theatre space in the 1970s.

Given that more universities were established post-independence in line with the 'massification' agenda, the success of the School of Drama and its position as the premiere university made its curriculum and theatre traditions the model for almost all subsequent theatre studies departments in the Nigerian universities that emerged after 1960.[45] In addition, the fact that scholars and graduates from Ibadan were almost always appointed to lead the emerging theatre studies departments as either pioneer staff, visiting scholars or examiners contributed to the wholesale adoption of the Ibadan example. This has

translated into the inheritance and replication of similar mistakes and challenges in other institutions. For instance, at the establishment of a theatre studies department in the University of Calabar in the 1970s, the bulk of its staff were Ibadan experts and graduates led by Dexter and Dani Lyndersay, Frank Speed, Kalu Uka, Edde Iji and Molinta Enendu. Not only was the overtly Anglo-American influenced theatre curriculum adopted with an almost identical set of courses, the experimental approach that fused a general educational orientation in the discipline with the acquisition of basic theatrical skills and the attempts to concomitantly run a fully professional performance company was also appropriated. As such, a gradual injection of African performative milieu via curriculum adjustments resulted in various complications that limited the effective management of these programmes due to the explosion of demand in the field and the lack of available facilities. Frequently, attempts at curriculum adjustments tend to result in what could be described as the dichotomy of direction i.e. the choice of whether to adopt a more theoretical research approach or a practical model of theatre training. Since most departments are delicately poised between these practice models, an attempt to make changes often leads to disagreements and clashes, stoking tensions and personal rivalries between faculties. As is often the case, this standoff usually results in other staff identifying with either side of the opposing camps depending on not only the individual model of training, but also the measure of influence the leading antagonists exert. These tensions have become a recurring theme in many theatre departments in first, second and even third generation universities.

Obviously, the consequences of the entrenchment of Anglo-American influence are manifest in what could described as 'missed opportunities' in planning and moulding an independently robust higher educational system that researches, experiments and assimilates available knowledge idioms on its value from the on-set. From a theatrical perspective, a major consequence of the over-reliance on western theatre pedagogy and canon is that very little of the whole gamut of knowledge on theatrical practices and traditions from the Eastern bloc was available for assimilation and experimentation within the theatre space in Nigeria. One cannot but imagine what an intellectual minefield the practice of theatre would have become had a genuinely non-aligned mind-set of practice and engagement with knowledge idioms from the rich performative heritage of the East filtered through in the same frequency as western elements especially at the curricular level. The intermingling of these diverse theatrical idioms with the varied African performance culture would certainly have helped develop a more enriching legacy within the theatre space in the country. Granted, Soviet and Eastern bloc plays are increasingly being experimented on across the various educational theatres in the country; however, the overwhelming majority of these plays are those considered acceptable within the narrow confines of 'western' canons and only one optional course (Oriental Theatre) currently examines the trajectory of Russian, Chinese, Indian, Japanese and Korean performance spaces. Not even the current explosion of committed theatre activism can sufficiently assuage the sense of 'lost opportunity' that this lacuna represents and as the calls to decolonize the curriculum deepen, coupled with the emergence and expansion of more practice-oriented courses in film, television, artificial intelligence (AI) and digital humanities, the process of curriculum adjustment that has always been a source of conflict, generating directional dilemmas in many theatre studies department in the country may well become more divisive and controversial.

On the whole, funding and training played a crucial role in the triumph of Anglo-American collaboration over Soviet/Eastern bloc influences, especially in the formative years of theatre studies programmes in Nigeria. Not only did they enable communist ideas to be shut out of the Nigerian higher education system during the Cold War, they also created a subtle platform that, even though based on a broad western ideological foundation, has created avenues for tension, intellectual disruption, and rivalries between the constitutive elements that determine the theatre studies curriculum in the country. The frequent competition between scholar-artists and the mobilization of their training and networking power as weapons in the battle for control over the direction of the discipline, as well as manifestations of vested interest tend to stifle innovative practice while also limiting the pace of adapting and/or adopting new pedagogies into the teaching and learning processes of theatre programmes across many Nigerian universities.

Endnotes

[1] The research for this paper received funding from the European Research Council (ERC) under the European Union's Horizon 2020 Research and Innovation Programme (Grant Agreement No. 694559 – Developing Theatre).

[2] In countries such as Ghana, Nigeria etc. the processes that led to the transfer of power from colonialists to nationalists and eventual independence were a relatively peaceful exercise, whereas other countries such as Algeria, Kenya, Zimbabwe, Mozambique, Angola, Guinea-Bissau, Namibia and South Africa had to fight rebellious and often bloody revolutionary wars in order to gain their independence. See: Timothy Stapleton, *Africa: War and Conflict in the Twentieth Century*. (London: Routledge, 2018), 65; David Birmingham, *The Decolonization of Africa*. (London: University College of London, 1995); Anthony Clayton, *The French Wars of Decolonization*. (London: Longman, 1994); Toyin Falola, ed., *Africa 4: The End of Colonial Rule: Nationalism and Decolonization*. (Durham, NC: Carolina Academic Press, 2002).

[3] As predicted by a variety of critical and political sources, 1960 was indeed the 'Year of Africa' as a large number of African countries gained independence from colonial domination. It became a sort of reference point as the culmination of decolonisation on the continent. See: Willian Henry, "Africa's Year: The Problems and Possibilities of the Dark Continent will be Leading Discussion topics in 1960". *Wall Street Journal*, January 1, 1960, 10; Harold Macmillan, "The Wind of Change". Speech delivered to the Joint Meeting of the Union of South Africa Parliament on February 3, 1960, Available at: http://www.africanrhetoric.org/pdf/JMacmillan-thewindofchange.pdf Accessed on October 20th, 2020; Anthony Ratcliff, "Revolution at the End of a Pen: Writing Pan-African Politics of Cultural Struggle" (PhD diss., University of Massachusetts, 2009), 19.

[4] Bassey Ekong, "Nigerian Nationalism: A Case Study in Southern Nigeria, 1885-1939". *Dissertation and Theses*, Paper 956, 1972. DOI: 10.15760/etd.956, 1.

[5] Ekong, "Nigerian Nationalism", 1.

[6] Christopher J. Kinnan, Daniel B. Gordon, Mark D. DeLong, Douglas W. Jacquash and Robert S. McAllum, "Failed State 2030: Nigeria – A Case Study". *Occasional Paper No. 67*, (Centre for Strategy and Technology, Air University, Alabama, 2011); Frank Aig-Imokhuede, ed., *A Handbook of Nigerian Culture*. (Lagos: The Department of Culture/Federal Ministry of Culture and Social Welfare, 1991); Central Intelligence Agency (CIA). Nigeria Country Profile.

[7] The term "indirect rule" describes a strategy of governance in which the state integrates pre-existing institutions at all administrative levels below the central government. In Nigeria, this entailed reliance on the structures of traditional rulership, such as the use of the Emirs in the North and Obas and Warrant Chiefs in the West and East respectively. See: Carl Müller-Cregon, Continuity or Change? (In)direct Rule in British and French Colonial Africa. *International Organisation*, (2020): 6; Obaro Ikime, "Reconsidering Indirect Rule: The Nigerian Example". *Journal of the Historical Society of Nigeria* 4, 3 (1968): 421-438.

[8] Ekong, "Nigerian Nationalism", 10.

[9] For an overview of the Islamic educational system as operated in Northern Nigeria, see: Lawrence Ndubisi Njoku, *Nigerian Educational Development and Need for Quality Sustenance*. (B.A. Thesis, School of

Education, University of Iceland, 2016); C. U. Nkekelonye, *History of Education Ancient and Modern*. (Nsukka: University Trust Publishers, 2005), 1-11; Kola Babarinde, "Evolution, Development, Challenges and Prospects of Nigerian Higher Education System (NHES)". Paper presented at the AVCNU Consultative Policy Dialogue with TrustAfrica on the *Future and Relevance of Nigerian Universities and Other Tertiary Institutions: Towards Higher Education Transformation*. CVC Secretariat, Abuja, November, 6-7th, 2012.

[10] Ethiopianism was a broad religious movement among sub-Saharan African Christian elites who campaigned for and supported the formation of independent African churches tailored to the specific needs of African natives by drawing a liturgical basis from African cultural milieus in protest against western worship idioms as well as the discrimination and racism exhibited by European church leaders. For a discourse on the role of the movement in shaping nationalist agenda across Africa, see: George Shepperson, "Ethiopianism and African Nationalism". *Phylon* 14, 1, (1953): 9-18. DOI: 10.2307/272419; Thomas Hodgkin, *Nationalism in Colonial Africa*. (New York: University Press, 1957); Badra Lahouel, "Ethiopianism and African Nationalism in South Africa before 1937." *Cahiers d'Etudes Africaines*, 104, (1986): 681-688. In Nigeria, the movement was led by the likes of Rev. James Johnson, Mojola Agbebi and Moses Ladejo Stone and resulted in the foundation of the Native Baptist Church in 1888, the United Native African Church in 1891, the Bethel African Church in 1901 and the United African Methodist Church in 1917. See: E. A. Ayandele, *The Missionary Impact on Modern Nigeria*. (London: Longmans, Green and Co. Ltd, 1966). Furthermore, the consciousness raised by the press as well as objections to issues such as taxation and land tenures also contributed to the growth of nationalist movements in the country. See: Ekong, "Nigerian Nationalism", 23-49.

[11] See: Ekong, "Nigerian Nationalism", 50-77; Phillip Afaha, "The Role of Ibibio State Union in the Educational Development of the Calabar Province". *Sapha: A Journal of Historical Studies* 2, 1&2 (2011): 11-21; Audrey Smock, *Ibo Politics: The Role of Ethnic Unions in Eastern Nigeria*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1971.

[12] The African student bodies already in existence in England during the time at which ideas for the formation of WASU coalesced included the African Progress Union, the Gold Coast Student's Union, and the Association of Students of African Descent. However, before the formation of WASU on 7th August 1925, Ladipo Solanke had help formed a new student association namely the Nigerian Progress Union. See: Garigue, Philip, "The West African Students' Union: A Study in Cultural Contact" *Africa*, 23, 1, (1953): 55-69, 56.

[13] Garigue, "West African Student's Union", 68.

[14] The Educational Ordinance underwent various changes and improvements over time. See: Babarinde, "Evolution, Development, Challenges and Prospects of Nigerian Higher Education System (NHES)", 8. Furthermore, it is worth noting that several forms of post-secondary school training centres had been in existence before the advent of Yaba Higher College as the first institution of higher learning in Nigeria. These pseudo-specialized institutions were set up in some government departments and included schools for Agriculture at Moon Plantation, Ibadan and Samaru (close to Zaria); Veterinary Science at Vom; and Engineering in Lagos. N. J. Okoli, L. Ogbondah and R. N. Ewor, "The History of Development of Public Universities in Nigeria since 1914", *International Journal of Education and Evaluation*, 2, 1, (2016): 60-73, 60.

[15] Eric Robert James Hussey, *Tropical Africa 1908-1944*, (London: St Catherine Press, 1959), 91; Alloy Ejiogu and Sheidu Sule, "Sixty Five Years of University Education in Nigeria: Some Key Cross Cutting Issues", In Nikolay Popov, Charl Wolhuter, Bruno Leutwzler, Gillian Hilton, James Ogunleye, and Patricia Almeida, *International Perspective on Education. BCES Conference Books*, 10, 2012. Retrieved October 20th, 2020 from https://www.learntechlib.org/p/192861/, 257-264.

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[17] Victor C. Ferkiss, *Africa's Search for Identity*. (New York: Braziller, 1966), 190; Ade Fajana, "Colonial Control and Education: The Development of Higher Education in Nigeria, 1900-1950". *Journal of the Historical Society of Nigeria* VI, 3 (1972): 323-340, 323; Ogechi Emmanuel Anyanwu, *Politics of Access: University Education and Nation-Building in Nigeria 1948-2000*, (Calgary, Alberta: University of Calgary Press, 2011), 1-2.

[18] Babarinde, "Evolution, Development, Challenges and Prospects of Nigerian Higher Education System (NHES)", 8; Cornelius Olaleye Taiwo, *The Nigerian Education System: Past, Present, and Future*. (Lagos: Thomas Nelson, 1980).

[19] Hakeemi Tijani, "Britain and the Foundation of Anti-Communist Policies in Nigeria, 1945-1960", *African and Asian Studies* 8 (2009): 47-66; Anyanwu, *Politics of Access*, 36.

[20] Constantin Katsakioris, "The Soviet Union, Eastern Europe, and Africa in the Cold War", *Working Paper Series, SFB 1199 at the University of Leipzig*, 16 (April, 2019), 7; Hakeem Tijani, *Union Education in Nigeria: Labour, Empire, and Decolonization since 1945*. (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012); John P. Dunbabin, *International Relations since 1945: The Cold War – The Great Powers and their Allies*.

(London: Longman,1994), 62; Roger Fieldhouse, "Cold War and Colonial Conflicts in British West African Adult Education, 1947-1953", *History of Education Quarterly*, 24, 3 (Autumn, 1984): 359-360; Central Intelligence Agency, "Soviet Academic and Technical Programs for Students of Less Developed Countries of the Free World", *Intelligence Report*, (Directorate of Intelligence/Office of Research and Reports, May, 1965), 11-14.

[21] For a detailed analysis of the British government's strategies and countermeasures against the spread of communism in the colonies, see: Hakeem Tijani (2009) "Britain and the Foundation of Anti-Communist Policies in Nigeria, 1945-1960". *Journal of African and Asian Studies*, 8, 1-2, pp. 47-66; Hakeem I. Tijani, "McCarthyism in Colonial Nigeria: The Ban on the Employment of Communists," In Adebayo Oyebade (Ed.), 2004. *The Foundations of Nigeria: Essays in Honour of Toyin Falola*. Trenton: Africa World Press, 647-668.

[22] Anyanwu, *The Politics of Access,* 31-33.

[23] See: Stephen R. Ashton and Sarah Stockwell, "Introduction". In *British Documents on End of the Empire, Series A Volume 1: Imperial policy and colonial practice, 1925-1945, Part I: Metropolitan Reorganisation, Defence and Constitutional Relations, Political Change and Constitutional Reform*, edited by Stephen R. Ashton and Sarah Stonewall, xxiii-cii. (London: Her Majesty's Stationary Office, 1996), lxxx – lxxxi; Timothy Livsey, "Imagining an Imperial Modernity: Universities and the West African Roots of Colonial Development." *The Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History*, 44, 6, (2016): 952-975. DOI: 10.1080/03086534.2016.1210305.

[24] See: Report of the Commission on Higher Education in West Africa, 1945, Cmd. 6655,ii, TNA; Livsey, "Imagining an Imperial Modernity", 962; Martin Kolinsky, "The Growth of Nigerian Universities 1948-1980: The British Share", *Minerva*, 23, 1 (1985): 29-61.

[25] See: Apollos Nwauwa, *Imperialism, Academe and Nationalism: Britain and University Education for Africans, 1860-1960*. (London: Frank Cass, 1997), 163-165; *Report of the Commission on Higher Education in West Africa*, 1945, Cmd. 6655,65, TNA; Livsey, "Imagining an Imperial Modernity", 965; Anyanwu, Politics of Access, 33.

[26] Livsey, "Imperial Modernity", 966.

[27] Anyanwu, *Politics of Access*, 54-35.

[28] See: Appollos Nwauwa, "The British Establishment of Universities in Tropical Africa, 1920-1948 : A Reaction against the Spread of American 'Radical' Influence". *Cahiers d'études Africaines* 33, 130 (1993): 247-274; DOI: https://doi.org/10.3406/cea.1993.1520; Nnamdi Azikiwe, *Renascent Africa*. London: Cass, 1937.

[29] Anyanwu, *Politics of Access*, 48.

[30] Ibid., 50

[31] Edward H. Berman, "American Philanthropy and African Education: Towards an Analysis", *African Studies Review*, 20, 1 (April, 1977): 71-85, 76.

[32] Richard D. Heyman, "Carnegie Corporation of New York and African Education, 1925-1960", (Ed. D. dissertation, Columbia University, 1977), 177-178; Berman, "American Philanthropy", 79.

[33] Anyanwu, *Politics of Access*, 63.

[34] Berman, "American Philanthropy", 80.

[35] Ibid.; Anyanwu, *Politics of Access*, 59; Jefferson E. Murphy, *Creative Philanthropy: Carnegie Corporation and Africa*, 1953-73, (New York: Teachers College Press, 1976), 89.

[36] An interesting statistic shows that out of 7,376 Nigerian university students between 1948 and 1953, the total number studying in UCI was 1,535 (20.8%), whereas the number of those studying abroad, especially in universities across the UK, USA and Canada, was 5,841 (79.2%). See: Anyanwu, *Politics of Access*, 36; Aliu Babatunde Fafunwa, *A History of Nigerian Higher Education*, (Yaba, Nigeria: Macmillan, 1971), 19-20.

[37] Nic Leonhardt, "The Rockefeller Roundabout of Funding: Severino Montano and the Development of Theatre in the Philippines in the 1950s", *Journal of Global Theatre Histories*, 3, 2 (2019): 19-33, 20.

[38] Ibid., 20.

[39] Christopher Balme, "Building Theatrical Epistemic Communities in the Global South: Expert Networks, Philanthropy and Theatre Studies in Nigeria", *Journal of Global Theatre History*, 3, 2 (2019): 3-18.

[40] Balme, "Building Theatrical Epistemic Communities", 12; Dapo Adelugba, "The Professional and Academic Theatre: A Twelve-Year Relationship at Ibadan 1963-1975", *Maske und Kothurn*, 30, 3-4 (December 1984): 342-345.

[41] Biodun Jeyifo, *Wole Soyinka: Politics, Poetics and Postcolonialism*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), xxv-xxxii. Like Soyinka, Kingsley William Dexter Lyndersay's career also shows an extensive spread of academic influence in many institutions across the country. Lyndersay was the leading technical theatre expert at the School of Drama, UCI, 1966-1972 (he also served as an acting head of the department from 1967-1969 when Soyinka was unable to assume the position due to imprisonment) and Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria, 1972-1974. He was among the pioneer staff that set up the Theatre Department at the University of Calabar, Calabar, 1976-83, as well as the Centre for Cultural Studies at the University of Cross River State, Uyo, 1983-1985 (now University of Uyo) See: Duro Oni, *Stage Lighting Design: The Nigerian*

Perspective, (Lagos, Society of Nigerian Theatre Artists, 2004), 105; Ojo Abayomi Joseph, The Emerging Trends in Nigerian Theatrical Lighting: A Study of Saro 'The Musical' and Crystal Slipper (B.A. Thesis, University of Lagos, 2014), 37. Peggy Harper also worked for a variety of institutions in Nigeria from 1963-1978, including the School of Drama, UCI; Institute of African Studies, University of Ibadan; and the University of Ife, Ile-Ife (now Obafemi Awolowo University) See: Bill Harpe, "Peggy Harper: Choreographer, Dancer and Devotee of West African Culture", The Guardian (July 16, 2009). Available at: http://www.theguardian.com/stage/2009/jul/16/obituary-peggy-harper Accessed on September 5th, 2020.

[42] Balme, "Building Theatrical Epistemic Communities", 14.

[43] It must not be forgotten that during this time the competing ideologies and philosophy of cultural productions within the arts, theatre, and literature were the modernist perspective of the West and socialist realism of the East. See: Boris Groys, "The Cold War Between the Medium and the Message: Western Modernism vs. Social Realism", *e-Flux Journal*, 104 (November, 2019), n. d. Retrieved from: http://worker01.e-flux.com/pdf/article_297103.pdf.

[44] Adelugba, "The Professional and Academic Theatre", 344-345.

[45] Julius- Adeoye Rantimi-Jays, "Nigerian Theatre Arts Curriculum and Events Management: Positioning the Theatre Profession for the New Millennium", *Nigerian Theatre Journal*, 10, 1 (2010): 129-141,131.

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Hasibe Kalkan

On the Role of the Rockefeller Foundation in Establishing Theatre Education Programmes and Transnational Theatrical Spaces in Turkey during the Cold War

Abstract

This article focuses on the American impact and, in particular, that of the Rockefeller Foundation on the theatre landscape of Turkey, especially on its educational programmes. In the years of the Cold War, Turkey played a strategic role for the United States. In order to establish an ideological base against the nearby Soviet Union, the Rockefeller Foundation was used to build up and fund a network of artists and academics, which included theatre professionals and academics in Turkey. The article also attempts to show the transnational spaces that have emerged for some artists as a result of the opening to the US.

Keywords

Cold War, Rockefeller Foundation, Theatre Education, Theatre Studies, Playwrighting

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Introduction

The foundation of theatre education programmes in Turkey was clearly shaped by the modernization and Europeanization process in the country following the founding of the Turkish Republic in 1923. However, it must be remembered that the move towards the West had begun much earlier. The leadership of the late Ottoman Empire, beginning in the 18th century, turned to the West to adopt military and, later, technocratic achievements in order to halt its steady decline and return the empire to its former strength. Since the decline of the Empire could not be prevented, it was Ataturk, the founder of the Turkish Republic, who realized the westernization project much more radically after the Ottoman Empire, as an ally of the German Empire, lost World War I, and the subsequent war of independence under Ataturk's leadership ended successfully.

The founding of the Turkish Republic did not involve simply copying the western format, but instead constructing an imagined community while dealing with the cultural and historical values of Anatolia in order to develop a unique national ideal (Anderson 2014, 129). In the construction process of nation states, intellectuals play an important part in the social and political order because they try to fulfil their duty as technocratic and cultural engineers. The young republic was in desperate need of such engineers who had a good education and could build bridges with the West. By then, foundations like Rockefeller and Ford had been playing an important role in supporting the need for well-educated and progressive intellectuals in Turkey. These foundations focused their attention on the region after the Second World War, when the Middle East became indispensable for the global power politics of the US and the competition against the Soviet Union for economic, political, military and strategic reasons. In the period of deepening ideological polarization in world politics during the post-war years, the young Turkish Republic also began to play an important role for the US, and as the pressure from the Soviet Union increased, Turkey opted for the western bloc.

Although Turkey was largely neutral during World War II, the situation changed in the post-war years. In 1925, Turkey signed a 20-year non-aggression pact with the Soviet Union. This pact determined Turkey's foreign policy and was a sign of friendship between the two countries. However, the atmosphere changed after the treaty expired and the Soviet Union made outrageous demands for the renewal of the treaty, such as a change in Turkey's eastern border to the advantage of the Soviet Union, the revision of the treaty of Montreux[1] or the establishment of a Soviet base in the Bosphorus (Sander 1989, 232). As early as 1947, the US had begun to support Turkey with the Truman Doctrine, which brought relief to the Turkish leadership in the military sphere. This was followed by the Marshall Plan in 1948, which aimed to provide some financial assistance to help the recovery of the Turkish economy. Subsequent developments in Turkey, such as the change of government in 1950, led to a new political orientation. Turkey's accession to NATO in 1951 brought the US and Turkey closer. Aware that military and financial support would not be enough to build an ideological wall against communism, the US, as a rising world power, expanded its radius to a wide variety of fields, including the humanities. A large number of American organizations were created for this reason, such as the Fullbright Program, or reoriented, such as the Rockefeller and Ford Foundations.

Thus, the humanities and the social sciences began to play a vital role for the Rockefeller Foundation. David H. Stevens, an influential staff member, refocused the Foundation's efforts on creative fields and international cultural exchanges. He believed strongly that only through the humanities was it possible to create a new, i.e. a better type of human being and to contribute to a better intercultural understanding between people. He noted:

> ...the reach of the humanities should be as great as the sciences in discovery or in application of knowledge...thanks to those expelled scholars brought to the United States mankind could stand against "war" and "barbarism." (Stevens 1946)

During this period, however, the foundation's administration was mainly concerned with establishing an ideological line of defence with the help of the humanities (Erken 2015, 122).

Two works address the role of the Rockefeller Foundation in the field of humanities. One is a comprehensive book by Ali Erken, in which he examines the role of the US in the cultural and scientific fields in the formation of modern Turkey. Another source is the lecture by Kenneth W. Rose, Assistant Director Rockefeller Archive Center, which he gave at a Turkish university in 2003 and which gives a historical outline of the work of the

foundation in Turkey. In contrast to the works mentioned above, the aim of this article is to examine how the changing political conjuncture in Turkey in the postwar years affected the Turkish theatre world, and specifically what role the Rockefeller Foundation played in this. Since it was the intention of the Foundation to support the necessary human resources, not only with scholarships and trips to the United States and Europe, but by also establishing or strengthening the training institutions, the focus of this article will be the influence the Rockefeller Foundation has had on theatre people and on theatre education.

The Rockefeller Foundation in Turkey

Kenneth W. Rose states that American charitable and philanthropic work in Turkey dates back to 1820, when the first Christian missionaries from the United States arrived in present-day Izmir. Based on Roger R. Trask's *The United States Response to Turkish Nationalism and Reform. 1914- 1939*, Rose states that by 1914 the work they began on behalf of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions had grown to include seventeen major mission stations, nine hospitals, and 426 schools serving 25,000 students. Religious work among the Christian minorities, education, and general relief of distress and sickness occupied much of the missionaries' charitable efforts in Turkey during this time. Christian minorities were mainly Greek Orthodox, Armenian and Syrian Coptic people of the Ottoman Empire. The founding of new foundations like the Rockefeller Foundation in the 1920s brought about changes in charity and philanthropy in the US, which were also felt in Turkey, where the more scientific and secular approach to philanthropy met with greater approval from the leaders of the new Turkish republic than did the older model of Christian charity.

According to Rose, between 1925 and 1983, the Rockefeller Foundation provided fellowships that allowed a total of 155 Turks to undertake a period of study outside of their own country, most often in the United States. He continues with the fact that the Foundation invested a total of nearly $2.4 million in institutions and individuals in Turkey for a variety of purposes. The Rockefeller Foundation thus invested substantial money and time in the modernization of Turkish society in the twentieth century, working quietly behind the scenes, for the most part, to develop and support institutions in key segments of Turkish society: in public health, in medical care, in education, in the humanities for the advancement of the arts, and in the social sciences to help policy-makers better understand the forces that shape the economy and social and political relations (Rose 2008, 4).

In 1948, the Rockefeller Foundation hired an Anglicist named John Marshall to accomplish its goals in the Middle East. From this year onwards, he made regular and extensive trips to countries such as Egypt, Syria, Lebanon and Turkey to develop knowledge networks in these countries.

> By an international knowledge network is meant a system of coordinated research, results' dissemination and publication, study and often graduate-level teaching, intellectual exchange, and financing, across national boundaries. The international networks may also include official policymakers and international aid and other agencies (Parmar, 2002).

After several trips to the region, Marshall began to believe strongly that "constructive change" within Islam was possible. The Rockefeller Foundation explicitly avoided discussion of Islamic backwardness, which was a prevailing prejudice of the missionaries they supported under the Ottomans. Marshall envisioned a change in Islam "from within",

as seen in the example of an educated small group of scholars, intellectuals, business and industry experts and bureaucrats driving this change. According to Marshall, the very fact that Turkey used the Latin script alphabet moved the country closer to the West than the other countries in the Middle East. Access to necessary materials in the mother tongue and a good command of English were sufficient to lay the foundation for this. Marshall noted that such a group of intellectuals already existed in Turkey, but was still emerging in the other countries of the Middle East.(Marshall, The Near East, 1951)

> The most promising element which I saw in Turkish life was the marked discontent at the lack of more rapid progress on the part of the truly liberal group of Turkish scholars and intellectuals. Perhaps the most valuable outcome of my visit in Turkey is a certain sense of confidence (I hope not misplaced) in the small group of this character.(Marshall, Rockefeller Archive Center 1948)

He assumed that the so-called minority would have a greater influence on society in the near future and would take over the political leadership in the region.

John Marshall paid his first visit to Turkey in 1948. After that, he came to Turkey almost annually until 1960, met Turkish scholars and intellectuals and familiarized himself with various institutions in the country. Although Turkey was classified by the Foundation as a Middle Eastern country, Marshall found that the European influence that was felt there militated against it:

> Returning from Damascus, as I did for the major part of my visit in Istanbul, gave me an entirely different view of that city from what I had had on my way through Beirut. Against the background of Damascus, Istanbul for all its Oriental flavor seemed much more of a western city than when I had seen it before. Indeed Istanbul and Ankara on this return seemed to me far more European than Asiatic. This is only a reflection of the fact that Turkey is without doubt the most westernized of the Middle Eastern countries. (Marshall, Rockefeller Archive Center 1948)

Marshall's aim was to build up a network of western-oriented specialists, starting from the Robert College in Istanbul[2], which was founded in 1863 by missionaries, the first and still the oldest continuously operating American school outside the United States. As the graduates there were particularly culturally and linguistically suited to realizing the Foundation's goals, this college was an important base for the Rockefeller foundation in Turkey. Other important starting points for building networks were the Ministry for Education in Ankara, directors of several universities in Istanbul and Ankara, and various associations such as the Turkish American Association in Ankara, which was founded in 1951.The main objectives of the Turkish American Association were to promote understanding between the people of America and Turkey, to strengthen the bonds between the two countries and to realize the activities of its members in educational, cultural and social fields.[3]

The Rockefeller Foundation and Theatre

Marshall was convinced that the dissemination of their values to a wider audience was best achieved through the arts, such as literature, fine arts, theatre and music. During these years, young artists in theatre, opera, ballet and painting had very little exchange internationally. They had very limited opportunities to travel abroad and to learn from experienced artists and respected institutions in the West. The Rockefeller Foundation therefore supported the training of young Turkish artists and donated a total of over $

792,000 to purchase new equipment and to develop human resources. The aim of the Foundation was to help the country build an artistic tradition that considered its own cultural sources. This had been a critical point in the cultural life of Turkey for many years, which, with the founding of the Republic, completely cut itself off from the Ottoman past and created a founding narrative based largely on pre-Ottoman Anatolian history. The absolute turn of educational and administrative institutions toward the West, which denied their Ottoman traditions, was addressed and criticized by many political and cultural figures, but the field of music seemed to have solved the problem better. Thus, as early as 1948, on one of his first visits, Marshall noted that "there is a good deal of activity in Turkey in the field of music: most Turkish composers have had good European training but are using Turkish themes in their compositions" (Marshall 1948).

The theatre, on the other hand, was consistently westernized in those years. During his stays in Ankara and Istanbul, John Marshall saw a large number of theatre and opera performances and found that, on the whole, they were very well done. However, he thought that the set and lighting design was not competent or as desired.

John Marshall was very successful in selecting talented individuals who had the ambition and the language skills to continue their education in the US. One of his greatest supporters in the selection of suitable artists was Muhsin Ertuğrul, the most important actor in the Turkish theatre world at that time and a key figure in modern Turkish theatre life. Ertuğrul had started his career in the theatre at the age of seventeen and travelled to Paris shortly after, in 1912, to further his education in Western acting. There he made contact with André Antoine and invited him to Istanbul to help structure the newly founded acting school. Because of World War I, however, Antoine had to leave again after two months. Further journeys led Ertuğrul to Germany, where he studied Max Reinhardt's theatre and founded a film company, in which he produced and directed films such as "Samson and Devil Worshippers". Later, his stays in the Soviet Union gave him the opportunity to tackle the works of Stanislavski, Eisenstein and Meyerhold. Muhsin Ertuğrul also met the famous Turkish poet Nazım Hikmet there, worked with him in the theatre and founded a production company for films as well. After making three films, "Tamilla" (1925), "Spartakus" (1926) and "Five Minutes" (1926), he returned to Istanbul (And 1969, 59).

John Marshall and Muhsin Ertuğrul came together several times, and with Ertuğrul's help Marshall tried to build a network of talented artists who would help realize the goals of the Rockefeller Foundation. Furthermore, Marshall encouraged Muhsin Ertuğrul to go on a one-month research trip to the United States to learn about new stage technologies and to see some plays, although he did not speak English very well, but spoke French, German and Russian fluently. Muhsin Ertuğrul was exactly the right man for John Marshall, because he was open to all artistic influences from different countries and the American context was completely new to him. Muhsin Ertuğrul aimed to establish a national theatre identity based entirely on Western values and was capable of competing with western theatre. Yet, the founding ideology of the Republic of Turkey had demanded a radical break with the Ottoman heritage, and Ertuğrul, following its footsteps made this break in the theatre. He shaped the western theatre not only as an actor and director, but also through the publication of magazines with his own texts on theatre, the founding of acting schools, and his teaching activities, both as an artistic director and the founder of various theatres.

Actually, Western theatre in Turkey does not begin with Ertuğrul. At the beginning of the 19th century, at the court of the pro-Western Sultan Mahmut II, a theatre was built on the Western model, which was mostly used by European touring groups. A few decades later, more and more Anatolian Armenians founded theatres in which they performed

plays not only in Armenian but also in Turkish. These theatres enjoyed great popularity among Ottoman bureaucrats and officers in major cities such as Istanbul, Bursa, and Izmir and existed alongside the traditional forms until the establishment of the Turkish Republic in 1923. As early as the 1870s, Turkish actors, such as Ahmet Fehim, who would later work with André Antoine, were merged with the Armenian theatre groups. Ahmet Fehim represents a theatre tradition called Tuluat, which is a mixture of European content with improvisational elements from Turkish traditional theatre such as Meddah or Ortaoyunu (Karaboğa 2016, 153), with which Muhsin Ertuğrul grew up. Nevertheless, he designated this theatre as inferior. He was firmly of the opinion, despite all the criticism, that one had to educate the audience aesthetically through European classics, instead of adapting to the tastes of the audience (Gürün 1992, 120).

John Marshall describes the historic role of Ertuğrul for modern Turkish theatre in his diaries with an anecdote recounted by Ertuğrul:

> In 1930, he brought to Ankara a small company from Istanbul, including his wife, the first Turkish Muslim woman to appear on the stage. To their surprise, Ataturk attended each of their ten evening performances. On the next evening Ataturk asked Ertuğrul to call on him, and asked him, “What do you want?" to which Ertuğrul replied: “a conservatory." Ataturk immediately summoned the then Prime Minister, Ismet Inönü (later President) and said, "Give this man what he wants, a conservatory. You know I ordinarily drink from seven to midnight. "While this company has been here, I have not drunk. The effect on my health is so good that we ought to see to it that the country has a theatre." Ertuğrul' s company tasked him with asking for something remote. He replied, "what we most need is successors. (Marshall, Rockefeller Archive Center 1955)

Paul Hindemith was invited to consult on the implementation of this newly founded Conservatory in Ankara, today the Hacettepe University State Conservatory. He recommended Carl Ebert as the head of the conservatory. Carl Ebert, who fled the Nazi regime in Germany and was working in Buenos Aires at the Teatro Colon at that time, was invited to teach in Ankara during the 1935-36 academic year. But between 1935 and 1944, he acted as the director of the State Conservatory in Ankara, which ultimately led to the foundation of the Turkish State Opera and Ballet. Ebert established opera and theatre departments at the Conservatory, as well as a “practice theater hall” where opera and drama students could appear in public performances.[4] Since he was a student of Max Reinhardt, the training at the Conservatory under Ebert was strongly influenced by this tradition.

That changed, slowly at first, due to the influence of the Rockefeller Foundation. John Marshall decided to encourage the promising young talent, Yıldız Kenter, an actress who, because of her anglophone mother, was one of the few artists who could play in English, to go to New York for a year to attend theatre performances and take acting classes at Columbia University. Kenter, once in the States, also worked on new techniques in acting and teaching of acting at the American Theater Wing, Neighborhood Play House and the Actors Studio. Upon Kenter's return, Dorothy Sands, director and teacher at the American Theatre Wing, was asked by the Rockefeller Foundation to support Yıldız Kenter in developing the drama department at the State Conservatory in Ankara and teaching acting there. Kenter left the State Theater in 1959 and founded the Kent Actors Community with her brother Müşfik Kenter and her husband Şükran Güngör, where they started to apply the acting techniques they had learned in the United States in productions of contemporary Turkish, European and American drama texts. In the following years, she constantly developed their acting methods further, regularly taking part in training courses on "Changing Education Methods" and "Acting Methods" in the United States and the

United Kingdom. In his lecture on the activities of the Rockefeller Foundation in Turkey, Kenneth W. Rose states that Marshall saw her performance in the "Rainmaker" in March 1957, and with some pride he reported comments that her acting "has greatly improved, and the improvement attributed by all to her American stay" (Rose 2003, 14).

As mentioned above, the Foundation was primarily concerned with supporting educational institutions. Therefore, in the fifties, Marshall was also keen to enable the directors of Turkish state theatres and conservatories to visit Europe and the United States to give them an insight into the latest developments in their field. For example, he offered Fuat Türkay, Director of the State Conservatory Ankara, the opportunity to spend some time in the UK and the United States to learn about the latest developments in the American music industry. Since music was without language, it was easier to establish a mutual exchange here, such as the Dizzie Gillespie Jazz concert in Ankara organized by the Turkish American Association, which was received with great enthusiasm (Gökatalay 2018, 224).

Conservatory directors were all to be exposed to American culture, even if it was for a short time, such as the short-term fellowship that was offered to Eşref Antikacı, the director of the Istanbul Conservatory that was founded in 1914 as a school of performing and musical arts, and allowed him to spend two months visiting schools in the United States. Nurettin Sevin, director of the drama department at the State Conservatory Ankara, also expressed his wish to visit the United States to give more space to the American theatre tradition. The American influence on Turkish theatre increased steadily in the following years, also through a series of actors and directors, such as Şirin Devrim, Çiğdem Selışık, Ayla Algan and Beklan Algan, who had studied acting in the US and were hired by Muhsin Ertuğrul at the Municipal Theater. Genco Erkal, a graduate from Robert College and a very successful actor and director to this day, who has played a leading role in Turkish political theatre, argues that these artists, in the wake of their return, brought a breath of fresh air to the Turkish theatre scene (Erkal 2020). This generation of theatre artists not only translated and directed American texts for Turkish stages, but also introduced a style of acting and directing that was strongly influenced by new acting techniques such as Strasberg's Method Acting.

One of the few actors who succeeded in creating a transfer of knowledge in both directions was the actor, director and translator Tunç Yalman. John Marshall had a very high opinion of him and his parents. He was the son of Ahmet Emin Yalman, a well-known journalist and publisher of the newspaper Vatan. Tunç Yalman, was a graduate of Robert College and had lived in the United States for several years with his family as a child. Marshall believed that he was one of the best educated people in his field and, perhaps as the future director of the State Theatre, he could be one of the leading actors in the development of Turkish theatre (Marshall 1956). Yalman was awarded two Rockefeller scholarships, in 1956 and 1962, so that he could get to know and study American theatre more intensively. With each of these scholarships, Yalman spent one year in the USA, worked temporarily with the MacDonald Company and studied with Jean Rosenthal, a leading theatre lighting expert of the time (Marshall, Rockefeller Archives Center 1956). In 1957, Tunç Yalman returned to Istanbul and founded a theatre with his fellow student from Robert College and Yale Drama School, Haldun Dormen, which staged mostly French vaudevilles and musicals. Yalman was responsible for the more sophisticated part of the theatre. However, as this part did not prove to be profitable, he went to France in 1959 as an assistant director. Yalman used this time abroad to write texts about festivals and contemporary productions that appeared in the theatre magazine published by the municipal theatre. One of the goals of this theatre magazine was to keep readers informed about developments in contemporary theatre in Europe and in the US. Later, when his greatest mentor Muhsin Ertuğrul appointed him in 1960 as an actor and director at the

Istanbul Municipal Theatre, Yalman continued his work as a writer for this magazine. At the Municipal Theatre, Yalman performed and directed mainly contemporary English and American plays, such as “Both Your Houses” by Maxwell Anderson or “Roots” by Arnold Wesker, in addition to classics such as Shakespeare’s “Timon of Athens” (IBB Şehir Tiyatroları Kütüphanesi 1960).

In 1965, the Istanbul Municipal Council decided to abolish the chief director position and thus also Ertuğrul. The "Muhsin Ertuğrul incident", which caused great reactions in the public, parliament and media, was interpreted as a blow to the Turkish theatre. Tunç Yalman decided to resign and return to the United States. On 27 May 1966, the following news appeared in the *New York Times*:

> The Milwaukee Repertory Theater today hired a Turkish-born actor, playwright and director as its new artistic director. He is Tunc Yalman, who signed a three-year contract and succeeds John A. McQuiggan, new co-director of the Trinity Square Playhouse, Providence, R.I.

Yalman's appointment as artistic director of an American theatre was hailed in the Turkish press as a great success for a Turk in America. In fact, from then on Yalman was able to create a transnational space that moved mainly between the United States and Turkey. According to a news item in the Turkish newspaper *Milliyet*, Yalman staged no less than seven plays in his first season at the Milwaukee Repertory Theater (1966, *Milliyet*). In contrast to his predecessors, he increased the proportion of plays by European authors at the expense of American ones, which is why one can also speak of an opening up of the Milwaukee Repertory Theater in this context. In a *TDR* Comment, Tunç Yalman responded to the accusation that regional theatres were not innovative enough by saying:

> I can only speak for myself and our company. To cite a few examples, in the past two years we have done Sophocles’ Electra and The Importance of Being Earnest, totally adapting them to present-day visual and auditory sense perceptions; we have presented the most satisfactory productions of The Physicists and Waiting for Godot I have ever seen; we produced the Professional American premiere of Brecht’s Puntila and His Servant Matti, as well as the World premieres of four new American plays (one of them by Rosalyn Drexler) with the help of two special grants from the Rockefeller Foundation (Yalman, The Regional Theatre; Four Views 1968).

Just one year after his appointment as artistic director at the Milwaukee Repertory Theater, his production "The Trial of Lee Harvey Oswald" by Amram Ducovny and Leon Friedman (director: Tunç Yalman) was performed at the Anta Playhouse, Broadway New York (Internet Broadway Database 1967). While Tunç Yalman established himself in the USA as a director, actor and translator of contemporary European plays, he always kept in touch with Muhsin Ertuğrul. In a lively exchange of letters, they shared information about the repertoires of their theatres, the latest productions of various European countries and sent each other texts and other materials they needed for their productions. The letters also included their disappointments, fears and hopes as well as their ideals.

Yalman's contract was renewed after three years, proving his great ambition and his success at the Milwaukee Repertory Regional Theater that was founded in 1954. In the following years, Yalman also staged plays in various cities in the United States, such as "Stuck", "The Executioners", "A Disturbance of Mirrors" at the O'Neill Theater Center in Connecticut in 1972 and "The Liar" by Goldoni at the Cleveland Playhouse in the same year. Further productions he staged were "A Conflict of Interest" by Jay Broad at the Urgent Theater, in NY (1973) and "Joe Egg" and "The Trial of the Catonsville Nine", both at the American Conservatory Theater in Seattle (1973-74) (Film References, 1968). In

1974, his mentor and good friend Muhsin Ertuğrul asked Yalman to return to the municipal theatre in Istanbul, where he, in the following years, mainly staged classics, contemporary American and European plays and occasionally Turkish plays, such as "Genç Osman" by Musahipzade Celal, a play about the life of a persecuted Ottoman crown prince. Tunç Yalman had developed into a prototype of a transmigrant during this period, because shortly after his return to Turkey he took leave from the Istanbul Municipal Theatre to return to the United States. In the following years, Yalman not only worked as an actor and director, but also began teaching at the North Carolina School of Arts. During the summer holidays, he came to Turkey to direct plays. An anthology about the Turkish theatre in English describes those years as follows:

> In the 1980's, he was a professor of drama at the prestigious North Carolina School of the Arts, where he also directed numerous plays. He spent fifteen of his last years in New York City, where with a voracious appetite he saw many hundreds of plays, adding this number to his presumably unparalleled record of several thousand he had seen in Turkey, Europe, England, and the United States before he fell victim to a relentless disease that kept him incapacitated in Turkey.(Halman S. and Warner 2008)

During these years, Yalman was regarded as a specialist in international theatre, who had seen a large number of performances all over the world and was far ahead of the local theatre in terms of aesthetics. Genco Erkal says that Tunç Yalman's knowledge of international theatre was so immense that they always asked him whenever they needed information about it (Erkal, 2020). Given that the sources of information were so limited in those times, Yalman's help was hugely important. With his reports on American theatre and his interpretations of various theatre texts, Yalman also ensured that American theatre became known in Turkey alongside the traditionally influential European theatre and gained increasing influence.

Tunç Yalman was one of the few who also saw himself as a transmigrant, i.e. he moved back and forth between the country of origin and the country of residence and was able to position himself in both countries. Transmigration is a term that was used by Nina Glick-Schiller, Linda Basch and Cristina Blanc-Szanton in the 1990s to describe the activities of migrants, in both their countries of origin and the countries where they settle.

> Transmigrants are immigrants whose daily lives depend on multiple and constant interconnections across international borders and whose public identities are configured in relationship to more than one nation-state. They are not sojourners because they settle and become incorporated in the economy and political institutions, localities, and patterns of daily life of the country in which they reside. However, at the very same time, they are engaged elsewhere in the sense that they maintain connections, build institutions, conduct transactions, and influence local and national events in the countries from which they emigrated.(Glick Schiller, Baschve Blanc-Szanton 1995)

However, it is important to emphasize that although Tunç Yalman was described by the American public as Turkish born, there is no evidence that his Turkish origins were reflected in his work. Since Tunç Yalman lived in the States as a child, attended an American college and studied in the USA, he was very familiar with American culture and language. In the States, it seemed more important to Yalman to internationalise American theatre than to clearly incorporate his Turkish identity. In this context, it can be stated that Yalman, compared to other influential theatre artists who had studied abroad, was not looking for a new Turkish theatre language that would unite both cultures in a synthesis or that would be mutually enriching, but that his influence on American theatre was more European than Oriental and vice versa.

Despite their international successes and the knowledge that Muhsin Ertuğrul and Tunç Yalman brought to Turkish theatre, Ertuğrul in particular felt that modern Turkish theatre was still not on a par with their Western models. In addition to the training of actors, Ertuğrul believed that a theatre of the desired quality could only be achieved with the establishment of theatre schools that produced good playwrights and critics in addition to actors.

> I would heartily wish that "Theater Institutes" could finally be founded at our universities, especially at the faculties of letter, where playwrights are trained and we don't stay behind Europe and America anymore, and now Asia either (Tuncay 1970).

Muhsin Ertuğrul's desire to found a theatre institute was realized in Ankara, the Turkish capital, in 1958, at the Faculty of Language, History and Geography, i.e. at the Faculty of Humanities.

The Founding of Theatre Institutes in Turkey

At the instigation of Prof. Dr. İrfan Şahinbaş, also a fellow of the Rockefeller Foundation and the head of the American Literature department of the university (founded in 1957 by Şahinbaş), a Theatre Institute that considered theatre as a science, conducted research and provided education on this subject was established. The head of the institute was Prof. Dr. Bedrettin Tuncel (Professor for French); Prof. Dr. İrfan Şahinbaş became his assistant. The institute was closed at the end of the 1962 academic year on the grounds that it was not possible to teach within the scope of an institute. When retraining started under the name of Theatre Department in 1964, students underwent a four-year education and graduates were given a university graduation certificate. Prof. Dr. Melehat Özgü, who was Professor for German, was brought in as the head of the department. The first institute for theatre studies in Turkey set itself the task of researching World and Turkish theatre, making Turkish theatre history and plays known at home and abroad, carrying out analyses and research under this umbrella, and, above all, teaching young authors the techniques of writing for the stage.

Muhsin Ertuğrul was touched:

> I believed from the beginning that this institute with its inconspicuous beginnings would bring about a revolution in Turkish theater. (...) Until now, we expected our authors who were left alone, to develop and write their plays in an unproductive atmosphere. (...) I sincerely believe that at this institute, those interested in writing for the stage will teach technical know-how and produce many good authors.(Ertuğrul 1975)

The Rockefeller Foundation financed the stay of the theatre professor Kenneth MacGowan in Ankara, where he taught playwriting. He had two assistants at his side (Refik Erduran and Özdemir Nutku) who translated for him into Turkish. MacGowan was profoundly impressed by the lively theatre scene in Ankara, and, in an article about the Turkish theatre, wrote that about fifteen percent of the productions on the city's five stages were of American origin. He believed that the audience's reactions to comedies and tragedies were equally naïve, but that they would read the 40-60 page long programmes with great interest, based on the German model (Murat 1970). A year later, Prof. Kenneth MacGowan left and Prof. Grant Redford continued the seminars, in which a key figure in Turkish theatre participated as a student: Metin Teyfik (Çavdar) also known as Metin And. He was one of the most active Rockefeller scholars in the development of Turkish theatre,

especially in theatre criticism and theatre studies (Kenneth W. 2003). He studied theatre and dance criticism in New York and, after his return to Turkey, took part in courses in playwriting at the newly founded Institute for Theatre Studies in Ankara. According to John Marshall:

> And is to play a more and more constructive role in the arts in Ankara. On this visit, it became clear that he is more and more respected by everyone for his impartiality, lack of any personal ambition, and desire to make himself and his money as useful as possible. At home and abroad he has certainly been taken with the idea of a philanthropic role and is beginning to play it.(Marshall, Rockefeller Foundation Archive 1958)

Metin And was the son of a rich family of winemakers (Kavaklıdere). His father had already established a foundation for polyphonic music in Ankara. He began his theatre career with theatre reviews, which he wrote for a newspaper for 15 years, and taught theatre and cultural history at the theatre institute. In the following years, And not only carried out extensive research into cultural and theatrical sources with his standard works on Turkish theatre and its development, but also made it known abroad. With his more than fifty books, he created a foundation for the emerging theatre studies in Turkey, which is undeniably not surpassed to this day. Unlike Ertuğrul, he campaigned for a theatre that not only copied the West but also focused on its own theatre tradition. Accordingly, he was also critical of Ertuğrul's strict adherence to Western theatre. However, And's interests were varied. He researched and wrote books on various forms of plays and rituals, Ottoman miniatures and wedding feasts and made a very important contribution to Ottoman and Turkish theatre history with his detailed research and publications, which are still standard works today. He was also known as a very good speaker and in 1978, during a tour of the USA, he gave 30 speeches in different cities in 40 days. He was, moreover, able to expand his academic horizon internationally by teaching Turkish theatre at the Institute for Applied Theater Studies in Giessen, as well as at the universities in Tokyo and New York. And's work was not about making Western theatre, especially American theatre, known in Turkey, but trying to historiographically reappraise the influence of Western theatre on Turkish theatre. He also tried to make traditional Turkish theatre, such as shadow theatre, meddah, or play in the middle, known abroad.

The Rockefeller Foundation was also aware of this problem that came with the radical break with the Ottoman past and the strict turn towards the West.

> But Turkey has clearly now come to a stage of national development where its faculty members are needed in national thinking. To take an example from the humanities, Turks sadly need clarification as to their past, and particularly, their recent past. They have emerged now from the dogmas … of the regimes of Ataturk and the one party system; in a sense, the advantages of the break with the past that those dogmas allowed have been realized. Increasingly evident now is a psychological hunger to come to terms with all that went before. How good and how bad, to put it bluntly, was the Ottoman Empire after all? How true and how untrue are the things one is told of its relations with Europe and the Arab States? What is there in the literature of Turkey before romanization, from which Turks educated since are literally cut off, because of their inability to read Turkish written in Arabic characters and in an older vocabulary? A people without a history may be theoretically happy; but as complete a break with history, …. leaves elements of at least psychological unhappiness (RF 1955).

In the sixties, the discussion about the need for a Turkish theatre, which would have to be a synthesis of Western and traditional elements, increased. After the military coup in 1960, a liberal constitution was adopted that allowed Marxist literature, including Brecht, to be

translated into Turkish. The Brechtian alienation effect was, for many Turkish artists, nothing less than a confirmation that they should deal innovatively with traditional theatrical forms, which have inherently alienating qualities.

One of the most prominent figures in this context is the director, author and scientist Özdemir Nutku, who was one of the first assistants at the Theater Institute in Ankara and a graduate of Robert College. Nutku was convinced that the development of an innovative national Turkish theatre was only possible through a broad education. After a trip to Munich, during which he visited some of the subsidized theatres, the drama school and the theatre institute of the Ludwig Maximilian University, he claimed that neither acting training at conservatories nor the largely theoretical training in theatre studies could achieve an integrated and unified language of theatre. Since theatre is a collective art and the individual areas produce their creativity in mutual contact with one another, the training should include different areas of theatre (Nutku 1992). Hence, he preferred the American model, which allowed him to teach all areas of the theatre under one roof. The institution he created from scratch in Izmir in 1976 included the areas of drama, scenic writing and stage design. Özdemir Nutku was one of the few actors who succeeded in creating a transfer of knowledge beyond the borders of Turkey. In 1965, he gave lectures, conferences and seminars in many universities such as Yale, Washington (Seattle), Chicago, Pittsburgh, Northwestern, Minnesota, Southern California, UCLA, Carnegie Technology School and North Carolina, and participated in workshops there. In addition to staging a large number of plays on different stages in Germany and Turkey, he published over thirty books on world theatre and theatre theory, as well as the translations of a multitude of plays, especially those of Shakespeare.

As mentioned above, one of Nutku's most important aspirations was, very much in the spirit of Metin And, to create a national Turkish theatre that is influenced by other cultures, but still reflects its own national culture.

> In order for people to maintain their freedom and sovereignty, they have to develop an integrated and unified narrative form. Each nation has its own special narrative form. This is the reason why different nations influence each other, but still have their own culture. And that's why only cultural independence can guarantee national independence. (Nutku1969)

Public discussion about a national theatre language has continued up to the present. But at the same time, the search for a theatre language of its own reflects how a radical break with its own past has led to a kind of loss of identity in the theatre. Although this was a point of criticism from the beginning and was expressed repeatedly, it was took on a different aspect with the strong politicization of the population in the sixties. "Thought clubs" emerged at universities, theatres with political ambitions were established which tried to free themselves from the elitist corset of their predecessors. This is precisely a point for which John Marshall might be blamed, because all the fellows nominated by him in the years from 1950 to 1961 came from the Turkish upper classes.

Conclusion

Theatre based on a Western model was, for Mustafa Kemal Ataturk, the founder of the Turkish Republic, entirely in the spirit of the European Enlightenment, a moral, socio-political and aesthetic institution, a place of enlightenment and a place of popular education. Therefore, in 1930, by law, he made it the task of city administrations to build and cover the costs of the theatre. The Western theatre in Turkey during that time was

mainly influenced by French, German and Russian models, as can be clearly seen in the works and writings of Muhsin Ertuğrul. This changed partly during the years of the Cold War, because Turkey began to play a political and strategic role for the United States for the reasons stated above. The formation of a network of ideologically loyal intellectuals who would later occupy key positions in various institutions gained strategic importance. Since the social sciences and humanities including the theatre, especially in the fifties, played an important role for the Rockefeller Foundation in establishing a part of this network, it was worthwhile focusing on the key players in it. One of the key figures in this network was clearly Muhsin Ertuğrul, who assisted John Marshall, the Rockefeller Foundation's representative in the Middle East, and who had a major influence on the belief that actors should be supported. Other key figures were Metin And, Yıldız Kenter and Tunç Yalman.

Among them were a new generation of talented artists and graduates of Robert College, which ensured a growing influence of American theatre on the contents and forms of Turkish theatre. Not only were texts translated into Turkish and performed, but also the acting style started to be affected. To the common Stanislavski oriented acting style on stages and conservatories came American method acting styles. The study of theatre studies at the Institute in Ankara also showed an American influence, at least in the first years, since the Rockefeller Foundation financed the American teaching staff, such as Prof. Kenneth MacGowan and Prof. Grant Redford. Özdemir Nutku expanded this influence by founding a theatre institute covering as many as possible areas of the theatre that could be taught under one roof.

It can be stated that the US turn to the humanities between 1948 and 1961 led to an increasing interest in American culture and strongly influenced the theatrical landscape in major cities such as Istanbul and Ankara. However, the influence was not so great that one can speak of an Americanization of the stages and educational institutions, as long-time theatre critic Dikmen Gürün, who also studied theatre in the US (Gürün 2020), confirms. In the above-mentioned period, only about eight people from the theatre field received a scholarship, because after 1961, the foundation lost interest in the humanities and in the following years turned its attention to agriculture.

Nevertheless, the seeds were sown for an intensive exchange between the countries. As early as 1956, the Middle East Institute of Technology was founded in Ankara and a faculty of literature and social sciences was added in 1959. As is evident in the university's name, it is an American foundation that has contributed to the development of Turkey and Middle Eastern countries, especially by training people in the natural and social sciences. In 1963, Bosphorus University was added; as mentioned above, it emerged from Robert College. Undoubtedly, organizations such as the Turkish American Association and the Fullbright Commission continued to provide a lively exchange and growing influence on economic, social and cultural life in Turkey.

Endnotes

[1] Montreux Convention, (1936) agreement concerning the Dardanelles strait. In response to Turkey's request to refortify the area, the signers of the Treaty of Lausanne and others met in Montreux, Switz., and agreed to return the zone to Turkish military control. https://www.britannica.com/event/Montreux-Convention, accessed: 10.06.2021

[2] In the 1960s, Robert College left its buildings on Hisar Campus to merge with the American Girls' High School and left all the historical buildings to the Turkish state, which founded the Bosphorus University in its place in 1971.

[3] Compare: https://www.taa-ankara.org.tr/dernek/tad-tarihce, accessed: 10.04.2021.

[4] The practice theatre hall was closed in 1949 with the establishment of the State Theatre and reopened only in 2013 as a private initiative.

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Performing the Politics of Non-Alignment in Cold War Germany[1]

Abstract

This article discusses the history of postcolonial student migration and the under-researched repertoire of decolonial protest performances in Cold War Germany. It shows how the recruitment of hundreds of African and Asian students in the mid-1950s to visit universities in the two Germanies led to political and performative interventions of the Global South students across the Iron Curtain and to political coalitions with the nascent West German student movement. From a specific theatre and performance studies approach, this article explores these decolonial protests through the lens of performance and argues for a new approach to protest culture, one that goes beyond static and reified conceptions and instead allows us to understand the immediate and material effects such protest techniques had for those protesting.

Keywords

Protest, performance, postcolonial student migration, decolonization

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> "Around 1000 students from over 50 nations and 4 continents are currently studying at the Karl-Marx-University in Leipzig and make our city [...] truly to a meeting point of the world. They have brought the spirit of the conference of Bandung with them and are a vivid expression of the generous politics that our German Democratic Republic follows in the area of international labor and the support for the colonial and recently independent countries." [2]
> "These students will be the political and intellectual leaders of tomorrow in their nations; the choice they will make between West and East for the path of Asia and Africa might also determine the future of Europe." [3]

In 1955, delegates from 29 countries met in Indonesia for the so-called Bandung Conference, from which the superpowers Russia and the United States were excluded, to discuss politics of anti-imperialism, non-alignment, and decolonization. The resolutions of the Bandung Conference took an important and unambiguous stance on the stage of world politics against colonialism and brought the existence of a third geopolitical position to the attention of the world. The repercussions of the conference, the so-called "Spirit of Bandung", were also felt in the two Germanies at the time, the state-socialist German Democratic Republic and the liberal-capitalist Federal Republic of Germany. Here, the spirit of Bandung had a quite specific meaning. Bereft of colonies of their own, the

conference of Bandung represented an extraordinary opening for the two Germanies to create new spheres of influence. As historian Quinn Slobodian posits, for East and West Germany, "a postcolonial world of nations was a diplomatic field that a world of empires was not" (Slobodian 2013, 645).

One way to establish such a diplomatic field was to actively recruit hundreds of African and Asian students in the mid-1950s to visit universities in the two Germanies. These students organized themselves across the Iron Curtain and intervened in the post-War German public spheres with anti-imperial and decolonial political protests, speeches, and performances, as well as with their own political interpretations of international socialism. A large number of these pan-African and pan-Asian student groups also forged political coalitions with the nascent West-German student movement and its political agendas. With anti-imperial and decolonial protest performances, such as sit-ins, teach-ins, hunger strikes, marches, and blockades, they introduced direct action to the post-war German public spheres and arguably politicized the emerging German student movement on both sides of the Iron Curtain.

Employing Theatre and Performance Studies, this article explores these decolonial protests through the lens of performance. My argument is twofold: first, I argue that the presence of the Global South students in Cold War Germany challenges the dominant narrative of 1960s scholarship that European student movements looked mainly westwards, to the US, for insurgent inspiration (Klimke 2007; Höhn 2002). Second, I argue that their protest performances challenge the way performance as a critical lens has been used to analyse protest cultures. While most scholarship on 1960s protest culture has used performance to describe the symbolic and staged character of direct action (Schechner 1995; Klimke and Scharloth 2007), I argue that the direct action of the decolonial protests described in this article not only targeted governmental authority but also transformed those impacted by these structures in their subjectivity.

The article starts by briefly mapping the "performative turn" within 1960s scholarship and the alternative approach to performance that this article will employ. I then outline the motivations of both East and West Germany for recruiting students from the Global South in the mid-1950s and the ways in which the foreign students organized themselves in student organizations. Subsequently, I discuss two examples of political protests by the foreign student groups as well as the strategies the two German governments used to navigate and negotiate the political activities and public presence of these students.

The "Performative Turn" in 1960s scholarship

In their handbook on the cultural and media history of the student movement (2007), historians Martin Klimke and Joachim Scharloth (2007) propose a "performative turn" for the historiography of 1960s protest culture. By that, they mean that scholars should pay increased attention to the staged character of direct action in the 1960s. They build their argument on theatre historian Erika Fischer-Lichte's observation that 1960s society itself was deeply marked by a "performative turn". According to Fischer-Lichte this turn was "[…] realized in and sparked off a number of new forms of cultural performances such as spectacular demonstrations and marches, go-ins, sit-ins, teach-ins, happenings, interrupting the course of traditional cultural performances" (238). Every corner of social life was touched by this performative turn: "The new performative turn theatricalized economics, law, the arts, and everyday life. Theatre became a cultural model" (Fischer-Lichte 2005, 238). Her reading of the emergence of this performative turn as tied to the expansion of media technologies during the Cold War has informed much of the scholarship on 1960s protest culture. In the majority of the scholarship, direct action and protest are described as primarily symbolic actions and as deliberately staged for the media. Here, the protagonists of the protests are presented as spreading their message in the form of symbolic politics using tactical event stagings (Klimke and Scharloth 2007; Höhn 2002). This approach assumes that each direct action was at every point intended

for public viewing and takes for granted that those protesting must communicate with the media in order to be effective.

Critical of this narrow focus on performance's symbolic and communicative mode, theatre and performance scholar Michael Shane Boyle (2012) suggests a different approach. Building on Tracy C. Davis' definition of performance as "a tool for innovative exploration" that is attentive "to the implication of bodies and embodiedness" (Davis 2008, 1) and on Dwight Conquergood's definition of performance as a method of research (2002), Boyle suggests focusing on the analysis of direct action on the immediate and material effects such protest techniques had for those protesting, as well as for their transformative effects of subjectivity. He argues that the concept of performance allows us to move beyond static and reified conceptions of protest cultures and can help us to understand the effects such protest techniques have had for those protesting, namely their transformative effects on subjectivity. I concur with his assessment, as most of the witness accounts of the protests I have come across over the course of this research speak of how the experience of performing direct action has helped them to overcome alienated social relations and internalized hierarchies. More than a tool for staging, the performativity and embodiment of direct action helped the protestors to a form of "radical self-questioning" of their assumptions and conclusions about society. In other words, the very act of engaging in the performativity of political protest transforms the one who performs the act. This means understanding the one engaged in direct action not as preceding an expression but as being shaped by the performance of expression (Boyle 2012, 22). As Ulrike Meinhof, one of the iconic figures of the German New Left, declared in 1968, "the students are not rehearsing for a rebellion, they are engaging in resistance."[4]

As I will show in this article, these new forms of performative engagement in political protest in the public spheres of Cold War Germany derived not only from a deep engagement with revolutionary ideas from what was then called the "Third World", as much scholarship has so far insisted, but from the actual presence of students from the postcolonial world leading the way in Germany's early 1960s protest movement. It was the actual political collaboration between the international students and the nascent German student movement that introduced direct action as the favoured instrument of the 1960s "cultural revolution".

The Scramble for Foreign Students

Both German republics dedicated significant efforts to attracting so-called Afro-Asian students to either of the two blocs. From the mid-1950s onwards, the battle for Afro-Asian students fought by the two Germanies accelerated with every year. For the sake of comparison: in 1957, West German universities admitted 3,053 foreign students while East German universities admitted only 225. The numbers increased rapidly on both sides within only a few years. By 1960, West Germany had 9,282 foreign students and East Germany 1,342 (Slobodian, 646).[5]

The interest in students from the Global South in both German republics was clearly informed by the ambition to increase political and diplomatic influence on the postcolonial world. A letter from the GDR Secretary of Higher Education to the GDR Minister of People's Education in 1961 labelled "strictly confidential" exemplifies the role the foreign students played in the GDR's foreign policies: "The experience with students who already returned to their home countries (for instance, India and the United Arab Republic) proves that they are an important factor in increasing the international esteem of the GDR."[6] Similarly, a public relations campaign in West Germany in 1959, signed by a group of major West German politicians such as Willy Brandt, Heinrich Lübcke, Theodor Heuss and others stated: "These students will be the political and intellectual leaders of tomorrow in

their nations; the choice they will make between West and East for the path of Asia and Africa might also determine the future of Europe."[7]

The programme for students from the Global South was a crucial part of the West German development policy. Once West German authorities began to see development more as a cultural than an economic problem, education became a top priority in the 1960s. The first funds for international training and education in 1956 in the FGR amounted to 17 million DM and were dedicated to "maintaining cultural relations". As a result, the numbers of foreign students on West German campuses increased ninefold between 1951 and 1961, while the number of West German students only doubled (Slobodian 2012, 28). The situation was similar in the GDR. The foreign student study programme was seen as such an important factor in the foreign policy of the GDR that, in 1961, the Secretary for Higher Education suggested cutting the available places for German students considerably in order to offer a better quota for students from the Global South.[8]

Contrary to the situation in the FRG, the GDR emphasized the importance of the foreign students returning to their home countries. This was part of their understanding of international solidarity. The aim of the foreign student education programme in the GDR was to educate the future elites of the postcolonial countries and to avoid the "brain drain" that the West was allegedly supporting with their foreign student programmes. The return of the students to their home countries after completing their education in the GDR held obvious benefits for the East German authorities. The hope was that the returning students would advocate the GDR's political ideology and scientific development in the postcolonial world. Yet, instead of fulfilling their supposed roles as "agents of the project of national-economic development" (Slobodian 2012, 30), these foreign students evaded the containment strategies of West and East German authorities and vocally advocated their own political ideas about socialism, decolonization, and liberation.

Student organizations

With their politics of non-alignment, the Afro-Asian students challenged the binary Cold War rhetorics of both the GDR and the FRG, tested the boundaries of political tolerance of the two republics, and in many cases created diplomatic difficulties for their host countries. Both countries explicitly encouraged the foreign students to address the problems of their home countries in seminars and discussion rounds. However, they implicitly disallowed any position in between the blocs.

The students from the Global South organized themselves in national and international university groups (Hochschulgruppen). Almost every country was represented on West and East German campuses with their own student organization, such as the Afghan Student Union, the Egyptian Student Club, the Federation of Iranian Students, the Union of Sudanese Students etc. In 1961, West Germany had 237 foreign student organizations, while East Germany had 105 foreign student organizations in 1966 (Uladh 2005, 193). Besides the national student groups, students also established international student organizations: the Afro-Asian Student Union at the University of Göttingen [9] was established by Sayeed ur Rahman from India, Ghasan Al Akel from Syria and Kyaw Tha Tun from Burma in 1959; the African Student Union of Germany (ASUD) was founded in Munich in 1961 and became a single trans-German organization in the spirit of pan-Africanism.

Especially the East German authorities encouraged the development of national student organizations. Records from East German universities show that the national framework was also used to evaluate the academic performance of the students. Performance records of foreign students at the Technical University Dresden from 1975, for instance, describe Algerian students as "the worst students among the Arabic students, but with great engagement in the theories of Marxist-Leninist theories".[10] Students from Bangladesh are classed as "achievement-wise the strongest of all student groups" and the Egyptian

students are "good listeners" but "weak in active participations" during political discussions.[11]

While the national organizations seemed to cater to the containment strategies of East German authorities, umbrella organizations, such as the Afro-Asian Student Union or the pan-African student organization, did not. They were deemed "obstructive" to the work with the foreign students.[12] This dismissal might have been motivated by the fact that these student organizations operated across the Iron Curtain, i.e. not only as pan-Asian or pan-African organizations, but in the broader spirit of non-alignment, also as pan-German organizations. Since foreign students were allowed to travel between East and West Germany, even after the wall was built in 1961, they were able to organize across the Iron Curtain. Many foreign students studying in East Germany, moreover, made regular use of the nightlife in West Berlin and functioned as suppliers of West German consumer goods to their East German colleagues. As I will show in the following two examples, in resisting ideological patronage, the Global South students were in many cases the driving force behind student activism and political demonstrations on both sides of the Berlin wall. In the spirit of non-alignment, they challenged the bloc mentality of both German republics.

The Anti-Tshombe demonstrations in West Berlin

The demonstration against the visit of Congolese prime minister Moise Tshombe to West Berlin in 1964 was one of the first major public protests by politicized Global South students that reverberated in the public spheres of both German republics. The African Student Union and the Latin American Student League organized the Berlin demonstration together with socialist West German students. Tshombe hoped to use his visit to obtain more development investment from the West German government. For the demonstrating students, however, he was responsible for the massacre of thousands of Congolese in the battle of Kisangani. However, as historian Timothy Brown (2013) argues: "More than simply a protest against Tshombe's dismal human-rights records, it was a protest against the persistence of colonial domination in the Third World symbolized by Western elite's support of Tshombe" (23). The demonstration can thus be seen as targeting both local and global issues; it was a protest against West Berlin's involvement in Tshombe's policies as much as against colonialism, the Cold War, and anti-Communism.

Both East and West German newspapers described the dramaturgy of the demonstration in great detail.[13] When Tshombe arrived at the airport, he was greeted by a group of over a thousand students with placards saying "Murderer", "Freedom for the Congolese People", but also "Bonn=Enemy of the Congo; GDR= Friend of the Congo", which was highlighted by the East German newspapers and suggests that East German students or African students from East Germany also participated in the demonstrations. When the first tomatoes were thrown his way, Tshombe left the airport through a back door. Students also broke through the police barricades and continued linking arms and chanting "murderer" and "Tshombe out" as they marched towards city hall. This was a serious breach of the demonstration protocol as the protest had only been allowed by the Berlin police on condition that the protestors stayed in one place (and behind the barricades) and that it was a silent protest.

Fig. 1 Protesting students behind the barricades. Photograph: Landesarchiv Berlin.

Fig. 2 Protesting students on their way to city hall. Photograph: Landesarchiv Berlin.

At the city hall, the large number of protestors, their vociferous slogans and a rather disorganized police got the attention of the mayor of Berlin, Willy Brandt. He delayed his meeting with Tshombe in order to receive a delegation of the protesting students in his office. A representative of the African Student Union, the president of the Nigerian Students Association, an Algerian student, an Egyptian student, and two German members of the Socialist Student Union (SDS) convinced Brandt in a twenty-minute conversation of the negative consequences for West Germany's image in Africa this audience with Tshombe would have. As a result, Brandt cut his meeting with Tshombe short and assured the students that their demonstration would receive retroactive police approval (Slobodian 2012, 70).

Fig. 3 The delegation of students inside city hall before meeting mayor Willy Brandt. Photograph: Landesarchiv Berlin.

For the (West) German student movement, the anti-Tshombe demonstration was a watershed moment. Rudi Dutschke from the socialist West German student organization, and later the face of the German New Left, called it "the beginning of our cultural revolution".[14] For the first time, direct action was used as a successful protest technique. The anti-Tshombe demonstration was tame in comparison to what was to come in the following years. Yet, it marked a crucial moment in the protest repertoire of the New Left, since direct action was used for the first time as a protesting tool. The spontaneous violation of police orders by a large group of demonstrators had previously been unthinkable in postwar Germany. The anti-Tshombe demonstration had developed a protest dramaturgy against foreign dignitaries invited to West Germany that would recur repeatedly in 1960s-Germany, most famously in the protest against Shah Reza Pahlavi in June 1967 (Brown 2013, 24).

The anti-Tshombe demonstration is a pertinent example of Global South student demonstrations that impacted the German perception of the postcolonial world and

politicized German students to employ direct action. It shows that even before the now iconic anti-Vietnam war demonstrations by the German New Left in the late 1960s, students from the Global South had organized internationally coordinated waves of protests that targeted both their colonial and neocolonial governments and the local governments of the two German republics. The African students had introduced Dutschke and his German comrades to a repertoire of protest techniques (breaking the police line, building a human chain, storming City Hall) that would change their understanding of protest profoundly. As Dutschke noted retrospectively in his diary: "Our friends from the Third World jumped immediately into the breach; it was up to the Germans to follow."[15]

Crucially, Dutschke described the physical experience of spontaneously transgressing the rules of demonstration or "the fetishized game rules of formal democracy" as having had an impact on the "self-awareness" of the protestors that no reflection, discussion, or other forms of rational deliberation could have had.[16] The performance of disobedience through direct action not only targeted governmental authority but also transformed those impacted by these structures in their subjectivity, according to their self-assessment. It becomes clear from their own statements and the descriptions of eye witnesses, that in the case of the anti-Tshombe demonstration, direct action was not used to deliberately stage spectacular media images (as in "a media performance"), but applied spontaneously, and can be better understood as performance in the sense of "a method of research" (Conquergood 2002) into new forms of resistance against state authority.

Controlling Curious Communists

Interestingly, the West German media located the origin of the new protest techniques of the West German students in "the East", and more specifically in China. The protesting students were repeatedly labelled as "FU-Chinese", "Red Guards", or "Maoist Youth" (Brown 2013, 34). This is almost ironic, as the GDR faced in the same years growing problems with its actual Chinese students, who increasingly questioned and publicly challenged the line of Soviet socialism that the GDR followed. Whereas a vocal political attitude by foreign students was encouraged by the GDR authorities, this was the case only to the extent that their political expressions were in line with the party's socialist ideas. The following example shows how the GDR created "spaces of supervised freedom" (Slobodian 2013, 645), in which the political activities of the foreign students could be controlled and censored if necessary and highlights the occasionally drastic efforts that were taken to police their attitudes towards alternative interpretations of communism.

In 1960, the President of the Karl-Marx University Leipzig evaluated the education of foreign students in the GDR as follows:

> [w]e cannot leave it to chance, whether or not our foreign students feel at home and whether they see and understand the situation in the right way. We have to actively advertise the new and great things that are growing in our state. At the same time, it is our responsibility to avoid everything that alienates the students from the problems in their home countries during their stay. [17]

Rather than leaving it to chance, the foreign students were engaged in a carefully curated programme of political discussions about "Third World" matters, obligatory introductory courses in Marxism-Leninism, exposure to everyday GDR life in host families and coordinated sightseeing tours and cultural events. These excursions were often described by East German university authorities as "relevant to foreign policy" (außenpolitisch relevant) in the evaluation reports and also served to test the students' political-ideological attitudes in more casual settings.[18] The space of supervised freedom thus extended far

beyond the classroom. A lecturer from the Herder Institute (which ran the foreign student programme) summarized the alleged motto of the institute as: "The enemy is where we are not" (Uladh 2005, 197).

However, the supervision was less all-encompassing than the GDR authorities might have hoped. For one, they had little control over their international students' freedom of movement, manifest in their regular travels to West Berlin. During the mid-1960s, the GDR also increasingly lost a grip on the particular brand of socialism that it would have liked to see the students export back to their home countries. With the escalation of the political tensions between China and the Soviet Union in the 1960s – the so-called Sino-Soviet split - many of the Global South students became more vocal about alternative interpretations of socialism to the state-socialism of the GDR. This can be seen, for instance, in a political discussion that escalated at the Herder Institute in January 1963. The topic of the evening was "What are the tasks of the 6th party convention of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany (SED)" and the main lecture stressed the principles of peaceful coexistence and the communist movement's commitment to fighting for peace. Following the lecture, a group of Chinese students hijacked the discussion with prepared contributions that challenged the foreign policy of the USSR, particularly the principle of peaceful coexistence, and defended China's position in the conflict over the border with India.[19] These incidents recurred in various political forums. The students also distributed material propagating Mao Zedong's political ideas in German translation on all GDR campuses or published them in so-called wall newspapers throughout the university.[20]

The authorities of the Karl-Marx University reacted promptly by prohibiting students from speaking about these matters publicly and distributing any material from China that had not been approved by the university.[21] The university deemed these questions to be party political rather classroom politics. The East German universities tried to regulate the contact between Chinese students and their colleagues, but other students had long been "infected". Outside of the classroom, the Chinese students continued to organize political discussions in the foreign student dormitories and supplied participants with records of Mao's speeches. Rather than blindly following SED socialism, many of the foreign students remained deeply influenced by the socialist principles of their home countries. In a report on the university year 1968, the Committee for Foreign Student Matters (KAS) complained that most students from Southeast Asia, Africa, and Latin America had devoted themselves "to the arsenal of Mao-ideology, the petty-bourgeois Western European student movements, and even the theories of Che Guevara."[22]

The Sino-Soviet split was as much about geopolitical struggles as it was about the sovereignty of defining and redefining socialism and communism as such. While East Germany depicted its relationship to the Soviet Union as one of "friendship", China refashioned it as one of colonizer and colonized (Slobodian 2016). The idea that peace should be the ultimate goal of the communist world system, as the GDR and the USSR advocated, was understood by China as counter-productive and harmful to the cause of liberating the still colonized countries through violent revolution. This narrative of "decolonization through revolution" and the belief that the Soviet communist idea of world peace accounted only for the realities in the Global North, resonated specifically with the African and Latin American students in the GDR.[23] They found the Chinese critique of the apparent bias of the peace doctrine confirmed in the conflicts of their home countries. The Cuban Missile Crisis, the Bay of Pigs invasion, or the ongoing interventions of the Global North in the funding of political parties or leaders in African countries are just some of these examples. When the Union of African Students and Workers in the GDR (UASA) planned to discuss the Chinese position "on the East German failure to support revolutionary moments"[24] at a conference they had organized in 1961, the East Germany authorities postponed the conference three times. As an official from an East German technical university noted, a large percentage of the foreign students "tends to make undue generalizations in seeing GDR citizens as petty bourgeois (Spießer) people lacking revolutionary élan of any kind."[25] Yet, not only the foreign students but also the nascent

West German student movement and the East German youth showed a deep interest in Maoist thought. Delegates of the socialist student organization in West Berlin as well as hundreds of East German youths travelled regularly to the East German Chinese Embassy to acquire copies of Mao Zedong's Red Book and other publications.

The conflict with the Chinese students provokes a different reading of Cold War politics, one in which the GDR had to define and defend its interpretation of communism not only against Western democracy but also against Eastern Maoism. This example also shows that—contrary to the dominant script of Cold War historiography—conflicts were not exclusive to the binary opposition between communism and capitalism. Instead, the fight for the dominant interpretation of communism was a crucial battlefield for the countries on the other side of the Iron Curtain as well.

Conclusion

In this article, I have argued for a reevaluation of the role of students from the Global South in the political protest movements of the 1960s and challenged the tenacious myth of German Cold War protest culture that the nascent German student movement looked exclusively westwards for political inspiration. The concept of performance I used in this article has helped to show the transformative effects that the direct action of the decolonial protests had on those protesting and challenged the common idea that most protest forms are merely symbolic and staged for the media. Moreover, both examples, the demonstrations against Tshombe in West Berlin and the interventions of Chinese students in East Germany, testify to the presence of decolonization, liberation, and non-alignment as concepts available in public debates across the two Germanies during the 1950s and 1960s. The Afro-Asian students not only politicized the nascent German student movement into new forms of direct action but also challenged the bloc mentality of Cold War Germany with ideas of non-alignment. In confrontation with authorities and colleagues, they opened up political and ideological alternatives to both Western liberal capitalism and the state-based socialism of the East.

Endnotes

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[2] University Archive Leipzig (UAL), DIB 034, Memo by the Vice Rector of the Karl-Marx-University Leipzig on the question of the foreign student study programme, „Zu Fragen des Ausländerstudiums", 25.4.1960.

[3] BArch/B136/3037, 18 December 1959.

[4] Meinhof, cit. in Boyle 18.

[5] Foreign students had been enrolled at East German universities as early as 1951. But the foreign student programme really took off with the founding of the Institute for Foreign Students (*Institut für Ausländerstudium*) at the Karl-Marx-University of Leipzig in 1956, which was later renamed the Herder Institute. In total, about 78,400 foreign students visited East German universities between 1951 and 1989 (Uladh 175).

[6] Bundesarchiv Berlin Lichterfelde DR 2/6663. "Streng vertraulich. Betr. Maßnahmen zur Erweiterung des Ausländerstudiums bis 1965", 23.5.1961, Schreiben des Staatssekretärs für Hochschul- und Fachschulwesen an das Ministerium für Volksbildung.

[7] BArch/B136/3037, 18 December 1959.

[8] Bundesarchiv Berlin Lichterfelde DR 2/6663. "Streng vertraulich. Betr. Maßnahmen zur Erweiterung des Ausländerstudiums bis 1965", 23.5.1961, Schreiben des Staatssekretärs für Hochschul- und Fachschulwesen an das Ministerium für Volksbildung.

[9] The student union successfully operates to this day and can be understood as a unique model of "implemented multiculturalism" at a time when Germans themselves were not ready to enter into intercultural dialogues (Berman 44).
[10] University Archive Dresden (UAD), „Bericht über Studenten an der TU Dresden aus nichtsozialistischen Ländern", 24. April 1975, File 003.
[11] Ibid.
[12] Cit. in Uladh 193.
[13] I follow here the accounts of the GDR newspaper *Neues Deutschland,* 19th December 1964 and the FRG newspaper *Berliner Morgenpost,* 21st December 1964.
[14] Uwe Bergmann, Rudi Dutschke, Wolfgang Lefèvre, and Bernd Rabehl, Rebellion der Studenten oder die neue Opposition (Hamburg: Rororo Aktuell, 1968), p. 63.
[15] Cit. in Slobodian 2012, p.73.
[16] Dutschke cit. in Boyle, p. 53.
[17] University Archive Leipzig (UAL), DIB 034, „Zu Fragen des Ausländerstudiums", 25.4.1960.
[18] UAL DIB 034, „Probleme der politisch-ideologischen Einflußnahme auf die ausländischen Aspiranten im Studienjahr 1964/65", 22.6.1965. This particular report, for instance, also describes where the students sat on the bus on the excursion, who sang what song on the bus and what they discussed during lunch etc.
[19] UAL DIB 034, "Auszug aus Bericht der SED-Parteiorganisation des Herder Instituts über Forum vom 9.1.1963 im Club des Herder Institutes". The report is marked "strictly confidential".
[20] UAL DIB 034, "Auszug aus Bericht der SED-Parteiorganisation des Herder Instituts über Forum vom 9.1.1963 im Club des Herder Institutes". The report is marked "strictly confidential".
[21] UAL DIB 034, "Bericht über die Aussprache mit zwei Vertretern der chinesischen Landsmannschaft in Leipzig", letter from the Vice Rector for junior scientists of the Karl-Marx University to the State Secretary for Higher Education, 26.2.1963.
[22] Cit. in Uladh 191, transl. by me.
[23] UAL Sektion ML 038, "Bericht zum Ausländerstudium", 25.1.1966.
[24] Cit. in Slobodia 2016, p.648.
[25] Ibid.

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Viviana Iacob

The University of the Theatre of Nations: Explorations into Cold War Exchanges[1]

Abstract

The article analyses the Cold War history of the University of the Theatre of Nations, a project developed by two international organisations, the Theatre of Nations Festival and the International Theatre Institute. By placing the university project within the larger framework of theatre exchanges and training programmes developed during the post-war period, the article discusses the role played by these international organizations in creating spaces where theatre practitioners from all over the world could acquire contacts and build networks that connected them to their peers despite ideological divisions. Within this framework, the article shows the contribution made by Eastern European practitioners to the development of the Theatre of Nations University and to projects implemented by the International Theatre Institute throughout the Cold War period.

Keywords

International Theatre Institute, Cold War, cultural diplomacy, Eastern Europe.

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The creation of the University of the Theatre of Nations (UTN) and its various incarnations during the Cold War period can be framed within the larger issue of theatre training, as discussed and debated by experts from the East, West and South within the projects developed by the International Theatre Institute and its sister organisation, the Festival of the Theatre of Nations. Although the UTN was just one of the projects developed by these organisations, it epitomizes the connections, circulations and entanglements characteristic of Cold War theatre exchanges and the relevance of international organizations for the cultural diplomacy of Eastern European states. The article presents a brief history of the UTN that brings together both French and English language sources while incorporating the story of Eastern European contributions to this initiative. It also places the university within the larger framework of projects developed by the International Theatre Institute in order to show its global reach and the mechanisms employed by its leadership to ensure the project survived and thrived in spite of Cold War ideological divisions. The aim is therefore to outline the history of this project by emphasizing the interconnections between liberal and state-socialist forms of internationalism.[2]

The UTN started as an adjacent activity to the Festival of the Theatre of Nations; by the late sixties, its organizers managed to transform it into a Cold War contact point[3] that facilitated the circulation of theatre practitioners and ideas from the East, West and South. According to its creators, the UTN aimed to provide young practitioners from all over the world with a glimpse into the training required to navigate the new emerging global theatre culture. For Eastern European participants, the University of the Theatre of Nations offered access to an international arena where ideas about theatre were debated. Openly discussing concepts and practices in order to redefine a field of knowledge was not a course of action preferred by state-socialist systems. Instead, a process of negotiation was practiced whereby new ideas were carefully introduced to fit constantly fluctuating ideological outlines. In this context, looking into the role played by organizations such as the Theatre of Nations Festival (TNF) and the International Theatre Institute (ITI) in local theatre cultures from Eastern Europe becomes essential.

Although the corpus of studies on cultural exchanges during the Cold War has been steadily growing (Mitter, Major 2004; Vowinckel, Payk, Lindenberger 2012, Romijn, Giles Scott-Smith, Segal 2012; Mikonen, Koivunen 2015; Mikonen, Parkkinen, Giles Scott-Smith 2019), theatre exchanges between the East, the West and the Global South, let alone the role played by international organizations in these circulations do not feature in the literature. Charlotte Canning's work[4] was among the first to address the role played by international organizations in showcasing North American theatre culture abroad during the Cold War. She discussed the issue within the larger framework of internationalism during the first half of the 20th century. Christopher Balme and Berenika Szymanski-Düll's volume[5] also explored theatre exchanges during the Cold War. Moreover, it proposed a global framework for analysing the performing arts' function in cultural diplomacy programmes during the period. However, the role played by international institutions in theatre exchanges between socialist states and the global North or South still needs to be addressed.[6] Daniela Peslin's history of the Festival of the Theatre of Nations[7] is a notable exception in this respect. She mapped the evolution of the festival from a French perspective and, in doing so, she included Eastern European participations in a narrative that focused on the idea of France's cultural resplendence in the world (*le rayonnement*

culturel de la France). Peslin's book covered in detail the period between 1954 and 1968, but relegated the next two decades of the festival's history to an epilogue. However, even if during the 1970s and the 1980s the epicentre of the Theatre of Nations Festival was no longer the French capital, its history is no less relevant for the Cold War context, especially for theatre cultures from the former Soviet bloc.

A Brief History of the UTN

The International Theatre Institute (ITI) was created in 1948 under the aegis of UNESCO. It mirrored the interwar Société Universelle du Théâtre created by Firmin Gémier and therefore the idea of a festival that would accompany the congress of the organisation was always a desired format. The first season of the Theatre of Nations Festival (TNF) took place in 1957. However, TNF's history started in 1954 with the first season of the Paris Dramatic Festival. The success of the enterprise encouraged the French ITI centre to submit it to the ITI Congress as a suitable candidate for a festival that would mirror ITI's goals. The project to transform the Paris Dramatic Festival into the future Theatre of Nations was initiated at the ITI Dubrovnik Congress in 1955. As early as 1961, the festival's relevance as the place where theatre cultures from across the world could contribute to mutual understanding prompted ITI president Vincenzo Torraca to state that the TNF was the beating heart of ITI.[8] According to Claude Planson, the TNF's artistic director, by 1963 the festival presented a complete map of European theatre, while also creating the opportunity for performance traditions from around the globe to be discovered.[9]

The exploration of world culture through performance provided the context for the creation of the University of the Theatre of Nations in 1961. The idea of the university was wholeheartedly supported by the cofounder of the festival Claude Planson, but it has been credited to Albert Botbol[10], a young Jewish/Moroccan director who by 1961 had already been noticed as an up and coming talent at the Theatre of Nations Festival.[11] The university responded to the internationalist context that the Theatre of Nations Festival had already created. The more the festival featured theatre traditions from around the world, the more it was besieged by young people asking for information or suggestions for training possibilities. Botbol's idea that training should be focused on example was central to the university's activities. Moreover, as he himself stated, the aim of the university was to give the new generation of theatre practitioners around the world a universalist approach to their professional training rather than to create an academic programme.[12] As early as 1963, scholarship holders from around the world, such as French-Brazilian Beatrice Tanaka, Romanian Ion Maximilian[13], or Argentinean Jorge Lavelli, could attend lectures on the theatre of the absurd, Haitian voodoo or Noh, and interact with theatre practitioners, such as Ivo Chiesa and Luigi Squarzina or Julian Beck and Judith Malina, who were showing their work at the festival.

Initially the University of the Theatre of Nations was imagined as a series of lectures and workshops for young theatre practitioners. The project was first presented in 1961 by A.M. Julien, the Theatre of Nations Festival's general director, at the ITI congress in Vienna. ITI ratified its creation in 1963 at the Warsaw Congress. At the time, Julien stated that the UTN should not be considered as a school for professional training or a

department emerging in competition with the Sorbonne.[14] The statement was repeated by Botbol, that same year, at the symposium for actor training organized by the ITI in Brussels. According to Botbol, the university was aiming to give its participants a state of mind rather than instruction in the traditional sense of the word.[15] Even though the initiators of the project did not see the university as an academic training programme, it was nevertheless intended as a way to introduce and expose young theatre practitioners from around the world to the newest directions in theory and practice. In 1963 the TNF had reached critical mass in terms of internationally disseminating its scope and results. This level of exposure was also due to the extensive network that ITI put at A.M. Julien's disposal starting in 1957. This included not only access to ITI centres from the West, East and South, but also continuous visibility in the organization's publications. Moreover, the creation of the university should also be placed in the context of a number of projects focused on stimulating the circulation of theatre practitioners among ITI member states. For example, in the absence of theatre exchanges within the framework of an international festival, the institute initiated a scholarship programme in 1949.[16] The fellowships would be awarded to young theatre practitioners from various countries so that they could experience or become acquainted with a theatre culture different from their own. In 1961, reflecting UNESCO's support for the decolonization of Africa, the ITI Congress put forward a motion to support African states by awarding scholarships to theatre practitioners from the continent; five grants were budgeted for 1962. To these figures, one should add the fellowships provided by national ITI centres. For example, in 1963, the Greek ITI centre provided 60 scholarships for university or theatre school students for a period of 25 days in association with the Athens and Epidaurus Festival.[17] By 1968, 92 young professionals from 45 countries had received ITI scholarships.[18]

Furthermore, starting in 1963, five symposia on the subject of actor training were organized in Western and Eastern Europe. As I mentioned earlier, the UTN's director attended the first meeting in Brussels. By 1965, 172 experts representing 63 countries and groups of students from 22 theatre schools were involved in this project.[19] Among the topics discussed were issues such as training programmes offered by universities, the curricula of theatre schools from both the East and the West, and the differences entailed by these two institutional formats: the number of years needed to complete basic theatre training or the fact that directors, set designers and technicians should have acting training. The lack of communication between theatre schools in the West was also debated, as was the model of subsidized theatre training typical for Eastern Europe. Among the schools involved in this project that lasted five years were the Lunacharsky Institute from Moscow, the Max Reinhardt School from East Berlin, the Academy for Dramatic Art from Rome, the theatre department from Kansas University, the Bucharest Theatre and Film Institute, the London Academy of Music and Dramatic Arts and the Academy for Dramatic Art from Belgrade. Besides the presence of these schools (comprising groups of students and their teachers), there were theatre experts from a variety of countries in ITI, including representatives of the Global South such as those from Colombia or India. The purpose of these exchanges was to come up with the best approach to train the theatre actor, while also considering the different political and cultural backgrounds of the trainees. This idea of experiencing another's theatre culture as a means to reach a common ground for discussion was central to all ITI projects that tackled the issue of training.[20]

The University of the Theatre of Nations mirrored the festival in scope and focus, becoming known by the end of the 1960s as an international arena for interactions and exchanges. By 1963, the UTN had matured into a programme with four sections or "cycles" as its creators called them, designed to be attended in a progressive fashion. The first cycle was dedicated to revising basic knowledge to provide a baseline for all participants, a general course in theatre culture. The second was focused on technical training and the study of disciplines such as architecture, stage design and cultural policies, but also administration. During the third cycle, participants were separated into working groups. Each group elected its own director, designer and manager and presented a production at the end of its work. By 1963, five such productions were presented at the Theatre of Nations Festival under the category "*créations mondiales*".[21] Each season the students also took an exam and received certificates. The scope of the fourth cycle was to introduce the students to a specific theatre tradition. In its inaugural year this cycle focused on "black theatre" (*théâtre noire*) from around the world. The ensembles and companies present at the festival in previous years were taken as a point of departure for a round table discussion with writers, ethnographers and Africanists. This was a first attempt to map existing traditions of "black theatre" and debate their presentation at the TNF. Its creators saw the university as an organic extension to the festival, a space for discovering, nurturing and guiding new talent rather than an academic institution. One might even argue that they knowingly and purposefully resisted the university model.[22] For example, in order to change the tonality of the enterprise, which seemed to focus more and more on lectures to attend and exams to be passed, a first study trip was organized in 1964 to Morocco in order to familiarize the students with Arab culture in local contexts.[23]

In 1966, the UTN became the International University of Theatre (UIT). [24] The rebranding of the university signalled that the festival had been entrusted to Jean-Louis Barrault; its new headquarters were now the Odeon Theatre. As was the case with the festival, the university also changed direction and location. After Botbol, André-Louis Périnetti, a former UTN fellow and one of Botbol's closest collaborators, took over the reins of the project. Throughout the late 1960s and early 1970s, the university was transformed into a laboratory bent on discovering new directions in the theatre. Even though after 1966 the festival and the university were no longer cohabitating, the two maintained a close relationship.[25] According to an ITI brochure currently available online, the 1961 -1973 period is seen as a continuum. The brochure mentions that during this period, "more than 1000 participants, from 54 different countries, attended UTN sessions which varied in length from one to six months."[26]

The university only survived up to 1972 when the Festival of the Theatre of Nations also came to a halt, as the French government withdrew its financial support. Like the festival, the university also benefited from an endowment from the French Ministry of Culture[27] and, just like the festival, it required a catalyst figure to help it survive ideological and financial pitfalls through the years. Under Périnetti's leadership the university matured into an international theatre destination mirroring the goals of the Theatre of Nations Festival: research, consecration and discovery. It employed and featured talents discovered within its own ranks, such as Victor Garcia or Jean Marie Patte, but it was also the host of Joe Chaikin's *End Game*, Charles Marowitz' *Macbeth* and companies such as the Odin Theatre (Denmark), La Mama (US) or the Nottara Theatre (Romania). In the end, these public activities engulfed and consumed the university. Even though Périnetti

brought the UIT with him to Strasbourg when he was given the direction of the National Theatre, the project did not survive the 1973 season.

The ITI brochure mentioned earlier noted the rebirth of the University in 1984. In 1983, Périnetti was nominated secretary of the International Theatre Institute, a position which he held until 2004. In 1984, the UTN was re-launched as an ITI project. Périnetti is credited with proposing a new format for the university, that of an itinerant event, an idea that was in tune with the age. ITI had changed considerably in the 1970s. It was now a much larger and a much more diverse organization. It had always faced financial and ideological issues, but during the late 1970s and early 1980s, they became acute. In the new format, future host countries could cover the expenses for both the Festival of the Theatre of Nations and its accompanying university.

The idea of an itinerant University of the Theatre of Nations was not new. Back in 1963, while addressing the ITI Congress in Warsaw, Jean Mourier, a member of the Committee of the Theatre of Nations and a representative of the French delegation, argued that the University's activities could take place all over the world where there were ITI centres. In his view, such a practice would make a great contribution to the subject of actor training, consolidating the status of the University as a natural extension and efficient complement to the TNF.[28] Périnetti knew ITI's history well. His extensive theatre knowledge and worldwide contacts were in great part a by-product of ITI's projects throughout the Cold War. Therefore, proposing an itinerant format for the UTN in 1984 reactivated a two-decade-old idea in order to respond to new challenges.

Internationalism from the East

The history of UTN, however, was not solely driven by liberal internationalist projects engineered from the West. Publications such as the brochure mentioned above, Philippe Ivernel's dossier dedicated to the anniversary of fifty years of UTN, or ITI's celebration of Périnetti's career[29] overlook the contribution of socialist states to the Theatre of Nations Festival or its university. An example of such an intervention from the East is the 1975 edition of the TNF organized in Poland.

The context of this event is deeply connected to the history of ITI after 1968 and to the growing influence of Eastern European states over this international organisation during the 1970s. While the 1959 ITI congress changed the power dynamics[30] in the institution with the USSR joining its ranks, the Moscow Congress (the first ITI event to be organized in the Soviet Union) clearly indicated the growing influence of socialist theatre practitioners over ITI activities. This development was reinforced by the Romanian Radu Beligan's nomination as president in 1971, and the Polish season of the Theatre of Nations. The proposal for a Theatre of Nations Festival in Poland was put forward by the Polish delegation at the ITI congress in Moscow (1973). As I already mentioned, 1972 was the last season of the TNF supported by the French state. During the congress several proposals came from Polish and Soviet representatives regarding the TNF and a study committee was created in order to discuss its future. Among the offers debated at the congress were the Soviet Union's proposal to finance the permanent study committee that would oversee

the TNF for the following two years and the bid for a Theatre of Nations Festival to be organized in Poland. By the end of the talks, the congress approved a series of principles to be followed in the future. It also decided that the responsibility for the governing body of the festival located in Paris should rest with UNESCO and that its organization had to be decentralized, resting with the country that hosted the event.[31]

Navigating Eastern European waters during the Cold War was not easy for the ITI leadership. The bid to organize the Theatre of Nations Festival in Poland must have seemed the best possible outcome at the time. During the 1970s, Poland was going through a series of liberalizing reforms and its theatre diplomacy programme was second to none among Eastern European countries. The fact that the Festival was taking place in Poland was perceived as a solution to prevent an excessive influence of the USSR over this project. An article published in the Times reported that, at the congress in Moscow, Louis Barrault, the last director of the TNF, had successfully managed to save the initiative from the Soviets.[32] Poland, as host country, with its less dogmatic socialist regime and a highly internationalized theatre culture, had been a necessary compromise for the survival of the TNF.

Archival documents and the publications produced by the Polish ITI centre on the occasion of the 1975 festival show that the organizers attempted to resurrect the Theatre of Nations with all its side projects, including the university. They also aimed to put a national stamp on the entire event: to reconstruct it in all its aspects, but in a local context. The 1975 season (8 -28 June) was accompanied by a Congress of the International Association of Theatre Critics[33] (9-10 June) and a symposium on new tendencies in contemporary theatre (11-13 June). Between June 14 and July 7, a new cycle of the University of the Theatre of Nations spearheaded by Grotowski and his Laboratory Institute took place in Wroclaw. All these events were organised in parallel with a festival of Polish theatre. The budget was $460,000. With the exception of 400 pounds offered by the British Council, all the funds were provided by the Polish government.[34]

The inaugural event of the Theatre of Nations University of Research, the title given to the event by the Polish organizers, was a conference chaired by Jean Darcante, ITI's general secretary. Participants from 26 countries took part in workshops led by Grotowski, Eugenio Barba, Peter Brook, Jean-Louis Barrault, Luca Ronconi, Andre Gregory and Joseph Chaikin. Brook and Gregory led sessions for young theatre actors. Barba (Odin Theatre) and Sören Larsson (Daidalos) held open training classes around a specific production. Grotowski's Laboratory showcased paratheatrical experiments developed for the project *Mountain of Fire* featuring all sorts of ventures, ranging from acting therapy to medical consultations "on the positive disintegration in creative development" [35] offered by Prof. Kazimierz Dąbrowski. The University also had a mediating component so that the wider public could be thoroughly informed about the range of approaches offered to the trainees.[36] Screening rooms around Wroclaw featured recordings of Ronconi's *Orlando Furioso,* Grotowski's *The Constant Prince,* the ritual forms of theatre in Bali or films documenting training and production work such as the methods of the Laboratory Theatre illustrated by Ryszard Cieślak, or Brook's experiments in Africa together with those led by Barba in southern Italy. The artists engaged in the University's activities presented their work to the wider public. There were conferences that lasted multiple hours in which Brook or Barrault illustrated their approaches and answered questions.

The festival offered the Warsaw public productions from USSR, Bulgaria, Romania, Yugoslavia, Hungary, East and West Germany, USA, Scotland, Spain, France, Sweden, Uganda and Japan. The last two countries, represented in the competition by Robert Serumaga and Suzuki Tadashi respectively, were seen as the revelations of the festival.[37] The TNF in Warsaw was a tour de force by any standard. Everyone who was anyone in the international theatre community was invited and participated in the activities of the festival. The gathering was an impressive demonstration of how to connect a socialist theatre culture with the wider world while also maintaining the core TNF values. The idea of the festival as an atelier for theatre research followed the pattern set by both Claude Planson and Louis Barrault. Planson's mission to showcase extra-European performing traditions at the TNF and Barrault's propensity for experimentation were taken to heart by the Polish organizers. One of Barrault's first projects intended to open the TNF to new explorations was entrusted to Peter Brook in 1968. Although the 1968 student movement cut this particular initiative short,[38] the idea was pursued in the following years with the experimental atelier at Dourdan and Luca Ronconi's commissioned production, *Orlando Furioso*.

The workshops and conferences held throughout the event followed a historic commitment to catering to the festivals' audience. Daniela Peslin showed that when the festival was held in Paris, activities such as the conferences held by the ITI French Centre, the debates organized around theatre issues or the radio programme of the TNF were the means by which the organizers increased and managed the festival's audience.[39] While following the same idea, the scope of the Warsaw festival allowed exposure to a great variety of theatre traditions and formats and provided a carefully balanced context for both local and international audiences.

The international visibility of Polish theatre in 1975 was due in part to Grotowski who in turn owed much of his fame to the Theatre of Nations and to the ITI network. He was first discovered by the international theatre community in 1963 during the ITI Congress in Warsaw.[40] By the late 1960s, Grotowski had been invited to the TNF (Paris 1966), to ITI events such as the Montreal Colloquium on theatre architecture (1967), and he was featured in ITI's flagship publication, *World Theatre*. This newfound international visibility led to an invitation to the first edition of the Belgrade International Festival (Bitef),[41] a workshop on his method at NYU in 1967 and a tour of Mexico with the Laboratory Theatre. In 1973 when the Polish government offered to host the Festival, Grotowski held a unique position on the Cold War theatre stage, as he was able to flawlessly navigate an extensive network of practitioners and cultures that connected the East, the West and the Global South. The Polish government had no reason not to support Grotowski's contribution to the Polish UTN season, while the ITI saw him as one of the leading theatre figures of the day. The Theatre of Nations Festival and University in 1975 was a win-win situation for all parties involved: the star-studded gathering expanded Poland's international relevance and status; the ITI and TNF leaderships saw the event and the UTN in particular as a good representation of their core values. The 1975 season is then an illustration of how socialist and liberal forms of internationalism could coexist during the Cold War within the framework provided by the ITI.

The 1975 festival launched the World Seasons of the Theatre of Nations. During the next decade a large number of ITI events took place in Eastern Europe, including two more

seasons of the Theatre of Nations Festival in 1976 (Belgrade) and 1982 (Sofia). After the TNF season in the Bulgarian capital, the ITI Congress decided to organise the festival every two years, starting in 1984 in Nancy. As pointed out earlier, this was also the moment when ITI publications mark the re-launch of the UTN, ignoring the role of the Warsaw TNF in keeping this project afloat. At the time, however, the significance of the 1975 festival was acknowledged: Polish theatre director Janus Warminski opened the festivities in Nancy[42] – he had been elected president of ITI in 1979.[43] The Nancy season of the UTN was followed by one in Barcelona in (1985)[44] and another in Baltimore (1986).[45] Polish candidates participated in all the above-mentioned seasons. Romania also re-launched its connection with UTN in its second reiteration.[46]

In 1984, the festival's mobility was seen as a positive element for the UTN because it ensured significant international visibility and direct contact between the TNF participants and the university. The ITI leadership hoped that in the future the university could be organised independently from the festival. While carrying the Theatre of Nations "label", the University could generate four to five events per year in different countries. Every two years the work carried out by this itinerant university (i.e. the most successful productions created by its students) would be featured during the Theatre of Nations Festival.[47] In 1986 the success of the UTN in this new format was already seen as a means to rejuvenate the Theatre of Nations Festival. In 1989, there were two seasons, one in Helsinki and another in the Republic of Korea. By the late 1980s, the UTN had become an ITI flagship project.

Its lasting relevance in an Eastern European context is maybe best exemplified by the creation of the UNESCO Theatre Chair "Theatre and Culture of Civilizations" in Bucharest. In 1995, the ITI congress decided to include within its ranks the academic world of theatre. Two years later, the Chair was founded in the Romanian capital as an extension of the UTN.[48] By 2012 when the project concluded, it had created a network of 97 theatre schools from all over the world with regional offices in Shanghai, Xalapa, Lima and Washington.[49] From an Eastern European perspective, during the Cold War, the University of the Theatre of Nations offered young practitioners unparalleled access to ideas, practices and people that had a defining influence on the international theatre community. Moreover, as the Romanian example shows, after 1989 it also provided the means for reinventing local theatre initiatives as liberal internationalist projects.

Conclusion

The university's connection to the TNF generated a wealth of information that was simply unattainable in Eastern European countries prior to 1989. However, it is important to note that each socialist state had its own "ideological template" when it came to engaging with ITI and their relationships with this international organisation "changed over time and in substance, from nation to nation."[50] For instance, Romania reached the apogee of its relationship with ITI at the end of the 1960s and the beginning of the 1970s. Bulgaria attained a similar level of visibility during the second half of the 1970s and the early 1980s, while Poland's involvement with the ITI simply dwarfed all other Eastern European countries during the 1970s. Each socialist country's participation in international theatre

organisations during the Cold War mirrored the domestic vicissitudes of individual party-states policies and their subsequent ideological shifts in terms of cultural diplomacy.

By focusing on the UTN's history, this article also shows socialist states' contributions to the activities and consolidation of ITI as the primary site of international theatre exchanges during the Cold War. Events such as the 1975 season of the TNF and its University highlight the crucial role played by Eastern European ITI members in preserving these projects at a time when the organisation faced financial crisis. Not only did Eastern European theatre cultures find international recognition during the first two decades of the existence of the TNF, but also experts from the region reimagined the festival and its university, leaving on both an imprint that survived the collapse of socialism.

Endnotes

[1] Research carried out within the scope of a Fellowship for Postdoctoral Researchers granted by the Humboldt Foundation (May 2020-April 2022).

[2] For a discussion on competing forms of internationalism during the Cold War, see Sandrine Kott's "Cold War Internationalism" in Glenda Sluga and Patricia Clavin eds., *Internationalisms. A Twentieth-Century History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017), 340-362.

[3] Christopher Balme and Nic Leonhardt, "Introduction: Theatrical Trade Routes," *Journal of Global Theatre History* 1, no. 1 (2016): 1-9.

[4] Charlotte M. Canning, *On the Performance Front: US Theatre and Internationalism* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015).

[5] Balme, Christopher and Berenika Szymanski-Düll, *Theatre, Globalization and the Cold War* (Cham: Palgrave Macmillan, 2017).

[6] The current ERC project *Developing Theatre. Building Expert Networks for Theatre in Emerging Countries after 1945* at Ludwig Maximilian University in Munich explores connections and circulations between the global East and South via international institutions such as the ITI.

[7] Daniela Peslin, *Le Théâtre des Nations, Une aventure théâtrale à redécouvrir* (Paris: L'Harmattan, 2009).

[8] *Report of the 9th Congress Vienna, 1961*, p. 2, International Theatre Institute Archive, BnF, (ITI, BnF).

[9] Claude Planson, "The Sixth Season of the Theatre of Nations," *World Theatre* 12, no. 1 (1963): 49.

[10] By all accounts, the first courses were put together by Planson who then tasked Albert Botbol with taking over the idea. Botbol was one of UTN's first fellows and the person who transformed the initiative into a full blown project.

[11] Albert Botbol created the National Moroccan Theatre in Rabat soon after Morocco's independence and, in 1958, he participated in the Theatre of Nations Festival with an adaptation of *The Imaginary Invalid* catching the attention of the festival's organizers. In 1961, he was already heading the Theatre of Nations University while also being involved in projects that brought performance traditions from the Ivory Coast, Dahomey and Cameron to the festival's stage. He led the UTN until 1966 when he embarked on a career with UNESCO for the next two decades.

[12] Albert Botbol, "The Theatre of Nations University," *World Theatre* 12, no. 1 (1963): 52.

[13] Ion Maximilian attended the University of the Theatre of Nations in 1962. He came from a family that had been an integral part of Romanian theatre for three generations and, like Grotowski, he had trained with Yuri Zavadski.

[14] *Rapport du 10e Congres, Varsovie, 8-15 juin, 1963,* p. 14. (ITI, BnF)

[15] *Rapport de la première rencontre internationale pour l'enseignement de l'art dramatique, Bruxelles 3-9 janvier, 1963,* p. 85. (ITI, BnF)

[16] Eight annual scholarships were created by ITI in 1949. Jean Darcante, "Landmarks in the History of the international theatre institute," *World Theatre* 8, no. 1 (1959): 4.

[17] Data collated from reports of the Vienna (1961) and Warsaw (1963) congresses. (ITI, BnF)

[18] ITI, *International Theatre /Informations Internationales, 1948-1968*, *World Theatre* 17, no. 1-2 (1968): 129.

[19] Data collated from the documents and publications related to the first 3 symposia organized in Brussels (1963), Bucharest (1964) and Essen (1965). (ITI, BnF)

[20] For an overview of the ITI symposia on training the actor, see Viviana Iacob, "Scenes of Cold War Diplomacy: Romania and the International Theatre Institute, 1956–1969," *East Central Europe* 45, (2018): 184-214.

[21] *Rapport de la première Rencontre Internationale pour L'enseignement de l'art dramatique, Bruxelles 3-9 janvier, 1963*, p.86. (ITI, BnF)

[22] On the history and role of the University, see David John Frank & John W. Meyer, "University Expansion and the Knowledge Society," *Theory and Society* 36, (2007): 287–311. See also Christopher Balme in this issue.

[23] On this occasion thirty fellows from fifteen countries travelled to Morocco. See Philippe Ivernel "Legs du passé ou promesse d'avenir? De l'Université du Théâtre des Nations (UTN) à l'Université internationale du Théâtre (UIT), Un dossier, " *Revue D'Histoire du Théâtre*, no. 255 (2012): 278.

[24] ITI "Recreating an International University of the Theatre," *Theatre International* 3-4, no. 11/12 (1984):83.

[25] Ivernel, "Legs du passé…", p. 243.

[26] *The International Theatre Institute, An Indispensable Bridge-builder for the Process of Worldwide Peacekeeping and Mutual Understanding through the International Theatre Community*, (ITI brochure) 2005, p. 14.

[27] Between 1961 and 1966, while the Theatre of Nations was housed at the Sarah Bernard Theatre, the university was supported by an endowment from the French Government. Some fellows received grants from the French state while others, particularly those from Eastern Europe, were funded by their respective countries. In 1966, the university found itself in rather unstable circumstances with a number of locations allotted by the city of Paris. In 1967, the Ministry of Culture and the Board of the University of Paris decided to embark upon a joint venture in a desire to transform the *International University City of Paris/ Cité internationale universitaire de Paris,* into a site that could function all year round. During the May 1968 events, the UIT was at the centre of the student movement.

[28] *Rapport du 10e Congres, Varsovie, 8-15 juin, 1963,* p. 15, (ITI, BnF).

[29] ITI, *In Memoriam, André-Louis Périnetti (1926-2017).* https://www.iti-worldwide.org/pdfs/Andre-Louis_Perinetti_In%20Memoriam.pdf

[30] See Hanna Korsberg, "Creating an International Community during the Cold War," in *Theatre, Globalization and the Cold War*, ed. Christopher B. Balme and Berenika Szymanski-Düll (Cham: Palgrave Macmillan, 2017), 151-164.

[31] See *Report of the Study Committee, Study Committe (Proposition A, B) and Principles of the Status of the Theatre of Nations*, *Moscow Congress, 1973*, Moscow Congress Folder, International Theatre Institute, German Centre Archive Berlin, (ITI Berlin).

[32] Margaret Croyden, "New Trends in Russia?," *Times*, Section 2, Sunday, July 23, 1973, p. 4. 1973. Moscow Congress Folder (ITI Berlin).

[33] The association was created in 1956 in Paris in connection with the Theatre of Nations Festival.

[34] *Specification of Costs for the Theatre of Nations Warsaw, 1975*, (I.T.I. BnF). The sum of $500,000 in 1975 is equivalent to $2,418,959 in 2020.

[35] Tadeusz Burzynski, "L'Université de la Recherche du Théâtre des Nations à Wroclaw", *Théâtre des Nations Warszawa 1975"*, *Le Théâtre en Pologne* Novembre –Décembre, (1975):50.

[36] The University numbered 500 participants but over 5000 attended the events. Burzynski, p.50.

[37] See the issue dedicated to the festival in *Le Théâtre en Pologne* Novembre –Décembre, 1975.

[38] For an overview of the impact that the 1968 student movement had on the festival scene in France, see Peslin, (2009), David Looseley, "The World Theatre Festival, Nancy, 1963-88: a Critique and a Retrospective," *New Theatre Quarterly* 6, no. 22 (1990):141-153 and Philippa Wehle, "A History of the Avignon Festival," *The Drama Review* 28, no. 1 (Spring 1984): 52-61.

[39] Peslin, *Le Théâtre des Nations*, 95-101.

[40] See Karolina Prykowska Michalak, "Years of Compromise and Political Servility – Kantor and Grotowski during the Cold War," in *Theatre, Globalization and the Cold War*, ed. Christopher B. Balme and Berenika Szymanski-Düll (Cham: Palgrave Macmillan, 2017), 189-206.

[41]Besides Grotowski, the first Bitef season featured Romanian director David Esrig's *Troilus and Cressida*, an adaptation that was acclaimed at the TNF in Paris in 1965, and Judith Malina and Julian Beck's *Living Theatre*, another revelation of the TNF during its French tenure.

[42] See *Telegram to Janus Warminski*, May 22, 1984, (ITI, BnF).

[43] Périnetti recalled the time Warminski was ITI president with fondness. In his view, Warminski's presidency was a moment of triumph for ITI, a feat even more remarkable if one considers that between 1981 and 1983 Poland was under martial law and was mostly shunned internationally until the middle of the decade. See ITI, *In Memoriam, André-Louis Pérnetti (1926-2017), p. 12-13.*

[44] See *Telegram to the Polish ITI centre*, April 10, 1985, (ITI, BnF).

[45] The season in Baltimore was organized with UNESCO's support despite the withdrawal of the US from this international organisation. The costs of the event were covered by the North American ITI centre and UNESCO. See *Letter from Andre-Louis Perinetti to Janus Warminski*, May 6, 1986, (ITI, BnF).
[46] *Letter from Margareta Barbuta to André-Louis Périnetti*, April 15, 1985, (ITI BnF).
[47] ITI, "Recreating an International University of the Theatre," *Theatre International* 3-4, no. 11/12 (1984):85.
[48] Ivernel, "Legs du passé…", p.300.
[49] "In Memoriam…", p.10.
[50] I am taking here James Mark and Quinn Slobodian's approach to historicizing Eastern Europe's relations with the Global South as a framework of reference for the socialist states' involvement with ITI during the Cold War. See James Mark and Quinn Slobodian, "Eastern Europe in the Global History of Decolonization," in *The Oxford Handbook of the Ends of Empire*, ed. Martin Thomas and Andrew S. Thompson (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018), 355.

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