

Performing the Cold War in the Postcolonial World

Theatre, Film, Literature and Things

Edited by Christopher B. Balme

First published 2024

ISBN: 978-1-032-05158-1 (hbk)

ISBN: 978-1-032-05161-1 (pbk)

ISBN: 978-1-003-19633-4 (ebk)

11 National Theatres in Africa Between Modular Modernity and Cultural Heritage

Christopher B. Balme

CC BY-NC-ND 4.0

DOI: 10.4324/9781003196334-15

The funder for this chapter is the European Research Council.



ROUTLEDGE

Routledge
Taylor & Francis Group

NEW YORK AND LONDON

11 National Theatres in Africa Between Modular Modernity and Cultural Heritage¹

Christopher B. Balme

National theatres have been a feature of the urban landscape for at least 250 years, and perhaps even longer if we take the Comédie-Française as the first exemplar, a national theatre in all but name. A national theatre is defined usually as a purpose-built structure designed to represent the nation with support by state subventions of some kind. Metonymically, it stands in for the state and nation in cultural matters (Wilmer 2004). In Germany, Lessing and Schiller provided the theoretical underpinnings for the concept, but never managed to establish a single permanent national theatre in the current German territories where there are today, depending on the definition, either none or several. The first national theatres outside of France and Germany were founded in Eastern Europe in the nineteenth century, often in countries which had not even achieved full political independence. For emerging peoples such as the Czechs, Slovaks, Poles, Hungarians, or Serbs, national theatres were erected rapidly in their current or future capital cities where they occupied a central pride of place in the urban landscape. Today, these countries tend to have several national theatres (Croatia has five): the smaller the country the greater the number. It took the British over a century of prolonged debate to grudgingly apportion public funds and finally open a national theatre temporarily at the Old Vic in 1962 before the current purpose-built structure opened on the South Bank in 1976 (Kruger 1992).

If we turn to the African continent, we can identify strategies that follow the East European model where an emergent or emerging nation-state erected a national theatre to mark its newly won statehood. In sub-Saharan Africa we find, in rough order of construction, in Kenya the National Theatre, Nairobi (1952); an Ethiopian National Theatre, in Addis Ababa (1955); the National Theatre of Uganda, Kampala (1959); the National Theatre of Somalia, Mogadishu (1967); the National Arts Theatre, Lagos, Nigeria (1977); and the National Theatre of Ghana, in Accra (1992). The oldest national theatre on the African continent is located in Nairobi and opened in 1952 on the initiative of British and Indian settlers.² It was

followed by the theatre in Uganda which was largely a project of the colonial authorities. The national theatre in Somalia was built by the Chinese in 1967 and damaged in the fighting during the civil war (Plastow 2020, 81). The national theatre in Nigeria built for FESTAC 1977, based on a similar design from Bulgaria, was at the time arguably the largest cultural edifice on the African continent. The National Theatre in Ghana was designed and erected by the Chinese in 1992 on the site of Efua Sutherland's Drama Studio which opened in 1960 (Asiedu 2016) and was, in the words of David Donkor, already "in looks and deeds if not in name, very much a national theatre" (Donkor 2017, 47). South Africa occupies a somewhat anomalous position in this history, because under the apartheid regime, it set up several regional theatres known as Performing Arts Councils (PACs) on the German model of generously subsidized municipal and regional theatres complete with drama, opera, and ballet companies which performed for largely white audiences.³

Today, these buildings still exist and bear the scars, often quite literally, of African history in the age of post-colony. While each history is particular, they share certain common experiences that can be read as an allegory of postcolonial cultural history: this narrative is bracketed by the seemingly contradictory terms "modular modernity" and "cultural heritage": modernity with its promise of the clean slate and forward-looking innovation, cultural heritage with its ideology of retrospective preservation and cultural memory. While being apparently oppositional terms, they are in fact two points on a continuum of Western influence on the African continent (and elsewhere). There is a direct through-line connecting modular modernity with cultural heritage – a connection, I shall argue, which has enabled most of these buildings, despite weak institutional support structures, to survive and in most cases avoid the almost inevitable fate of conversion into shopping centres and car parks. My main example is the National Theatre in Uganda or, to give it its official title, the Ugandan Cultural Centre and National Theatre of Uganda, but popularly known as National Theatre. Built in 1959 under the auspices of the British colonial administration, this departing gesture of a well-meaning official embodied the "progressive" style of modernist tropical architecture. Sixty years later, it was ear-marked for demolition as its central location in downtown Kampala promised a more profitable use as a multi-story shopping centre. Its rescue after vociferous protests came down to its status as a cultural heritage building. The narrative and argument of this essay will extend beyond the temporal framework of the Cold War proper and into the present as both modular modernity and cultural heritage represent *longue durée* global discourses that act on nations and cultures across the globe over prolonged periods.

Modular modernity

National theatres are outgrowths of nationalism and the formation of nation-states. The concept of modular modernity proposed here is heavily influenced by historiographical concepts of nationalism, especially those of Benedict Anderson and Ernest Gellner who both employ the notion of modularity or modular thinking to explain the rapid diffusion of nationalism around the globe. Here, modularity functions as a cultural prerequisite for the importation and adaptation of this very European ideology forged in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. The aim is to bring together through the concept of modularity previously separate strands of thinking about theatre for postcolonial nations in the 1950s and 1960s. The concept and practice of modularity can accommodate both aesthetic and institutional dimensions of theatre that are normally dealt with separately; they coalesce most notably in the architecture of national theatres but are by no means restricted to it. The modular is by definition transportable and potentially transferrable to diverse cultural contexts.

The terms “modular” and “modularity” stem originally from mathematics where they refer to an operation acting on a finite set of elements with different ways to order numbers and perform calculations. The best-known pragmatic application of the modular principle was the gradual replacement of idiosyncratic “feudal” measurement systems (e.g. the British imperial measurements) by the standardized decimal system which was already advocated in the nineteenth century (Herschel 1863). More broadly, modularity refers to the fact that a system’s components may be separated and recombined, often with the benefit of flexibility and variety in use. In the definition of US cultural historian John G. Blair: “The modular, wherever it emerged, broke down earlier structures into relatively small units, which were functionally equivalent and implicitly rearrangeable or substitutable” (Blair 1988, 2).

For Blair, the modular with its emphasis on parts rather than wholes is an intrinsically “American” way of thought that he opposes to a “European” Old-World preoccupation with wholes “sanctioned by tradition” (ibid.). Blair applies his theory to eight different fields of culture: education, industry, architecture, literature (Walt Whitman’s poetry), music (blues and jazz), sports (American football), law, and religion. In some areas, American innovation is undeniable such as the system of credit points in undergraduate education which only finally conquered Old Europe through the Bologna reforms of the late 1990s. In others such as property law (the grid pattern of land division) and religion (the equality of all religions and their Protestant proliferation), the argument is harder to make. While the American skyscraper is certainly constructed using modular components,

in architecture, modularity is equally associated with Bauhaus and the International Style of Le Corbusier. For Blair, blues and jazz are both modular: the former because of “the implicit rearrangeability of stanzas”, and the latter on account of its “reiterative open-endedness” (Blair 1988, 76).

The opposition between an Old-World European predilection for organic totality and a modern American emphasis on equivalent component parts is certainly oversimplified and unable to account for the countless organizational and technological exchanges across the Atlantic in the nineteenth century. Nevertheless, the fundamental definition of modularity as a way of thinking and organizing industry and culture can certainly be understood as a key component of modernity, along with other characteristics such as project thinking and the planning paradigm (Graf and Jarusch 2017). If we accept that modernity and modernization are Western projects, albeit often adopted and redefined in non-Western contexts (Eisenstadt 2000), then the opposition is less one between Europe and America than between an industrialized Global North encountering a predominantly agricultural Global South on the very uneven playing field of colonialism, imperialism and later decolonization. In the context of the emerging postcolonial nations, the term “Western” necessarily included the Soviet Union and the Eastern Bloc, which shared the fundamental commitment to modernization. This is particularly evident in the field of architecture where there was a major involvement of socialist countries in the Global South (see Stanek 2020).

Although modular thinking has antecedents in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, it does not gain popular currency, however, until the twentieth century when the term enters architectural discourse among other fields and denotes various kinds of building materials and structures that can be easily reassembled in different configurations. In both its mathematical and architectural applications, modularity is an abstract concept; it is not linked to a particular style but is rather a deep-structural concept underlying particular external forms and cultural practices.⁴

In the context of the Cold War, modular thinking also provided a bridge between the capitalist and communist worlds. Both shared a common belief in the progressive power of modernity and its technological promises. Both Soviet and Chinese variants of state socialism were predicated on removing the old bourgeois order whereby the Maoism of the Cultural Revolution was by far the more radical variant. In architectural terms, Soviet and Chinese approaches favoured functionalism over tradition with a clear preference for concrete. In sub-Saharan Africa, China left a more lasting legacy with its theatre buildings in Somalia and Ghana, and recent research has begun to demonstrate a greater diffusion of Eastern Bloc presence on the continent than is often remembered (Stanek 2020). The main point is that from the perspective of the emergent African nations, developmental assistance almost invariably came in a modularized form whatever the ideological packaging was.

A more specific application of the term modularity to the processes of decolonialization can be found in theories of nationalism. Benedict Anderson defined his famous concept of imagined communities in terms of cultural artefacts that could be easily transported in “modular” form to highly disparate cultural contexts:

My point of departure is that nationality, or . . . nation-ness, as well as nationalism, are cultural artefacts of a particular kind. . . . I will be trying to argue that the creation of these artefacts towards the end of the eighteenth century was the spontaneous distillation of a complex “crossing” of discrete historical forces; but that, once created, they became “modular”, capable of being transplanted, with varying degrees of self-consciousness, to a great variety of social terrains, to merge and be merged with a correspondingly wide variety of political and ideological constellations.

(Anderson 1991, 4)

Ernest Gellner, perhaps the other most prominent and influential post-war theorist of nationalism, also sees in the concept of modularity a defining characteristic of nationalism. Like Blair, he follows a binary model of “traditional” societies wedded to “non-modularity” and more “modern” ones that embrace nationalism via modular thinking. Non-modularity, where humans are embedded in tight networks with a social life regulated by highly ‘dramatic’ rituals, is the norm of existence: “A traditional wedding involves two entire clans, great expense, much sound and fury; it is modern man who can get married in a quick sober procedure with a couple of witnesses and yet incur legally and socially serious consequences” (1995, 41). For Gellner, the norm of non-modularity is rooted politically in nativized structures of tightly observed kinship networks, the “rule of cousins” as opposed to the centralized “tyranny of kings”. Economically, he argues, these structures lead to stagnation and the “freezing of technique”, that is inflexibility and lack of openness to innovation. Modular man on the other hand “can combine into effective associations and institutions . . . without binding himself by some blood ritual” and can just as easily dissolve these bonds as the situation permits (1995, 42). This ability to enter and leave associations and institutions forms a defining characteristic of modularity which is predicated on a fundamental assumption, namely that the members can substitute for one another: “one man must be able to fill the slot previously occupied by another. . . . This is indeed one of the most important general traits of a modern society: cultural homogeneity” (ibid., 43). It is one of the central paradoxes of nationalism that it requires *cultural* homogeneity predicated on universal education to function as a modern force free of traditional, feudal structures, yet it often preaches *ethnic* homogeneity determined by blood and soil.

It is important to stress here that for Gellner, the polarity does not reside in an opposition between European and non-European cultures, because he defines it within European culture itself and its turn to nationalism. Gellner returns to the concept of modularity in his final, posthumously published book, *Language and Solitude: Wittgenstein, Malinowski and the Habsburg Dilemma* (1998). He recapitulates the connection between modularity and innovation and the liberation from “habitual associations” (1998, 4). The “new society of modular men is individualistic”, but why, he asks, “is this newly emerging modular man also a nationalist?” (1998, 27). Nationalism emerges coevally with industrialization in Europe, and the economic dictates of the latter require various kinds of standardization to function, primarily a nominally literate workforce. Literacy and education are also the preconditions of nationalism (pace Anderson). For the first time, education becomes the norm of a new level of complex organization known as “society”, composed of atomistic, educated individuals. The political unit for this new kind of society is the nation-state. Its affective bonds are created through the ideology of nationalism which harnesses, somewhat paradoxically, the very agrarian, village-centred, myths and rituals, which it by necessity must supersede.

All postcolonial nations were born in the spirit of nationalism. The principle of independent nation-states as the standard political unit, given normative power by Woodrow Wilson’s ‘Fourteen Points’ in 1918 on the ruins of the disintegrating European empires, and reiterated in 1955 at the Bandung conference for the new ‘Third World’ peoples, meant that there had to be a high degree of institutional conformity between them while respecting myriad cultural differences on more local levels. They were confronted by the challenge of building institutions in the modular mode to allow them to interact with the emerging global networks of trade, science, and law. Many of these institutions were inherited from the departing colonial regimes but needed to be adapted to new conditions. The greatest challenge lay – using Gellner’s terminology – in decoupling human beings conditioned by and still beholden to kinship networks and communal ritual from this non-modular matrix and refashioning them to function in the modular mode. Perhaps the most important role was to be played by what Gellner terms “generic education” (1995, 76), designed to ensure occupational mobility.

The topic of interest here is the extent to which art and theatre fell under the modular mode. It can be argued that the introduction of theatre within the postcolonial world often coincided with a version that could be termed “modernist”: In addition to the already-mentioned projects to establish national theatres – perhaps the most comprehensive conjunction of modular thinking, nationalism, and theatre – we can mention Stanislavsky’s acting pedagogy, Brecht’s epic theatre, and even social drama in the Ibsen

or George Bernard Shaw mould. The movement known as theatrical modernism coalesces out of a number of influences united by a desire to provide a counter-model to the purely commercial theatre whose principles (or rather lack of them) the advocates of the new movement decried. One can certainly say that by the end of the First World War, it was well and truly established and had a set of advocates, charismatic artistic figures, and a growing number of publications, mainly periodicals, spreading its message.

By drawing on influences from different countries and cultures, modernist theatre proved itself to be intrinsically modular and thereby eminently transferrable. It could be reduced to a set of principles that, with the right amount of support – often philanthropic, sometimes state-financed – could be exported around the world. Three-act plays could be written in any language and required only a stage and actors. Its importation and indigenization took place under quite disparate institutional conditions and began usually in the nineteenth century with touring troupes, amateur performances, and school and religious instructions.

Although art and theatre are often discussed in terms of nationally and culturally determined styles and sensibilities, a tendency that was accelerated by nationalism in the nineteenth century, from an institutional perspective this makes little sense. The export of Western art practices followed often on the coat-tails of colonialism. In some (post)colonial nations, there already existed Western-influenced theatrical institutions that were primarily commercial in orientation and thereby implicitly anathema to the modernist visions enumerated above. The most widespread was the Parsi theatre in India which had its heyday in the late nineteenth century and spawned offshoots in a number of South Asian countries (Nicholson 2021). West Africa produced various kinds of Travelling Theatre in the 1940s and 1950s (Barber, Collins, and Ricard 1997; Cole 2001). In both cases, they were absorbed by the emerging film and later video industries.

The theatrical discourse of the postcolonial world in the 1950s and 1960s mirrored Western debates and trends, while adding a specific decolonial component, namely the integration of indigenous performance culture and traditions. This move corresponds to Anderson's concept of merging with local constellations and has been extensively analysed in aesthetic terms under concepts such as syncretic, hybrid, or intercultural theatre.⁵ My argument is that modern Western theatre in the twentieth century provided an example of a technology based on modular principles in the sense that it comprised forms and elements that can be selected, assembled, and recombined at will. This sets it aside from and in opposition to *culturally matrixed* performance forms which integrate aesthetics, belief systems, and specific cultural contexts. We find such forms in all cultures, but they are especially prevalent in indigenous performance traditions. In performance forms which are culturally matrixed to a high degree, it is hard

to detach individual modules and transport them across cultures. For this reason, some Asian theatre forms such as Nô or Kabuki or Peking Opera have remained, despite some attempts, broadly resistant to modularization. Once evolving and adaptable, today, they remain largely immutable and have been therefore relocated to the sphere of cultural heritage where they enjoy special patronage. For the same reason, the performative components of a village festival are difficult to detach and make meaningful outside their religious-cultural matrix. When this is attempted, it becomes usually folkloric, even exoticist entertainment.

Viewing performance as being intimately imbricated in a cultural matrix can be termed the anthropological model because particular cultural expressions are explained in terms of embeddedness, which are implicitly if not explicitly functionalist in conception. The anthropological model stresses cultural boundaries as defining demarcation points. The modular model on the other hand tends to ignore cultural boundaries and in theory has been and continues to be installed – for better or for worse – in a variety of cultural contexts. Its products gain legitimacy or don't in the institutional frameworks of their respective "art worlds", to use Howard Becker's term (1982).⁶ Art worlds in the modern Western tradition with their own intrinsic but ever-changing rules epitomize modularity. They tend to ride slipshod over culturally matrixed forms but have the advantage of being transculturally recognizable within their own kinship groups. Their rituals of encounter and exchange are either festivals or international tours.

Modern Western theatre is based on abstract, not culturally specific principles. This has enabled it institutionally to travel across and be reassembled in different cultural contexts. In the period we are talking about – roughly 1950 to 1980 – these components consisted in its ideal-typical form of a pre-composed play (later devised work), a purpose-built theatre building, performers, scene and costume design, music and dance, and, most elusively, economic support structures (state, philanthropy, or sponsorship). The Western version of modular modern theatre as a subset of the superset "art" was exported globally and assumed, often only implicitly, that external financial support would be necessary for it to flourish, rather than being exposed to the vicissitudes of market-driven commercialism. What was lacking in this modular model in its exported form, however, was the whole dimension of spectatorship because the latter cannot be pre-fabricated and modularized in the same way that its production can. This became later a problem in many environments as the sheer uninterestedness of local audiences in modular theatre led to it being confined to very small niches and universities. Because modular theatre was initially closely linked to elitist forms of education, its appeal often remained limited to those sectors of postcolonial societies. Notable exceptions, however, can be found the already mentioned West African concert parties, which are

highly modular in their mode of production where the concept of theatrical modularity, in all its tensions and contradictions, became most evident is in its architecture.

(Tropical) architecture and national theatres

National theatres are first and foremost architectural structures where the concept of modularity is fairly evident. These structures were mostly erected in the 1950s and 1960s and paralleled political decolonization. Although Benedict Anderson does not deal specifically with theatre (he focuses instead on museums), there is little doubt that national theatres are examples of transportable, modular cultural artefacts, embodying an idea as well as a function. The architectural movement most closely associated with modularity is Bauhaus and its various extensions and adaptations, including Le Corbusier's International Style. These movements had a colonial and in particular decolonial extension in the projects of the 1950s, 1960s, and 1970s known as tropical architecture. The term refers to a relatively close-knit network of architects, a number of whom were German exiles such as Ernst May and Otto Königsberger. They began formulating and practicing modern architectural principles in colonial contexts across the globe. In 1953, they gave organizational form to the movement in the wake of a conference in London (Le Roux 2003).

Leading exponents were Königsberger, Maxwell Fry, his wife Jane Drew, and David Oakley, all of whom had careers spanning large sections of the postcolonial world: from Chandigarh to Accra, from Singapore to the University of Ibadan. They bequeathed hundreds of buildings that were based on the idea of tropical architecture. This meant, broadly speaking, designing buildings that were attuned to the local climate and environment with special attention paid to sun protection and ventilation. The preferred material was concrete but often adorned with local designs. The best-known publications are Fry and Drew's *Tropical Architecture in the Humid Zone* (1956) and Königsberger's co-authored *Manual of Tropical Housing and Building* (1974), both of which achieved considerable dissemination. For Fry and Drew, three main considerations determined architectural design in the tropics: "first, *people and their needs*; second, *climate and its attendant ills*; and third, *materials and the means of building*" (1956, 23, emphasis in the original).

Hannah Le Roux, a prominent historian of tropical architecture, has argued that in the case of the British colonies and postcolonies,

[T]ropical architecture was located within the networks of modernist and colonial culture as much as it was place bound. Tropical architecture was established in the metropolitan architectural circles of the

1950s through the use of the term in books and journals, a conference and a course of specialization in London.

(2003, 337)

It was, in other words, an epistemic community typical of the 1950s and 1960s, especially in the context of development and decolonization. While emphasizing spatial specificity, its practice was not place bound but adhered to certain abstract principles promulgated through and across the network.⁷

Although the tropical architecture network had its hub in the UK, the most radical manifestation of architectural modularity was probably executed in France when the firm of KP DV won a contract to build hundreds of primary schools in West Africa. These were made up of the steel frames prefabricated in France and transported to the country in question where the concrete walls were made of local materials. This was perhaps the only component that fluctuated. The basic structure was invariable: a one-room classroom and a teacher's dwelling attached (De Raedt 2018). Although not every expatriate architect working in a British or French postcolony was necessarily part of the tropical architecture networks, many were, and the influence of the ideas was certainly pervasive.

In the field of theatre, one of the most influential examples of modularity was the so-called theatre-in-the-round or arena theatre. We find a number of projects that propagated and installed the theatre-in-the-round in non-European contexts, usually in the spirit of cultural adaptation to pre-existing autochthonous forms. The programmatic model was, however, a publication by the Texas-based American theatre director Margo Jones, *Theatre-in-the-Round* (1951). A regular recipient of funding by the Rockefeller Foundation, Jones was an indefatigable promotor of professional regional theatre in the United States and a theatrical modernist in both the aesthetic and institutional sense. The theatre outlined in the book is both an architectural and institutional model of a non-profit theatre devoted to modernist principles, and her arena theatre in Dallas is often hailed as the first example of a regional non-profit repertory theatre. She cites the charter of the American National Theatre Association (ANTA) passed by Congress in 1935 as encapsulating the ideals that non-profit theatre should aspire to:

The presentation of theatrical productions of *the highest type* . . . The stimulation of public interest in the *Drama as an art* belonging to the Theatre and to Literature and therefore to be enjoyed both on the stage and in the study . . . The further development of the study of the drama of the present and past in *our universities, colleges, schools* and elsewhere.

(Jones 1951, 18–19, emphasis added)

Drama as a theatrical artform which requires nurturing and development through teaching and research are the standard ideologemes of the modernist movement. Funding by the Rockefeller Foundation provided not just a fact-finding fellowship for Jones but ensured later the extension of the non-profit regional model internationally. Basic components were low-cost arena staging, the use of a resident company of professional actors, subscription sales, a governing board, and community involvement.

Although Jones linked a specific architectural form (arena staging) to the non-profit model, the latter is an institutional form and not wedded to a particular kind of building. The widespread adoption of non-profit theatre signals the “sacralization” of theatre as an art form, its inclusion in the canon of “high culture”, as Paul DiMaggio (1992) has argued for the United States. There it was closely connected to demands for a national theatre, a project that gained support during the Cold War, although it ultimately came to nothing (Canning 2009). While this shift from commercial enterprise to high culture status took place at different times in different countries, by the mid-twentieth century, it had been widely achieved in the Global North.

The foundational years of the US non-profit modernist model – the 1950s and 1960s – run parallel to the establishment of theatre in postcolonial nations. There is little to no time lapse, no period of “catch-up” or perpetual belatedness, so often characteristic of postcolonial discourse. We can speak indeed of a theatrical coevalness. The repertory Jones preached – a combination of new playwrighting and classics with an emphasis on the former – was also exported largely intact. The “classical” repertoire comprised the Greeks, Shakespeare, and Molière and an emerging modernist canon including writers such as Ibsen, Chekhov, G.B. Shaw, Eugene O’Neill, and later, and more controversially, Brecht. All postcolonial theatres agreed on the necessity of encouraging new writers to give voice to the new national identity. The modernist modular theatre repertoire comprised a bedrock of classics, which was largely interchangeable wherever theatre was performed – whether in Cape Town or Port-of-Spain. The variation lay in the field of indigenous playwrighting where repertoire remained highly specific and indeed, site-specific, with very few writers or plays transferring to other locales.

Theatre-in-the-round, or arena staging as it was often termed, was frequently promoted in the postcolonial world as an alternative to Western-style proscenium stages with their confrontational structure. Efua Sutherland’s Ghana Drama Studio was constructed as a theatre-in-the-round in 1962, based on the housing compounds of the Akan people of Ghana (Donkor 2017, 35). It received funding from the Rockefeller foundation which also funded similar projects in South Korea, the Seoul Drama Center (Creutzenberg 2019), in the Philippines, Severino Montano’s Arena

Theatre (Leonhardt 2019), and in Sao Paulo where the Arena Theatre was established in 1953.⁸ These were all “national theatre” projects in spirit and ambition, even if in the end they did not attain this status. National theatres were always institutional as much as architectural projects, state support being equally, if not more, significant than the actual physical foundations on which the many buildings rested.

The importance of the United States in promoting modernist, modular theatre is indissolubly linked to the involvement of US philanthropy, especially the Rockefeller and Ford foundations, but also the CIA-funded Congress for Cultural Freedom (see Introduction). The close imbrication between philanthropy, US foreign policy, and the promotion of a seemingly apolitical modernist aesthetic, of which modular architecture appeared the perfect ocular proof, provides the background to understanding national theatre projects in Africa.

National theatre in Uganda

The idea for a national theatre in Uganda was first proposed in 1952 by the governor of the Protectorate, Andrew Cohen. Of Jewish-Russian descent and Cambridge-educated, Cohen joined the colonial service before the Second World War and, by 1947, had risen to become head of the African division in the Colonial Office. He was a dedicated proponent of decolonization, especially in Africa, and under the Labour Government, he found a sympathetic supporter in the Minister for the Colonies, Arthur Creech Jones. After the latter departed from the office in 1951 with the fall of the Labour government, Cohen was “exiled” to Uganda, as he put it, where he was appointed governor. Here, he began to negotiate with the local rulers to prepare the country for self-rule and eventually independence (Cohen 1959).

Cohen envisaged a cultural centre or institute which would house a theatre and provide the headquarters for various culturally active, amateur societies. It would be essentially a place where the three communities, European, African, and Indian, could meet and mix. The new building, therefore, was predominantly a theatre but included spaces for rehearsals, meetings, and social events. The theatre was established by an Act of Parliament of 1959, the Uganda National Cultural Centre Act, which specified that the UNCC was a semi-autonomous body to be run as a trust and not directly by government. About £30,000 was raised by bodies most closely connected with the project, and the balance of £90,000 was voted by the government. The choice of trust as the preferred form of governance is typical of the British approach to defining the relationship between government and arts administration, which can only be described as “arms-length”. It reflects the non-profit model that had gained widespread support in the

United States during the New Deal years. The act itself specifies not only the trust's central function to be the administering of the "trust property", that is the centre, but also more broadly:

- (a) [T]o provide and establish theatres and cultural centres; (b) to encourage and develop cultural and artistic activities; and (c) subject to such directions as may be given to it by the Minister from time to time, to provide accommodation for societies, institutions or organisations of a cultural, artistic, academic, philanthropic or educational nature.⁹

The first provision mentions theatres and cultural centres in the plural, and clearly Cohen envisaged a more regional approach in the long term. Paragraph 13 of the Act specifically provided for the establishment of district arts committees "for the purpose of encouraging and developing artistic and cultural activities in its area". Direct government influence was exercised through the appointment of a board of trustees who were entrusted in turn to appoint an executive committee to oversee the day-to-day running of the centre. Despite Uganda's violent postcolonial history, particularly in the Idi Amin years, the Act remains in force to this day.¹⁰

The design and building were executed by the Kampala-based architectural firm Peatfield and Bodgener, which had been set up in London in 1952 by two ex-RAF servicemen. They established a permanent office in Kampala which is still active today. In his article, "An architect's guide to surviving the rule of Idi Amin", Ben Flatman places the two founders very much in the context of tropical architecture:

Like many young architects in the post-war era, Peatfield & Bodgener sought out commissions from amongst the remnants of Empire and the emerging independent nations of the British Commonwealth. . . . They entered a Commonwealth architectural competition in 1956 for a new national assembly building in Uganda. They won, and so began a project that would lead the practice on to remarkable success, and right through one of the most violent and tumultuous periods in Uganda's history.

(Flatman 2017)

The modernist construction is built of a reinforced concrete frame faced with terrazzo slabs and round brise soleil grilles incorporating East African white marble chips (Figure 11.1). Behind the grilles, the window walls are in local cedar framing. The auditorium has no doors, and the seat rows are accessed individually from side passageways directly into the row. The building had a passive ventilation system, and in addition to large louvers on the outside wall, there are also roof vents.



Figure 11.1 Exterior of the Ugandan National Cultural Centre, 1960.

Source: RIBA Collections.

The exterior is quite typical of buildings in the tropical architectural style such as the library at the University of Ibadan in Nigeria, designed by Fry and Drew, which is often considered emblematic of the movement. It also blended well with other modernist buildings of the period, including the Ugandan parliament (also designed by Peatfield & Bodgener) and Ernst May's Ugandan National Museum (1954) (Hughes 1960).

The floor plan (Figure 11.2) shows a conventional proscenium-style stage complete with dressing rooms, green room, box office, and manager's office. The "community room" indicates where the various organizations – the offices and library of the British Council, the clubroom of the Uganda Society, the studio of the Parinal Art Academy, and the Red Cross, the Kampala youth league, and other organizations – were accommodated.

On its opening in 1959, the theatre was arguably the best equipped and, from a modernist, tropical-architectural perspective, the most innovative theatre building of its kind in Sub-Saharan Africa. Despite its eye-catching features, a British drama judge, Peter Carpenter, who visited Kampala just after its opening, asked:

But what of the theatre? What is it for? Who will use it? What will be presented on its stage? How can a new and well-equipped theatre, with its own professional director and staff, prosper in the heart of Equatorial

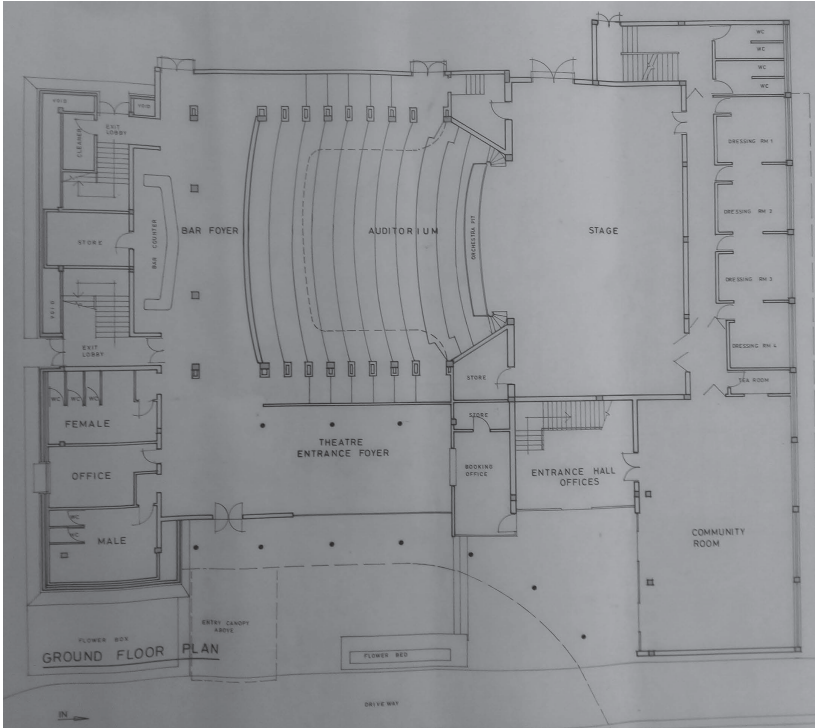


Figure 11.2 Floor plan of the Ugandan National Cultural Centre.

Source: Courtesy of Peatfield & Bodgener Architects, Kampala.

Africa, amid a population consisting of 5 1/2 million Africans, 55,000 Indians, and less than 9000 Europeans?

(Carpenter 1959, 6)

With more than a hint of condescension, Carpenter is posing here the institutional question, perhaps the most difficult component of modular theatrical modernity to get right, in the sense of achieving some kind of long-term sustainability. His calculations imply that an insufficient number of Europeans are available who could be guaranteed to actually support the new theatre. It quickly transpired that they were not needed.

When Wole Soyinka visited in 1962, he was underwhelmed:

What we found was a doll's-house, twin-brother to our own National Museum. . . . It was disconcerting to find a miniature replica of a British provincial theatre, fully closed in – another advantage this, extraneous noise at least was eliminated.

(Soyinka 1963, 21–22)

It is little wonder that the theatre appeared as “replica of a British provincial theatre” when the job description of its theatre manager was factored in. The advertisement for the position published in the London-based trade paper, *The Stage*, was framed explicitly as a colonial tour of duty for a British professional. The advertisement sought

[A] man [sic!] of all-round ability responsible for the day to day management of the Theatre, the engagement of theatrical companies from overseas, assistance with the production of plays, dramatic education, and the general encouragement of amateur drama in Uganda.

(National Theatre Uganda 1959)

The salary scale range of £1,200–£1,650 per annum was generous for the theatre profession, as was the leave allowance on full pay. The emolument was very much seen as providing compensation for a tropical tour of duty.

The first theatre manager was an Englishman, Maxwell Jackson, whose tenure, however, was rather short. Jackson did indeed attempt to realize Cohen’s vision of a multi-ethnic meeting place for Africans, Europeans, and Asians. Unfortunately, the expatriate community immediately asserted control of the theatre, marginalizing the non-Whites. According to the Ugandan writer Charles Mulekwa: “the first director of the theatre G. Maxwell Jackson was apparently sacked and deported by the colonial authorities in the early 1960s because he insisted on making the creative space at the theatre available to African Ugandans” (Mulekwa 2011, 49).

Insight into Jackson’s activities is provided by the Rockefeller Foundation field officer, Robert W. July, who travelled regularly through West and East Africa from the late 1950s to the mid-1960s (see Balme 2019). In 1961, he met Jackson after the latter had been in post for a year and was impressed by his activities, especially in respect to encouraging the production of African drama and music. He noted that the Ugandan government had underwritten the theatre and its activities for five years and that Jackson was intent on forming a resident company of African performers. Discussions on Rockefeller support remained inconclusive but revolved around “help toward equipment, costumes, musical instruments etc., and assistance toward touring in the rural areas” (July 1961, 14). Despite noting Jackson’s energy and professionalism, July remained sceptical that he would stay for long. He was especially frustrated that there was no cooperation with Makerere University College and the English Department.

Despite Jackson’s removal, after independence in 1962, the National Theatre did become a focal point for African artists, actors, dramatists, and directors. From the mid-1960s onwards, a succession of prominent East African theatre makers such as Robert Serumaga, Byron Kawadwa (who was murdered by Idi Amin), Rose Mbowa, and John Ruganda launched

their careers from there. It also saw the premiere of Ngugi wa Thiongo's *The Black Hermit* (1962), the first full-length play in English by an East African writer, and two years later Wycliffe Kiyingu-Kagwe's *Gwosussa Emwani* (1964), in the Luganda language. The National Theatre became part of an organizational field including Makerere University, which produced all the aforementioned dramatists and many more, and for some years, the Rockefeller Foundation, which funded an "experimental training programme" at the National Theatre in the mid-1960s.

Despite these auspicious beginnings as an institution and as a structure, the National Theatre gradually declined, starved of government funding and forced to operate at a profit in the years of Idi Amin's dictatorship and during the subsequent austerity of structural adjustment programmes. Nevertheless, it still continued to exert an attraction for fledgling theatre makers, for whom a performance there represented artistic achievement and recognition.

By 2016, the UNCC had become dilapidated after almost 60 years of continuous use and little maintenance. Other, larger venues had become available, and the main source of revenue was the adjacent parking lot. In the slash-and-burn practices of property development, national theatres, because they go back to the colonial and early independence period, often occupy prime urban real estate with little "return on investment" in terms of square metres. Plans were drawn up to demolish the building and erect in its stead a 36-storey, multi-purpose shopping mall complete with art gallery and cinema – but without a theatre. The UNCC generated half a million \$US in revenue from rents whereas the new shopping centre was projected to earn US\$14 million (Kiganda 2017).

These plans became public in June 2017 which engendered vociferous protests from the theatre community. Reactions to the news cited specifically the notion of "heritage" and even a certain nostalgia for the building, although parts of the theatre community had moved elsewhere (Kasadah 2017). The protests were successful, or, at least, demolition plans were changed within months to a renovation and preservation programme, as Uganda had promised to host the biannual East African Cultural Festival for which the National Theatre was sorely needed as a venue (Figure 11.3).

A similar fate threatened the National Theatre in Nairobi but was also averted after recognition as part of the city's and nation's cultural heritage. Its deed of title had not been registered on handover at independence, and the building had never received any government support until 2014, relying entirely on box office and charges for the adjacent parking lot. A combination of private sponsorship and government funds finally led to a major renovation with a theatre heritage exhibition documenting the theatre's colonial and postcolonial history (Nation 2015).



Figure 11.3 Ugandan National Cultural Centre 2019 with its characteristic round grilles.

Source: private collection.

What may have helped save the National Theatre in Uganda and its sibling in Kenya is the fact that both were instituted by Acts of Parliaments. They received thereby at least symbolic if not actual fiscal support from the state. This may not only distinguish the East African examples from other theatres on the continent but also link them with the South African provincial theatres which enjoyed direct state support.

The paradox of colonial cultural heritage

Uganda's UNCC has now been placed on a list of 59 cultural heritage buildings constructed before 1969, which are deemed to have significant cultural value. We find similar cases in Kenya and Nigeria and even in war-torn Somalia. National theatres, even with a colonial past, have mutated from being icons of modular modernity to symbols of cultural heritage, the current dominant cultural global discourse of Western provenience. The "transformation" of the Uganda National Cultural Centre from a dilapidated remnant of a colonial past into a proud example of

iconic architecture appears somewhat paradoxical and is difficult to grasp without an understanding of cultural heritage as an international movement with similar discursive and ultimately political power as the modular modernity that preceded it.

The concept of cultural heritage is fundamentally paradoxical, as Spanish sociologist and anthropologist Gil-Manuel Hernández i Martí has argued:

[T]he concept of cultural heritage is itself a product of modern Western culture and, like the nationalist ideology to which it is closely linked, it has not stopped globalizing since the 19th century, which has generated a mimesis in the colonial territories that gained independence in the processes of decolonization in the 20th century.

(Hernández i Martí 2006, 97)

He suggests that the modern idea of cultural heritage already implies – and quite at odds with its essentialist claims – a high degree of hybridization. It mixes elements which have been rescued from the past with elements generated in the present for its future endurance, so that cultural heritage can be transmitted from generation to generation. Cultural heritage is paradoxical because, while it appears to be predicated on a “tragic and nostalgic awareness of the . . . past”, it creates its objects out of the needs of the present. His conclusion therefore: “cultural heritage appears before us as a zombie or a living dead” (2006, 103).¹¹

The view of cultural heritage as a zombie extracting blood is perhaps hyperbolic but not entirely inaccurate if extraction means having the discursive power to mobilize and exert political influence. Ever since UNESCO adopted the *Convention Concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage* in 1972, it has steadily expanded its influence by identifying World Heritage sites both natural and man-made and more recently by introducing the notion of Intangible Cultural Heritage which encompasses cultural practices and performance forms.¹² Both versions are explicitly internationalist in outlook and competitive in the sense that nation-states compete for inclusion in the influential lists. The effect on tourism, both positive and negative, is now undisputed as UNESCO itself has recognized (UNESCO 2010).

Although originating with UNESCO, cultural heritage has long since entered the funding agendas of philanthropic organizations as well national and international bodies. The involvement of international funding has had a direct impact in many countries in the global South. In Uganda, the European Union via its External Action Service (the EEAS) initiated a project to “document, establish an inventory, raise awareness and advocate for the protection of the many beautiful buildings located in the three targeted cities, and eventually for their restoration/rehabilitation” (EEAS

2018). The three cities were Kampala, Entebbe, and Jinja. The project involved a three-day workshop to train 20 participants including photographers, historians, architects, and researchers, as well as officers of the local authorities. At the opening of the workshop, the European Ambassador to Uganda, Attilio Pacifici, emphasized in his address the “European” heritage of cultural heritage and that the “*limited awareness of the importance of cultural heritage*, coupled with demand for ‘modern’ structures and facilities, the rural-urban migration and rapid population growth, cultural heritage preservation has become a vital and urgent issue” (Pacifici 2018, 2). The “limited awareness” was implicitly on the part of the audience, that is the Ugandans, who needed to be instructed that their demand for “modern” structures and facilities should not lead to a neglect of buildings bequeathed to them by their colonial past. Although this is perhaps an extreme example of the neo-colonial White man’s burden in the guise of development aid, it highlights how the cultural heritage discourse has become globalized.

Conclusion/outlook

While government funds are available to renovate the buildings, the international community is also prepared to preserve them for posterity. The real challenge for the future will be institutional sustainability: will governments commit to long-term support for national theatres as institutions and not just as examples of iconic heritage architecture? Or conversely: will international donors be prepared to commit resources to institutional rather than just architectural conservation? Probably not. National theatres are very much of the nation and for the nation, whereas global philanthropy of the present supports either concrete structures, often of the colonial era, or Theatre for Development projects. The challenge will be to reconcile these not-always congruent agendas. While modular modernity excited colonial administrations, African nationalists and American philanthropy alike with a promise of futurity, cultural heritage remains a global discourse that is caught up in an uneasy tension between showcasing a problematic colonial past and curtailing possible new architectural initiatives. Although cultural heritage may be slowly taking root in government agendas, it is primarily focused on the materiality of the inherited structures, not on the enacted organizational networks that theatres need. These are constituted by the artists, technicians, and administrators who quite literally embody the institution (see Introduction p. 10). It is the latter, however, that provide the institutional sustainability for national theatres to continue to flourish.

Notes

- 1 This chapter was written as part of the ERC research project “Developing Theatre: Building Expert Networks for Theatre in Emerging Countries after 1945”, funding ID- 694559.
- 2 <http://builddesign.co.ke/kenyanationaltheatre/>.
- 3 For example the Natal Performing Arts Council (NAPAC) in Durban grew to be the second-largest Arts Council in South Africa with, in the 1980s, 700 employees and a production programme of drama, musicals, symphony concerts, opera, ballet, and school tours. It was severely reduced in size in the post-apartheid period. See Kruger (1999, 100–1) and https://esat.sun.ac.za/index.php/Performing_Arts_Councils.
- 4 An application of modularity best known to the 1960s generation of school children (my own generation), for example, is New Maths, which included in its foundational principles modular arithmetic and set theory, the former going back to Immanuel Gauss’ redefinition of mathematics in the early nineteenth century in his *Disquisitiones Arithmeticae*. New maths with its emphasis on modularity was invented in the United States in the 1950s and had its heyday in the 1960s when it was exported around the world. It was a product of Cold War tensions and the so-called Sputnik shock when the United States deemed itself falling behind the Soviet Union in matters technological (Phillips 2014). Phillips’ focus is mainly on the United States, but its impact was international. On the use of modular arithmetic, see pp. 55–56.
- 5 See Balme (1999), Gilbert and Tompkins (1996), and Crow and Banfield (1996). For intercultural theatre, see Fischer-Lichte, Riley, and Gissenwehrer (1990) and Pavis (1992).
- 6 The art world is made up of “the network of people whose cooperative activity, organised via their joint knowledge of conventional means of doing things, produces the kind of artworks that art world is noted for” (Becker 1982, xxiv). The tautology in the definition is intentional because of the recursive, self-reinforcing nature of the art world.
- 7 For the notion of “epistemic community” in the postcolonial context, see Balme (2019).
- 8 On the Arena Theatre in Washington, DC. See Rockefeller (1960, 189–90).
- 9 Accessed 28 May 2019, <https://ulii.org/ug/legislation/consolidated-act/50>. It is not currently accessible.
- 10 www.gou.go.ug/content/uganda-national-cultural-centre-uncc.
- 11 He compares the heritage zombie to the replicants from the movie *Blade Runner* in whom artificial memories have been implanted: “They are not personal memories, but memories that have been implanted and incorporated through the institutional process of patrimonialization” (Hernández i Martí 2006, 104).
- 12 See www.unesco.org/culture/ich/index.php?lg=en&pg=00002.

References

- Anderson, Benedict. 1991. *Imagined communities: reflections on the origin and spread of nationalism*. Rev. and extended ed. London, New York: Verso.
- Asiedu, Awo Mana. 2016. “China in Ghana: An Interview With Mohammed Ben Abdallah About the National Theatre Built in Accra by the Chinese Government.”

- In *African Theatre: China, India & the Eastern World*, edited by James Gibbs and Femi Osofisan, 3–27. Woodbridge: James Currey.
- Balme, Christopher B. 1999. *Decolonizing the Stage: Theatrical Syncretism and Post-colonial Drama*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- . 2019. “Building Theatrical Epistemic Communities in the Global South: Expert Networks, Philanthropy and Theatre Studies in Nigeria 1959–1969.” *Journal of Global Theatre History* 3 (2): 3–18. doi:10.5282/gthj/5119.
- Barber, Karin, John Collins, and Alain Ricard. 1997. *West African Popular Theatre*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press; Oxford: James Currey.
- Becker, Howard. 1982. *Art Worlds*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Blair, John G. 1988. *Modular America: Cross-Cultural Perspectives on the Emergence of an American Way*. Westport: Greenwood Press.
- Canning, Charlotte. 2009. “‘In the Interest of the State’: A Cold War National Theatre for the United States.” *Theatre Journal* 61: 407–20.
- Carpenter, Peter. 1959. “A National Theatre in Uganda.” *The Guardian*, December 3, 6.
- Cohen, Andrew. 1959. *British Policy in Changing Africa*. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul.
- Cole, Catherine M. 2001. *Ghana’s Concert Party Theatre*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.
- Creutzenberg, Jan. 2019. “Dreaming of a New Theatre in Cold War South Korea: Yu Chi-jin, the Rockefeller Foundation and the Seoul Drama Center.” *Journal of Global Theatre History* 3 (2): 34–53. doi:10.5282/gthj/5118.
- Crow, Brian, and Chris Banfield. 1996. *An Introduction to Post-Colonial Theatre, Cambridge Studies in Modern Theatre*. Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press.
- De Raedt, Kim. 2018. “Tracing the History of Socially Engaged Architecture. School Building as Development Aid in Sub-Saharan Africa.” In *The Routledge Companion to Architecture and Social Engagement*, edited by Karim Farhan, 71–86. London: Routledge.
- DiMaggio, Paul. 1992. “Cultural Boundaries and Structural Change: The Extension of the High Culture Model to Theater, Opera, and the Dance, 1900–1940.” In *Cultivating Differences: Symbolic Boundaries and the Making of Inequality*, edited by Michèle Lamont and Marcel Fournier, 21–57. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Donkor, David Afriye. 2017. “Making Space for Performance: Theatrical-Architectural Nationalism in Postindependence Ghana.” *Theatre History Studies* 36: 29–56. doi:10.1353/ths.2017.0002.
- Eisenstadt, Shmuel N. 2000. “Multiple Modernities.” *Daedalus* 129 (1): 1–29.
- European External Action Service. 2018. “EU Funded Project to Protect Historical Buildings in Uganda Kicks Off.” Accessed December 22, 2021. https://eeas.europa.eu/delegations/uganda/49938/eu-funded-project-protect-historical-buildings-uganda-kicks_en.
- Fischer-Lichte, Erika, Josephine Riley, and Michael Gissenwehrer. 1990. *The Dramatic Touch of Difference: Theatre, Own and Foreign*. Tübingen: Narr.

- Flatman, Ben. 2017. "An Architect's Guide to Surviving the Rule of Idi Amin." *Building Design Online*, July 7. Accessed December 22, 2021. www.bdonline.co.uk/comment/an-architects-guide-to-surviving-the-rule-of-idi-amin/5088622. article.
- Fry, Maxwell, and Jane Drew. 1956. *Tropical Architecture in the Humid Zone*. London: Batsford.
- Gellner, Ernest. 1995. "The Importance of Being Modular." In *Civil Society: Theory, History and Comparison*, edited by J. A. Hall, 32–55. Cambridge: Polity Press.
- . 1998. *Language and Solitude: Wittgenstein, Malinowski and the Habsburg Dilemma*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Gilbert, Helen, and Joanne Tompkins. 1996. *Post-colonial Drama: Theory, Practice, Politics*. London and New York: Routledge.
- Graf, Rüdiger, and Konrad H. Jarusch. 2017. "'Crisis' in Contemporary History and Historiography." *Docupedia-Zeitgeschichte*. Accessed December 22, 2021. https://docupedia.de/zg/Graf_jarusch_crisis_en_2017.
- Hernández i Martí, Gil-Manuel. 2006. "The Deterritorialization of Cultural Heritage in a Globalized Modernity." *Transfer: Journal of Contemporary Culture* 1: 92–107. www.llull.cat/rec_transfer/webt1/transfer01_foc04.pdf.
- Herschel, John Frederick William. 1863. *Two Letters to the Editor of the Athenæum, on a British Modular Standard of Length*. London: Wertheimer & Co.
- Hughes, Richard. 1960. "East Africa." *The Architectural Review* (July 1): 21–30.
- Jones, Margo. 1951. *Theatre-in-the-Round*. New York: Rinehart & Co.
- July, Robert W. 1961. "African Diary' 1961." In *Robert W. July Collection*. New York: Public Library. Sc MG 748, b. 1 f. 6–7.
- Kasadah, Badru. 2017. "Ugandans Protest Demolition of National Theatre." Accessed December 22, 2021. <https://eagle.co.ug/2017/06/14/ugandans-protest-demolition-of-national-theatre>.
- Kiganda, Antony. 2017. "Uganda to Construct Shopping Mall in Place of National Theatre." Accessed December 22, 2021. <https://constructionreviewonline.com/2017/06/uganda-to-construct-shopping-mall-in-place-of-national-theatre>.
- Koenigsberger, O. H., T. G. Ingersoll, Alan Mayhew, and S. V. Szokolay. 1974. *Manual of Tropical Housing and Building. Part One: Climatic Design*. London: Longman Group.
- Kruger, Loren. 1992. *The National Stage: Theatre and Cultural Legitimation in England, France, and America*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- . 1999. *The Drama of South Africa: Plays, Pageants and Publics since 1910*. London and New York: Routledge.
- Leonhardt, Nic. 2019. "The Rockefeller Roundabout of Funding: Severino Montano and the Development of Theatre in the Philippines in the 1950s." *Journal of Global Theatre History* 3 (2): 19–33. doi:10.5282/gthj/5117.
- Le Roux, Hannah. 2003. "The Networks of Tropical Architecture." *The Journal of Architecture* 8 (3): 337–54. doi:10.1080/1360236032000134835.
- Mulekwa, Charles. 2011. "Theatre, War and peace in Uganda." In *Acting Together I: Performance and the Creative Transformation of Conflict*, edited by Cynthia

- Cohen, Roberto Gutiérrez Varea, and Polly O. Walker, 45–71. Oakland, CA: New Village Press.
- Nation. 2015. “Theatre Facelift Secures State Apology, Land Title and Money.” Accessed December 22, 2021. www.nation.co.ke/lifestyle/weekend/Kenya-National-Theatre-facelift-State-apology/1220-2875986-anh9tv/index.html.
- National Theatre Uganda. 1959. “Advertisement.” *The Stage*, February 26, 9.
- Nicholson, Rashna. 2021. *The Colonial Public and the Parsi Stage: The Making of the Theatre of Empire (1853–1893)*, Transnational Theatre Histories. London: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Pacifici, Attilio 2018. “Opening of the Training on Historical Buildings Documentation.” Accessed December 22, 2021. https://eeas.europa.eu/sites/eeas/files/speech_hod_opening_training_ccfu.pdf.
- Pavis, Patrice. 1992. *Theatre at the Crossroads of Culture*. London and New York: Routledge.
- Phillips, Christopher J. 2014. *The New Math: A Political History*. Chicago: Chicago University Press.
- Plastow, Jane. 2020. *A History of East African Theatre, Vol. 1, Horn of Africa, Transnational Theatre Histories*. London: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Rockefeller. 1960. *Annual Report*. New York: Rockefeller Foundation.
- Soyinka, Wole. 1963. “Towards a True Theatre.” *Transition* 8 (March): 21–22.
- Stanek, Łukasz. 2020. *Architecture in Global Socialism: Eastern Europe, West Africa and the Middle East in the Cold War*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- UNESCO. 2010. “Convention Concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage.” *World Heritage Committee*, 34th Session. Accessed December 22, 2021. <https://whc.unesco.org/archive/2010/whc10-34com-inf5F3.pdf>.
- Wilmer, S. E., ed. 2004. *Writing and Rewriting National Theatre Histories*. Iowa City: University of Iowa Press.