Performing the Cold War in the Postcolonial World
Theatre, Film, Literature and Things

Edited by Christopher B. Balme

1   Introduction

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Much has been written about the Cultural Cold War since the revelations about CIA-funded cultural activities were first published in the 1960s by investigative journalists.[1] In 1966, a number of articles appeared in the *New York Times* outlining the CIA's covert funding activities. They included a mention of the highbrow magazine *Encounter* which was shown to be the recipient of CIA funds through the Congress for Cultural Freedom, itself a recipient. Over the coming months more information became available, and in February 1967 *Newsweek* magazine published quite literally a graphic demonstration of how the system worked (Figure 1.1).

The system was known as a three-layer pass-through whereby money was funnelled from the CIA to phony front organizations, which in turn passed on the funds to more legitimate foundations, who in turn delivered to actual organizations working on the ground, most of which had been set up entirely for this purpose.

The impact of the revelations concerning CIA front organizations such as the Congress for Cultural Freedom and the Farfield Foundation as well as the involvement of long-established philanthropic organizations such as the Ford and Rockefeller foundations was definitely felt in African and Asian countries where such organizations had been most active. The first phase of the reaction to the revelations was marked by a mixture of moral outrage and/or ethical self-recrimination, as artists and writers, who had very little sympathy with the foreign policy objectives of the CIA, wondered privately and sometimes publicly why they had been singled out for such largesse. Did their unwitting acceptance of support compromise their art?

The revelations were considered shocking on both sides of the political fence:

> [A]t home, the CIA was pinned in a crossfire between liberals, who acted as if the mafia had been caught buying Cub Scout troops, and conservatives, who were irked because so much of the money was going to missionaries of the liberal left.
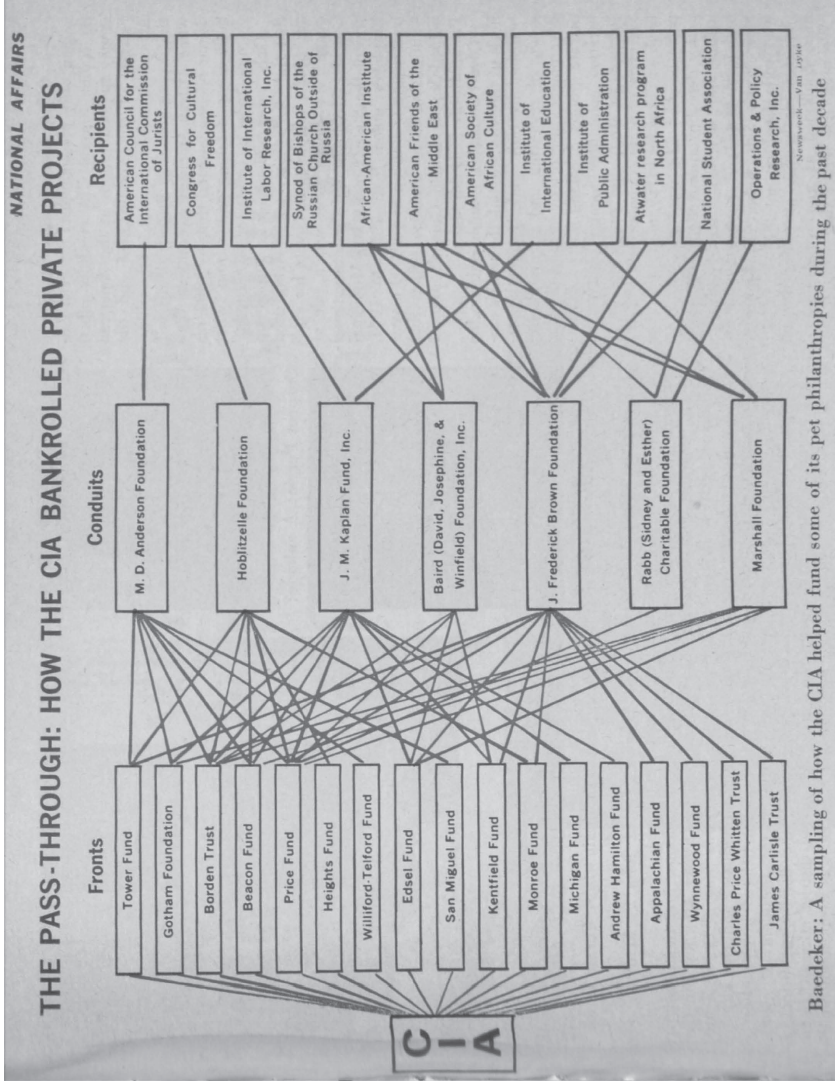>
> (*Newsweek* 1967, 28)

Figure 1.1 Illustration of the CIA 'pass-through' showing how it bankrolled its projects through front organizations. *Newsweek*, 6 March 1967, p. 31.

The revelations did indeed send shockwaves through the liberal left, especially among those writers and artists who had been unwitting beneficiaries of CIA munificence.

Since the mid-1980s, academics have picked up the baton from the investigative journalists and have continued to investigate the extent of CIA involvement in arts and culture and to illuminate the importance of cultural exchange and promotion as part of foreign policy initiatives. The initial phase of journalistic revelations was followed roughly a decade later by a number of scholarly publications that continued to investigate the extent of CIA and more broadly, US state involvement, in arts and culture.[2] Much has been written on the Congress for Cultural Freedom in particular and its central role in the Cultural Cold War (Barnhisel 2015). Of the many organizations involved, directly or indirectly, it was by far the largest, with offices in 35 countries, numerous employees, 20-odd publications, and an impressive quota of prestigious art exhibitions and literary prizes to promote its agenda (Saunders 1999, 1). Saunders' study, in particular, provides tantalizing hints about the CCF's activities in the developing world, but they remain little more than that.

We are not, however, negotiating totally uncharted waters. An early examination of US, especially CIA, involvement was undertaken for African literature by Peter Benson (1986), who studied the artists and writers associated with the periodicals *Black Orpheus* and *Transition*, both of which received CIA and Rockefeller funding. Benson shows that prominent and hugely influential European facilitators such as Ulli Beier in Nigeria were funded by the United States. More recent research, which is detached from the ideological bifurcation of the actual Cold War, has begun to ask other questions than just the ethical implications of accepting tainted money. For example the networks and associations underpinning African literary publishing in the 1960s and the extent to which the CIA front organizations not only infiltrated but also enabled them (Davis 2020) point to a more complex set of dependencies. Today, we have a better understanding of the links between ideas of aesthetic autonomy and African writers and artists promoted by the Congress for Cultural Freedom and other cognate organizations. Peter Kalliney has explored the paradox of CIA/CCF funding whereby the inherent secrecy of the operation precluded any kind of direct ideological influence. This is what Giles Scott-Smith has termed the 'the politics of apolitical culture' (2002) which favoured almost by default 'the modernist ideal of disinterest' (Kalliney 2015, 341). The revelations also led to what Monica Popescu terms an 'artificial dichotomy between modernism and realism' (2020, 67). Realism could easily be aligned with the Soviet bloc with its commitment to socialist realism and thus contrasted to the formally more 'complex' demands of modernism. This was an older

discussion of course which originated in the 1930s in the wake of the official Soviet commitment to socialist realism. To theatre scholars, it is best known as the "Lukács–Brecht" debate between the two Marxists which saw the former espousing socialist realism while the latter fought for a greater degree of formal experimental freedom. That the charge of 'formalism' could have lethal consequences was demonstrated by the execution of various Russian artists under Stalin, most notably the theatre director, Vsevolod Meyerhold.

The research to date has definitely benefited from the end of the Cold War and increased access to 'declassified' archives, although the latter, even in the West, still need scare quotes, as access remains selective.[3] Much of this research also has had a clear East–West focus, but as a glance at the list of recipients shows (Figure 1.1), CIA funds were being channelled in the direction of what we could broadly call the postcolonial or developing world: the African-American Institute, the American Friends of the Middle East, the American Society of African Culture (AMSAC), the Altwater Research Program in North Africa, which are only some of the organizations with an engagement in Asia and Africa. These organizations were all direct or indirect creations of the CIA whose very existence testifies to the recognition on the part of US policy makers that the emerging postcolonial world needed substantial investment in cultural infrastructure if it was to resist the blandishments of socialism, to which many of its leaders were ideologically attracted, if not aligned. These regions are the focus of this volume.

Rather than contrasting 'realism' and 'modernism' with their inevitable simplifications, Monica Popescu argues in this volume for the existence of two opposing 'aesthetic world-systems' as a way to understand the different tensions impacting writing and more broadly artistic production in Africa. She sees the Cold War as determined by two imperial centres, a capitalist one controlled largely by the United States and a socialist one centred on the Soviet Union. In her essay for this volume, she adumbrates how these world-systems gathered around organizations and publication networks. In the Western camp, we find CCF-funded periodicals such as *Black Orpheus* and *Transition*, while on the Soviet side, the Afro-Asian Writers Association (AAWA) and its periodical *Lotus* provided a gathering place and a mouthpiece for writing from the Third World (Halim 2017). Both sides published magazines, organized conferences, and conferred literary and artistic prizes. Despite the appearance of opposing camps, there was considerable exchange between the two as writers and artists published in both *Black Orpheus* and *Lotus* or received prizes bestowed by the AAWA and one of the various CCF organizations.

The exposure of CIA funding in 1967 changed all this. Once it became evident where the funding for the periodicals and conferences was coming from, the promotion of certain artistic tendencies was also questioned.

Suddenly to be an 'apolitical' writer exploring the interstices of indigenous and Western modes of expression was in fact a highly politicized position. That meant not only the end of the African modernist project, in literature at least, but also the creation of an institutional and aesthetic void: "a gap that would not be filled for generations . . . as money dried up, magazines and publishing houses folded, and lavish international conferences became a thing of the past" (Kalliney 2015, 363). The void was not total, however, because philanthropy still retained an interest, albeit a waning one, in supporting cultural activities in Africa and Asia. So why did the Ford and Rockefeller foundations, in particular, invest considerable sums in promoting the arts and humanities throughout the developing world, and, more importantly, what understanding of artistic expression did they promote? On the one hand, there was a clear convergence of interests and personnel between the foundations and the CIA/CCF initiatives. Saunders refers to an "entrepreneurial coalition of philanthropic foundations, business corporations and other institutions and individuals, who worked hand-in-hand with the CIA to provide the cover and the funding pipeline for its secret programs in Western Europe" (Saunders 1999, 129). There is no doubt that the foundations worked hand in glove with the CCF (if not with the CIA) and provided 'cover' for many initiatives. On the other hand, their philanthropic activities well predated the Cold War and stretched back to the pre-war years. However, philanthropic activity on the cultural front outside the United States is definitely a post- if not Cold War phenomenon. The graph in Figure 1.2 gives an indication of Rockefeller funding in the area of theatre. While the amounts are not large (with the exception of Nigeria), the coverage certainly is.

The Rockefeller Foundation alone was involved in funding theatrical activity in 16 'developing' countries and provided assistance ranging from study trips for individuals to large-scale institutional funding (especially in Nigeria and Chile). An analysis of the annual reports of the Rockefeller Foundation reveals patterns of assistance that extend throughout the developing world with a particular emphasis on West Africa, where Nigeria became in the 1960s the second-largest recipient of theatre-related funding after the United States itself. Biographical research into the two Nobel laureates Wole Soyinka (Lindfors 2008) and Derek Walcott (King 1995) has provided some indication of the depth and complexity of Rockefeller's importance in not only supporting but also actively building a professional theatre scene in the Caribbean and Nigeria, which went beyond mere travel grants for 'promising' young writers. In 1962, for example Rockefeller awarded the University of Ibadan a major grant of $200,000 for the development of the drama programme. This money was increased in amount to include funding for new, especially African, faculty with support for their research.
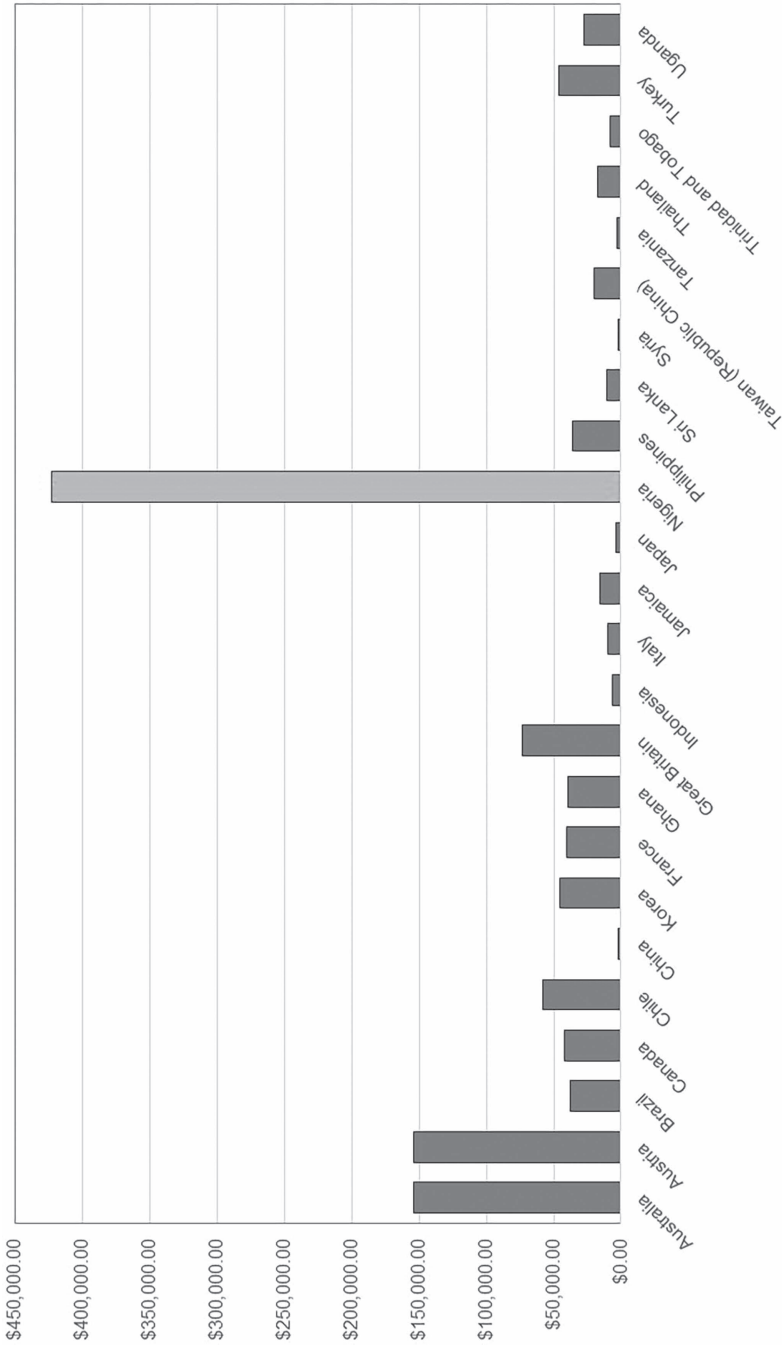
Figure 1.2 Rockefeller funding in the area of theatre in the Global South, 1945–1985. Compiled from the Rockefeller Foundation's annual reports.

In India, the Ford Foundation's field office attained considerable influence on Indian development policy including the fine arts (McCarthy 1987; Gandhi 2002; Ithurbide 2013). The Foundation's policy had a clear Cold War motivation that saw the Indian subcontinent as 'the next critical battleground in the Cold War' (Sackley 2012, 237). In a recent article, Rashna Nicholson has emphasized Ford's involvement in the cultural sphere in India as a domain requiring foreign 'assistance'. Although this assistance was mainly directed at the cultural heritage sphere, the latter also included performance traditions as well as crumbling monuments. Ford's support aligned broadly with the Nehru government's support for traditional forms manifested most clearly in the establishment of the Sangeet Natak Akademi (SNA), which led in turn to the foundation of the National School of Drama (NSD). The SNA had a clear interest in folk traditions framed within a preservation or salvage discourse. Ford's cultural programme in India remained in lock-step with government initiatives until 1967 when the Naxalite rebellion, among other factors, created a highly polarized atmosphere which made it difficult for American cultural philanthropy to find acceptance, which was increasingly perceived as a vehicle for Western thought and values (Nicholson 2021, 193). By the early 1970s, Ford had drastically reduced its programme staff (in the Delhi office alone from 100 to 10) and changed its strategy from large grants to the Indian government to smaller grants to NGOs: 'the decline of the Delhi office symbolized the collapse of the alliance that US foundations had forged with the elites of developing nations and the pulling back of the major foundations from the development project' (Sackley 2012, 236).

On the other side of ideological curtain, Soviet, and more broadly East European, involvement in the developing world was also ascendant. Several essays in this volume document Soviet strategies, especially in India (Dyakonov, Gandhi, and Rajagopalan). This cultural diplomacy or soft power worked through translations, books, and films rather than the large-scale funding programmes of US philanthropy. The topic of East European engagement in the postcolonial sphere beyond the Soviet Union has become a topic of interest for scholars who are working towards a more nuanced understanding of globalization that predates the neoliberal variety associated with the end of the Cold War (Stanek 2020; Mark, Kalinovsky, and Marung 2020). Martin Müller has suggested the term 'the Global East' (Müller 2018) to illustrate the relevance of the former state socialist cultures in a global context. Global socialism was posited as a very real alternative to the accelerated economic and transportational connectivity of the Western version ushered in not only by the termination of the Bretton Woods system in 1971 but also by the 'global development-aid system promoted by institutions of the UN and the organization's global standards concerning health, the environment, and human rights' (Stanek 2020, 30).

Socialist countries were heavily imbricated not only in the 'modernization' project more broadly but also in a host of political and nongovernmental organizations which enabled them to exert a degree of influence, particularly in the Global South.

Architecture was the arena where socialist thinking manifested itself most clearly in the cultural sphere of the developing world. While the influence of UK-centred 'tropical architecture' and its networks is well documented (Le Roux 2003), the East European initiatives have received significantly less attention. Łukasz Stanek's research (2020) explores how architects from Bulgaria, Croatia, East Germany, Hungary, Poland, and Romania played a significant role in fashioning the urbanization of West Africa as well as some countries of the Middle East. He has highlighted their specific contribution to modern architecture and how it became a worldwide phenomenon. The East Europeans shared with their Western counterparts a common culture of architectural modernism but differed from them through a fundamentally different worldview. Stanek describes 'how Eastern European architects, planners, and construction companies and their counterparts in West Africa and the Middle East practiced worldmaking' (2020, 33). By 'socialist worldmaking', Stanek means an alternative way of thinking about and executing the processes of globalization that were already present in the Cold War. While socialist worldmaking remained somewhere between the 'descriptive and the normative, it produced frameworks of interaction and of exchange of very real things, among them architectural resources' (ibid.). The 'very real things' were most clearly observable in buildings and spaces designed by socialist architects and executed with partners from African or Middle Eastern countries, even if, from a design perspective, they were not recognizable as intrinsically 'socialist'. That these nation-states (Ghana, Nigeria, Iraq, Kuwait) were not fully paid-up members of the socialist bloc made the projects even more significant for the idea of 'socialist worldmaking'. The East European countries and organizations involved in them worked on the one hand 'within frameworks and networks of socialist projects of global solidarity', while on the other they demonstrated their ability to advance 'against their competitors, or by working across such competing frameworks and networks' (33). Such projects in the developing world were sometimes realized in collaboration with Western companies so that Stanek proposes 'worldmaking' as an alternative trope to the division implied by the metaphor of 'curtain'.

The complexity of architectural projects meant that collaboration was often inevitable, and pragmatism usually trumped any kind of hard-line ideological position. From the point of view of leaders and policy makers in the new decolonizing states, ideological purity was less of a concern

than good working relationships with companies and contractors, whether from the East or the West. As will be demonstrated in the article in national theatres in Africa (Balme), these highly symbolic edifices were built by British architects (Uganda), as copies of a Bulgarian cultural centre (Nigeria) or with Chinese support (Somalia, Ghana). The most spectacular of these buildings is Nigeria's National Arts Theatre, which opened in Lagos in 1976 in time for the Second World Black and African Festival of Arts and Culture (FESTAC). It was constructed by Bulgarian companies as its design is based on the Palace of Culture and Sports in Varna, Bulgaria. Seating 5,000 in its main hall and also hosting two cinemas, it represents perhaps the apogee of national-theatre-as-building on the African continent (Apter 2005; Stanek 2020). In India, the National Centre for the Performing Arts (NCPA) was founded in Mumbai (then Bombay) in 1969 but did not open until 1985. It gradually expanded over the years to include five different performance spaces ranging from opera and symphonic music to experimental theatre. Funding came from both Indian (Tata Industries) and American (Ford Foundation) philanthropic sources.

More recent research, which is detached from the ideological bifurcation of the actual Cold War, has begun to explore a different set of questions, for example the use of expert networks and how they were employed to support cultural activity after decolonization. Expert networks have long been recognized as being crucial for the involvement of the global North in the affairs of the Global South (Rosenberg 2012), but they been discussed usually in the context of scientific knowledge or engineering and construction. Only recently have scholars begun to recognize that expert networks were harnessed to furnish cultural infrastructure as well. American philanthropy played again a crucial role in this approach, especially in the 1950s and 1960s. Expertise could be imported by bringing in people with special training, but it could also be actively fostered by enabling 'key individuals' to form networks with others of high potential and thus contribute to the development process.[4] This was the age when it was believed that expertise was the precondition for development, and this held true not just for the construction of hydroelectric dams but also for theatrical infrastructure that required concomitant investment in skills and knowledge.[5]

The volume is divided into four sections that reflect different approaches to the context of the Cultural Cold War and its particular Asian-African manifestations. The title itself, *Performing the Cold War in the Postcolonial World: Theatre, Film, Literature and Things*, foregrounds the concept of performativity. This does not just refer to the level of genre (theatre and film, e.g.) but also harnesses the notion of performativity in its current theoretical sense of pertaining to a set of new emphases within humanities research. These include a privileging of embodied experience over textual

reference, doing over saying, materiality over signification. The 'performative turn', to use a somewhat overworked term, has provided new ways of looking at familiar topics or even discovering new questions altogether.

In this volume, the semantic field of performance/performativity is extended into areas that may be unfamiliar. There is a central focus on theatre and film where performance in its traditional sense of enacted stories is obvious and potentially tautological. The section on 'networks and institutions' proceeds from Bourdieu's observation that both networks and institutions can only function if they are performed or enacted: 'an institution can only become enacted and active if it, like a garment or a house, finds someone who finds an interest in it' (Bourdieu 1981, 309). The idea of institutions requiring embodiment finds expression in the methods of historical network theory, which trace the connections between individuals and organizations and their differing degrees of connectedness.

The broadest level of institutionalization was framed by the ideological conflict, which Monica Popescu describes in terms of aesthetic world-systems in her essay. These are the capitalist system on the one hand, and the socialist system on the other, which in turn subdivided in the late 1950s into a Soviet and a Chinese Maoist version. Of central interest for this book is her analysis of the actual organizations that implemented on an artistic level the ideological programmes as well as the periodicals that came to stand for the opposing camps. We have already analysed before the tension between a capitalist inflected modernism and socialist realism, but more pertinent are the actual divisions as they played out in various parts of the developing world. Although her examples are primarily writers, they could be equally applied to other art forms and aspects of theatre that are not just tied to the production of dramatic texts. Most importantly perhaps, Popescu emphasizes the need to historicize the mythologies that accrued around the over-simplified opposition between a capitalist, free-market modernism on the one hand and a socialist-inflected realism on the other.

The importance of 'performing' in the Cold War context leads to topics that structure the volume. Already John Austin acknowledged that 'performatives', those utterances that could actually change a situation and not just refer to it, were only efficacious within pre-established institutional frameworks. The first section, entitled 'Networks and Institutions', discusses how two such institutional networks took on particular efficacy in the field of theatre. East European countries boasted of numerous national theatres (Croatia alone has five), and it is perhaps not surprising that this network of professional expertise was harnessed during the Cold War to form links with theatre professionals in Asia and Africa, as Viviana Iacob demonstrates in her contribution. But equally if not more important were the many 'friendship societies' that were formed between East European and postcolonial countries which acted as brokers for a variety of theatrical

and other activities, as Iacob shows in reference to Romania and India (see also the article by Dyakonov). Iacob also focuses on the network provided by the International Theatre Institute (ITI), which over the decades, despite its gradual decline, remained a key player in the 'internationalisation of socialist theatre culture' (p. 51). It functioned also as a model for other international theatre organizations in the areas of theatre criticism (AICT), theatre research (FIRT), children's and youth theatre (ASSITEJ), and puppetry (UNIMA) which were all set up in the late 1950s and featured strong representation from both East and West but also South as well.

Yet another network came into play in West Africa in the early years of independence, namely American cultural philanthropy, which supported numerous cultural activities, sometimes via CIA front organizations, as Gideon Ime Morison examines in his essay. The American Society of African Culture (AMSAC) was particularly active in West Africa and was financed almost entirely (and secretly) by the CIA. It became one of the leading organizations for Black artistic expression and cultural promotion across America, sponsoring a rich programme of lectures, conferences, and exhibitions.

Morison's examples shade into cultural diplomacy, the second section of the volume. The two essays in this section focus on Soviet cultural diplomacy in India and demonstrate how the world's largest democracy, especially in the Nehru years, received sustained attention from the Soviet Union. Aastha Gandhi examines the impact of Cold War international diplomacy on the cultural policy of a postcolonial nation in relation to the circus and its place in Indo-Soviet diplomatic exchanges. She shows how Soviet circus, which toured India frequently, became an increasingly virtuosic state-sponsored showpiece of the socialist system whereas Indian circus, although feted by the Indian state because of its popular appeal, remained a commercial operation subject to market forces. Another form of cultural diplomacy is explored by Severyan Dyakonov, who looks at Soviet book publishing for India as part of the wider programme between the 1950s and 1980s to promote Soviet films, books, radio broadcasting, and student and delegations exchange. As was the case with Indian films that had been widely available in the USSR, the Soviets translated works of various Indian authors, especially those with leftist leanings, into Russian and other languages of the USSR. They also managed to sell more than 200,000 copies of Soviet books to India. From the Indian point of view, technical publications achieved the widest dissemination, as the Indian government was wary of Soviet ideological influence and was reluctant to let Soviet books on humanities and social sciences into India.

The third section, entitled 'Artists and agency', focuses on the microlevel of individual creative artists in the context of the Cold War in the postcolonial world. Gesine Drews-Sylla examines two of West Africa's most

prominent film makers, Ousmane Sembène and Abderrahmane Sissako, and their relationships with the Soviet Union, where both received training. Both film makers frame the time period of the Soviet Union's engagement with the emerging African countries during the Cold War. Both of them can be situated in a complicated network between East and West, South and North, and both of them bear references to central discursive elements of these times.

The two most important theatre artists on the eastern side of the Iron Curtain were the Russian director and pedagogue Konstantin Stanislavsky and the German dramatist and director, Bertolt Brecht. Rebecca Sturm examines in her contribution how the GDR centre of the ITI relied heavily on Bertolt Brecht as a figurehead to gain soft power influence, since his plays and theories were of great interest to the international theatre community and especially theatre artists from emerging countries. In her study of institutional micropolitics, she shows how the ITI centre organized a series of seminars and colloquia on Brecht, aimed specifically at these artists, that featured many of his former colleagues and students as speakers and experts. She also traces the tensions between a Second World country, the GDR, anxious for influence, and the suspicions of members of the so-called Committee of Third World Theatre, which sought to work autonomously and free from First or Second World tutelage.

A different path is traced by Vita Matiss in her discussion of Ibsen's *Brand* in its legendary staging in Riga in the 1970s. Ibsen remained an ambivalent playwright on the eastern side of the Iron Curtain and in the capital city of an occupied territory, Latvia, doubly so. Matiss explains the Soviet censorship system by which Ibsen's plays were, with the exception of *The Doll's House*, marked as B or C, that is not forbidden, but not recommended either. The production itself, via the ambivalent, because uncompromising, title figure, was able to focus on some of the moral dilemmas of the Cold War as well as on the Soviet Union's own colonial or imperial project vis-à-vis the occupied territories. The article also provides a brief coda in which a controversial production in Bangladesh in 2004 set the pastor Brand in the context of religious fundamentalism.

How to do things with words is the title of John Austin's famous essay (1962) on the performative nature of language. The final section heading of the volume, 'Cultures of things', alludes to this notion of the performative, although Austin does not primarily have material objects in mind. That 'things' are more than just everyday functional objects and can in fact be suffused with affect, nostalgia, and ideology is demonstrated by Sudha Rajagopalan in her essay that examines what she terms 'untold histories of Soviet things in India'. Things, she argues, acquire narrative power as they become invested with meanings and values by the people who own and use them and thus become conduits through which we experience the

world. Things, therefore, provide a link between popular culture and foreign policy: their possession and the stories they help us articulate are precisely such a field for the performance of intimacy geopolitics where objects have agency. Things have an ineluctable materiality whose signification may however change over time.

The most prominent theatrical material object is the theatre building itself, although we tend not to think of theatres as 'things' even though they very much are. They are usually concrete and wooden constructions that are inhabited, used, and often decay with the passage of time. Like any other things, their meanings and significance change over time. These processes of mutability are nowhere more apparent than in national theatres, several of which were established in the postcolonial period on the African continent, albeit under quite different forms of state sponsorship and East–West rivalries: British, Chinese, and US interests all contributed to the establishment of national theatres on the continent. National theatres like museums are things that can be imbued with institutional power, but they can also be neglected and become ruins. The national theatre is read as a textbook case of the shift over the past 60 years from the 'modularity principle' proposed by Benedict Anderson as constitutive of the way nationalism diffused via adaptable templates, particularly in the non-European world, to a new, but equally Eurocentric discourse of cultural heritage.

The heritage or legacy of the Cold War in the postcolonial world remains a contested one. Renewed or even emerging scholarly interest in the topic reflects a new set of concerns that go beyond the initial and for some – traumatic – discovery that for numerous writers and artists their endeavours were being funded by the CIA and therefore seemed implicitly complicit with US foreign policy objectives. Although the operations of the Congress for Cultural Freedom or the Farfield Foundation were never crudely instrumental or propagandistic, they were certainly ideological. Their promotion of a certain kind of work and artistic position can certainly be mapped onto a broader set of political coordinates, which was defined as much by the opposing camp and its parallel initiatives as any kind of intrinsic beliefs. The contributions in this volume attempt to present a more nuanced understanding of the manifold tensions and pressures at work than just being a commitment to one camp or the other.

Notes

1 See the early article "House of Glass" and the illustration "The Pass-Through: How the CIA Bankrolled Private Projects," *Newsweek*, February 27, 1967, 28–32.
2 Studies such as Naima Prevots, *Dance for Export: Cultural Diplomacy and the Cold War* (1998); Michael Hochgeschwender, *Freiheit in der Offensive? Der Kongreß für kulturelle Freiheit und die Deutschen* (1998); David Caute, *The*

Dancer Defects (2003); and Penny Von Eschen, *Satchmo Blows up the World: Jazz Ambassadors Play the Cold War* (2004), all illuminate the importance of cultural exchange and promotion as part of foreign policy initiatives. The most widely discussed and wide-ranging publication is probably Frances Stonor Saunders, *Who Paid the Piper? The CIA and the Cultural Cold War* (1999) as far as the US–European trajectory is concerned.
3 The recent collection *Theatre, Globalization and the Cold War* (Balme and Szymanski-Düll 2017) has a clear focus on theatre and performance but still remains largely within the usual Euro-American geopolitical parameters.
4 For the term 'key individuals' in connection with Rockefeller funding, see Peter Benson, who uses the phrase to explain why the German advocate of Yoruba culture, Ulli Beier, received a Rockefeller travel grant (1986, 34).
5 See also the ERC project, "Developing Theatre: Building Expert Networks for Theatre in Emerging Countries after 1945" (funding ID 694559), *PI Christopher Balme*, http://developing-theatre.de.

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