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DREAMING OF A NEW THEATRE IN COLD WAR SOUTH KOREA

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Yu Chi-jin, the Rockefeller Foundation, and the Seoul Drama Center

Abstract

After World War II and the liberation of Korea from Japanese colonial rule, the emerging Cold War influenced the cultural sphere in South Korea, both through official policies and private philanthropy. In this paper, I discuss director-playwright Yu Chi-jin's interactions with Rockefeller Foundation officer Charles B. Fahs from 1948 to the late 1950s, leading to the conceptualization, funding, and construction of the Seoul Drama Center in 1962. Both Yu's reading of Margo Jones' book *Theatre-in-the-Round* and his year-long U.S. voyage, suggested and supported by Fahs, contributed to his dream of a new theatre for Korea. Based on internal documents of the Rockefeller Foundation and writings by Yu, I explore how geopolitical, aesthetic, and financial concerns shaped the making of the Drama Center and the theatre scene in post-colonial South Korea.

Keywords

South Korea, Theatre, Cold War, Rockefeller Foundation, Philanthropy

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The Seoul Drama Center is a peculiar part of the South Korean theatre landscape.¹ With about 500 seats rising around a semi-circular stage, it remains distinctly different from both the large proscenium stages at the National Theater or the Seoul Arts Center and the hundreds of small black boxes in the popular theatre district Daehangno. Opened in 1962, the Drama Center is not only one of the oldest theatre buildings currently in use in Seoul (fig. 1). Usually considered the result of joint efforts by Korean playwright-director Yu Chi-jin and the Rockefeller Foundation (e.g. Yoh 1998, p. 265), the Drama Center is also a stark remnant of U.S.-Korean cooperation in the Cold War era.



Figure 1: The interior of the Drama Center at present, apart from a remodeling the original structure remains intact, courtesy of Namsan Arts Center.

Earlier research on the Drama Center deals predominantly with its general production history (Jo UY 1993), the plays and theatre theories of its founder Yu Chi-jin (Bak 1997), or the next generation of theatre makers whose experiments with Asian tradition and Western avant-garde in the 1970s gave new impulses to Korean theatre at large (Kim SH 2005). Only recently, paralleling ongoing debates on the Drama Center's uncertain future under private ownership, have political, ideological, and economic issues surrounding its foundation come into scholarly focus. Even though the potential of the Drama Center as a public theatre and the dangers of privatization have been regularly problematized by theatre makers since the 1960s (Kim SH 2018, pp. 117–19),² now scholars begin to use newly available documents from Korean and American archives to deconstruct the reductive “myth” that the Drama Center is “the result of a donation by the Rockefeller Foundation and Yu Chi-jin’s passion alone” (No 2018, p. 172).³ In this paper I argue that the process which led to the creation of this state-of-the-art stage began much earlier, in the years after World War II, when the Rockefeller Foundation first began their activities in South Korea.

The surrender of the Japanese empire on August 15, 1945, concluded thirty-five years of Japanese colonial rule in Korea and marked the beginning of a continuing U.S. engagement in the southern part of the divided peninsula. Cultural policies under U.S. occupation (1945–48) were at first half-hearted, often ineffective, and characterized by cultural insensitivities (Armstrong 2003, pp. 75–78). Left-leaning artists relocated to the Soviet-occupied North even before the U.S. began to use information, education, academic exchange, and other forms of knowledge transfer – often overt means of propaganda – to prevail in the battle for the “hearts and minds” of the Koreans in the emerging “Cultural Cold War” (ibid., p. 73). With many organizational structures of Japanese rule still intact, including censorship of the arts (cf. Cho SK 2018, p. 249), colonial power relations remained in many ways unchanged. Artists and intellectuals who came to have influence in South Korea tended to align themselves with right-wing policies, which despite variation in details shared a common opposition to Communism.

Amidst decolonization, nation building, and ideological turmoil, development efforts of private aid organizations, who served as “silent partners” to the U.S. government, complemented official foreign policy (Berman 1983, p. 4). The Rockefeller Foundation (RF) considerably expanded its overseas activities after World War II and was among the first non-government players who engaged in cultural exchange in South Korea. While officially dedicated to universal values – “The Wellbeing of Mankind throughout the World,” as its slogan indicates –, the RF contributed to the “identical overarching goal” it shared with the U.S. government, namely the “consolidation and promotion of Western liberal modernity” (Mueller 2013, p. 119). In fact, the apparent “disinterestedness” of the RF, giving “evidence to the plurality and superiority of the Western social-liberal democratic system” (ibid., p. 120), allowed their officers to directly engage in more subtle ways with local artists and intellectuals, including Yu Chi-jin.

In this context of independent yet complementary public and private U.S. activity in Cold War South Korea the Seoul Drama Center was conceptualized, built, and finally opened in 1962. In 1959, the RF first offered \$45,000 of funding, providing an important contribution to the restoration of the theatre scene in South Korea. Due to limitations on international money transfer, the Asia Foundation (AF) and the American-Korean Foundation (AKF) got involved in this large-scale philanthropic project, too.

Even before funding was secured and the concrete construction of the Drama Center could begin, the planning and conception of this new state-of-the-art theatre involved numerous individuals and institutions. In the following, I discuss how Yu Chi-jin’s interaction with other political, cultural, and artistic agents in Korea and abroad shaped this process. I focus on Yu’s relationship with Charles Burton Fahs, a high-ranking member of the RF Division of Humanities, first assistant and associate director (1946–49), later director (1950–62), who in this capacity took regular trips to the “Far East,” including Korea.

Based on Fahs’ internal reports (“diaries”), available in the Rockefeller Foundation’s archives,⁴ and publications by Yu, both contemporary texts and his posthumously published *Autobiography* (Jaseojeon),⁵ I explore the interactions between Yu and Fahs in Korea from the late 1940s to the late 1950s (see Table 1). Following a roughly chronological structure, from early meetings and trust-building measures to deeper exchanges and international networking, I analyze their developing relationship and the knowledge transfers it entails. On the one hand, I discuss Fahs’ attempts to target and groom Yu as

an “opinion molder,” able to “create an environment friendly to U.S. objectives and leadership” (Liem 2010, p. 209), a process that culminated in a RF-sponsored voyage to the U.S. and Europe (1956–57). On the other hand, I consider how Yu’s perception of the needs of the Korean theatre world, sparked by his reading of Margo Jones’ book *Theatre-in-the-Round* and then molded out by his impressions in the U.S. and Europe, condense in his dream of a new theatre for Korea, eventually realized in the form of the Drama Center. Considering their different agendas and strategies, as well as the results of their actions, I attempt to shed light on the intercultural exchanges of foreign benefactors and local players in Cold War South Korea.

TABLE 1: Meetings of Charles B. Fahs and Yu Chi-jin in Korea

	Date	Place (Seoul unless otherwise noted)	Source (Charles B. Fahs’ Diaries)
1	1948, June 7	Seoul National University	Trip to the Far East, 6 April – 16 July 1948 (pp. 110–11)
2	1950, April 20	National Theater	Trip to the Far East, 12 April – 18 June 1950 (pp. 18–19)
3	1950, April 21	Dinner with members of the All Country Federation of Cultural Associations	Ibid. (p. 24)
4	1950, April 25	National Museum	Ibid. (pp. 34–35)
5	1952, April 11	Busan, Fahs’ residence	Trip to the Far East, 5 April – 6 June 1952 (p. 15)
6	1954, May 6	Phone call?	Trip to the Far East, 26 April – 23 June 1954 (pp. 33–34)
7	1956, April 19	Breakfast	Trip to the Far East, 8 April – 8 June 1956 (p. 36)
8	1958, April 23	Airport, on Fahs’ arrival in Korea	Trip to Japan and Korea, 4 April – 5 May 1958 (p. 42)
9	1958, April 25	Yu’s home, family dinner	Ibid. (pp. 52–53)
10	1958, April 30	Planned location of the Drama Center, 226 Kwan Chul Dong (Central Seoul)	Ibid. (p. 69)

The multiple facets of cultural diplomacy in Cold War Korea have been researched with regard to various art genres. The use of cinema, for instance, has recently come to the attention of scholars who cover early unilateral propaganda efforts such as the import of Hollywood movies “to evoke a sense of personal and political liberty, while distracting local audiences from the political turmoil of the period” (Yecies and Shim 2011, p. 143), as well as “cosmopolitan” aspects of financial support for local filmmakers and networking through regional festivals by the Asia Foundation (AF) since the late 1950s (Klein 2017; Lee 2017). U.S. interventions in the field of Korean theatre, in contrast, have been rarely studied in the context of the Cultural Cold War. A possible reason for this lack of scholarship might be the intangible nature of theatre, an ephemeral art that depends on co-presence and live interaction. With documentation lacking or distorted by ideological bias, there are limits to assessing the performative impact of theatre plays on politically

polarized audiences in retrospect – which is true for U.S. cultural policies in Cold War Korea in general (Armstrong 2003, p. 72). Like in other genres of art, official records and personal accounts, public and private testimonies that exist in published or unpublished form, with press reports as a third perspective, offer a variety of alternative perspectives on theatre-related discourses and activities off-stage. When critically read, these sources can contribute to an institutional history of Korean theatre in the Cold War era, in an early stage of cultural globalization.

1. Grooming an Opinion Molder (1948–56)

During Charles B. Fahs' inaugural trip to Korea, James L. Stewart (1913–2006), a staff member of the United States Information Service (USIS), first suggests to meet Yu Chi-jin (June 4, 1948).⁶ An experienced observer of Korean society and trusted advisor of Fahs, Stewart knows Yu Chi-jin as a prolific theatre maker and shares his anti-Communist agenda as well as Japanese language skills (Kim JS 2018b, pp. 151–52). Fahs identifies Yu as “chairman of the Board of Directors of the dramatic Arts Academy,”⁷ an umbrella group of twelve ensembles founded in 1947. Despite nominally being unpolitical, the Arts Academy organized nation-wide propaganda theatre preceding the South Korean Constitutional Assembly election on May 10, 1948, intended to “make a legitimate effort to counter the [communist-dominated] Federation of Theatre” (Cho OK 2015, p. 211). On the farewell event for a tour of Yu's play *Fatherland* (Joguk), both he and Stewart gave speeches in their official capacity (*Gyeonghyang Sinmun*, April 7, 1948).⁸ In any case, Fahs' initial encounter with Yu turns out “better than I expected,” yet without concrete results (June 7, 1948).

On his second trip, even before arriving on Korean soil, Fahs receives another recommendation, this time from a political hardliner of the new South Korean government, education politician An Ho-sang (1902–99), whom he meets on his flight from Tokyo (April 18, 1950).⁹ Stewart, now first secretary and public affairs officer at the U.S. Embassy in Seoul, also renews his recommendation of Yu Chi-jin, who has recently been appointed director of the newly-founded National Theater (April 19, 1950), where Fahs visits him the following day. During the meeting, the precarious situation of the venue and, in extension, of the Korean theatre world at large becomes apparent to Fahs. The multi-purpose building hosting the National Theater dates from the colonial era and has until recently been used as a movie theatre for U.S. troops, for which purpose “the narrow oriental seats were removed and wide seats substituted for GI posteriors” (April 20, 1950).¹⁰ Fahs' assessment echoes Yu Chi-jin's repeated complaints on the lack of adequate stages in Korea, a problem that continues until well into the 1950s (cf. Yu 8, p. 71) and becomes a central incentive for planning a new venue exclusively dedicated to theatre. Despite Yu's request for “limited help to obtain bulbs and color sheets for the Theatre's foots and spots,” the support offered by the Rockefeller Foundation remains mostly of conceptual and administrative nature, at least until the plans for the Drama Center become more concrete. During this encounter, the idea of a study trip abroad is mentioned for the first time: Fahs notes that Yu “would like, at a later date when the National Theatre is operating smoothly, to visit the U.S.” (April 20, 1950).

Yu, in contrast, does not mention this first meeting in 1948 in his *Autobiography* at all and describes their encounters in 1950 and 1952, the latter during the Korean War in Busan,¹¹ in a slightly different way. According to Yu, Fahs had come to “examine my

activities and status closely” (Yu 9, p. 226) and, “after asking all kinds of questions and listening closely to my opinions,” proposed a study trip to him, “or, if that would be difficult, at least an overseas inspection” (ibid., p. 236). Yu, amused at the thought that he, “a theatre maker from an underdeveloped country who considers America a paradise,” would reject such a promising offer twice, nevertheless had no other choice than to turn Fahs down due to his commitments in Korea, at least for the time being (ibid., p. 237).

After the meeting at the National Theater, Fahs’ evaluation of Yu, who “combines playwrighting with a leading administrative role in drama,” is largely positive: “a fellowship or travel grant for him at a later date would seem well justified if CBF [Fahs] does not pick up adverse opinions” (April 20, 1950). Just a few days later, however, Kim Chewon [Kim Jae-won] (1909–90), director of the National Museum of Korea, former RF fellow and trusted informant, urges caution. He highlights Yu’s recent engagement with the All Country Federation of Cultural Associations which Kim considers “a ‘goyo dantai,’ or political agency, set up to oppose the communist cultural organizations and is in some ways similar to the Nazi Kultur Kammer.”¹² Kim worries that “more independent but non-communist artists and writers” would avoid association with the Federation due to its political agenda (April 23, 1950). Although Fahs only alludes to Yu’s political position in his diaries, he must have been aware that Yu’s reputation as a strong proponent of anti-communism would account for the commendations on his part by politically inclined administrators like Stewart and An.¹³

More than political polarization and their repercussions for a non-political approach to culture, Yu’s language skills are of concern to Fahs: “Like many Koreans, he reads English but does not speak it. Our conversations were in Japanese” (April 20, 1950).¹⁴ With Syngman Rhee, South Korean president from 1948 to 1960, as the most prominent example, U.S. reliance on Koreans who speak fluent English is a common phenomenon, utilizing and fostering “the association of English with status and advanced knowledge” and considered a means “to get their message of U.S. leadership across” by appealing to the ambitions of Korean intermediaries (Liem 2010, p. 218). Kim Chewon considers it “unfortunate always to work through Americanized and English-speaking Koreans” in the realm of culture, because “to do so isolates one from most of the real scholars who do not speak English, are non-gregarious, and do not know how to deal with Americans” (April 23, 1950). Fahs does not comment on this implicit criticism of RF policies, though, and retains his bias towards English-based exchanges. On his next visit, he notes that it “would be a good time [for Yu] to get some experience in the States but he had no chance if he didn’t learn English” (April 11, 1952). Two years later, U.S. Cultural Affairs Attaché Marcus W. Scherbacher promises to make Yu’s English training “a top priority job this year” (May 6, 1954), apparently with success. Before meeting Yu again, Fahs receives yet another strong recommendation by American-Korean Foundation officer Elizabeth T. Fraser¹⁵ who highlights that Yu “has been working hard on English, that she has talked with him in English, and that [...] she feels strongly that Yu’s experience abroad should not be deferred further” (April 16, 1956).

After several years of regular interaction, yet without concrete commitment, Fahs’ decision to support Yu’s efforts towards a fellowship is based not only on recommendations by others, but also on a personal evaluation of his accomplishments. Indeed, the next time Fahs and Yu meet, the latter “resolutely stuck to English throughout the discussion despite temptations to revert to Japanese” (April 19, 1956). Even though

language might not have been the ultimate determinant, Fahs' conclusion certainly reads this way: "It is now time to help him [Yu] since he has really improved his English" (April 19, 1956). Yu is now ready to visit the U.S., "in the interest of dramatic work in Korea" (ibid.). In addition to Fahs' strong support, Fraser and Kenneth McCormack (of the U.S. embassy in Seoul) vouch for Yu whose application, unsurprisingly, succeeds.

Charles B. Fahs clearly singles out Yu Chi-jin as a potential RF fellow due to his position and influence in Korean society. Yu is what was known as a "patriotic playwright," concerned with national sovereignty but in a tradition of realism rather than agitation, "[h]is aim is only to expose the depraved and inhuman side of a nation under communism," as a contemporary doctoral student put it (Cho OK 1972, p. 118). As an active theatre maker, known right-wing dramatist, and one of few Anglo-American drama specialists in Korea, Yu appears a good fit for the RF and recommendations by well-trusted informants support Fahs' growing trust. Kim Jae-seok suspects that the achievements Fahs attributes to Yu, for instance in his correspondence with the RF, are "slightly overstated," though, designed to turn Yu Chi-jin into "a person in accordance with the Rockefeller Foundation's standards" (2018b, pp. 157–58).

Yu's involvement with Fahs and the Rockefeller Foundation contributes to an evolving network of persons and institutions that soon reach beyond the borders of Korea. Besides adding to Yu's credibility – and, as a result, to Fahs' confidence in the importance, reliability, and communicative skills of him as an opinion molder –, several of his contacts also participate in the conceptual creation of the Drama Center.

2. Theatre-in-the-Round (1952–56)

Fahs and Yu discuss various topics in their early meetings (1948, 1950), but plans for a concrete theatre building are not mentioned. It is on April 11, 1952, that Fahs first introduces to Yu the "theatre-in-the-round," a concept developed by American theatre manager and director Margo Jones (1913–55). Her eponymous book, published in 1951 with support from the Rockefeller Foundation, chronicles her activities with the Civic Theatre in Dallas and provides a practical manual for regional theatre makers elsewhere.¹⁶ Dreaming of "a resident professional theatre in every city with a population over one hundred thousand" (Jones 1951, p. 4), Jones suggests flexible staging strategies to make use of diverse pre-existing spaces and recommends a mixed repertory of classic and contemporary drama. More than a compromise for theatre outside of the metropolises, she also praises the intimacy and focus on detail offered by this "oldest form of theatre known to the human race" (ibid., p. 27), with no curtain, minimal stage design, and actors entering and exiting through the auditorium.

Following their 1952 meeting, Fahs notes in his diary that "Yu had not heard of [theatre-in-the-round] but thought had real possibilities for open air performance in Korea" (April 11, 1952). At that time – in the middle of the Korean War – Yu is touring the country with his company Singeuk Hyeophoe ("Association for New Drama," short: Sinhyeop), the ensemble formerly attached to the dislocated National Theater, now performing propaganda as a "military entertainment group" (Hwang 2017, p. 89). Yu's association with outdoor theatre thus might not appear too far-fetched, even though Jones' concept centers on the re-use of indoor venues. Nevertheless, this aspect is not mentioned again in later planning stages.

After returning to the U.S., Fahs sends a copy of Jones' book to Yu, who then has parts of it translated and published, although apparently without much response from Korean theatre circles (Yu 9, p. 227).¹⁷ The next time they meet, Yu presents the translation to Fahs,¹⁸ who notes Yu's interest in "any other materials on theatre in the round or other forms of simplified drama production, [...] [hoping] that this technique will permit spread of his drama work to the provinces" (May 6, 1954). Yu also suggests the use of theatre-in-the-round in several of his writings. For instance, in his 1954 essay on the "Little Theatre Movement," he introduces the "Theater in Round [sic]"¹⁹ as a new theatre form that is "currently popular in the United States" (Yu 8, p. 68). He stresses the potential for post-war Korea, where a lack of proper theatre buildings is an imminent problem. The ability to stage theatre in any given venue of adequate size is a big advantage in a country recovering from war, and minimal stage design should prove cost-efficient and beneficial for self-funded companies, including university ensembles. He also puts forward an aesthetic argument: The proximity between actors and audience makes it unnecessary "to raise the voice unnaturally or make exaggerated movements" (ibid.). This remark is aimed at a typical criticism of the "Sinhyeop style" of acting, an emotionally intense mixture of romanticism, proto-realism, and Japanese *kabuki* that had developed under the constraints of the Korean War (Hwang 2017, pp. 92–93). In addition, Yu notes that the spectators can "become united in harmony with the actors, sharing the same breath" (Yu 8, p. 68), echoing Jones' assessment that "being in the same room with the actors [is] one of the chief attractions" of theatre-in-the-round (Jones 1951, p. 100). In his *Autobiography*, Yu expands on Jones' "intimate form" as a method for "overcoming the proscenium arch that separates the stage and the audience," which aligns well with his intentions for a new theatre aimed at "attaining a harmony of real life and art by moving theatre more towards the audience" (Yu 9, p. 227).

Apart from the spatial arrangements and stage techniques envisioned by Jones, Yu is particularly interested in her program of a self-sustainable theatre with an outreach beyond the individual performance. Above all, Yu praises the audience-oriented management of a theatre by someone with the necessary "cultural-artistic eyesight" and vision – clearly he is thinking of himself –, which is reflected in the character of the theatre (Yu 9, p. 227).²⁰ Given the dominance of cinemas and other non-theatre buildings re-used mainly for commercial gain, which runs counter to "a sound theatre attitude" (Jones 1951, p. 23), Yu suggests a stage exclusively dedicated to spoken theatre as necessary for the development of theatre in Korea (Yu 9, p. 228).

Margo Jones argues for a mixed repertory based on classics from Shakespeare to Ibsen and Chekhov as well as newly written plays (Jones 1951, p. 24). Given the concurrent tendency in Korea towards "remakes or adaptations at most" (Yu 9, p. 228), Yu's programming of the first season for the Drama Center later mirrors Jones' proposal, although in localized form. Due to a lack of new original Korean plays, the first season at the Drama Center consists of two Shakespeare plays, two relatively recent Broadway plays, a proto-musical version of the Heywards' *Porgy*, and a revival of *Hangang-eun Hereunda* (The Han River Flows), a 1958 play written by Yu Chi-jin himself.

Based on Jones' concepts, Yu's plans for a new theatre become more concrete in the second half of the 1950s. Fahs mentions that Yu "is planning a little theatre at the Chong-Noh bell tower" in central Seoul (April 19, 1956). But these plans have to be postponed, as arrangements for Yu's year-long trip to the U.S. and Europe as a RF fellow are finalized

(see above). Yu's voyage schedule includes, besides English language classes, conference participations, and performance attendances, also visits to a variety of drama schools and new theatres, supposed to serve as on-site inspiration for his own new theatre.

3. Around the World and Back (1956–57)

Yu spends more than a year abroad as a fellow of the Rockefeller Foundation. He stays in the U.S. and Canada for a total of eight months (June 1956 to February 1957), followed by four more months in Europe (until June 1957). One purpose of Yu's voyage, during which he presents himself as a cosmopolitan "anti-communist playwright" (cf. Kim JS 2018b, pp. 165–72), is to make Korea and himself known abroad. In several lectures on Korean theatre, given at high-profile events like the 6th National Dramatic Arts Conference (Bloomington, Indiana, June 1956) and the National Theater Conference (New York City, Nov. 1956), he introduces Korean theatre to a largely ignorant professional public, covering both the rich traditional heritage and current post-war activities (cf. Yu 9, pp. 240–44). While he receives much applause for his lectures, attempts to publish a selection of his plays in English translation fail (cf. Kim Jae-seok 2018b, pp. 166–68).²¹

During his voyage, Yu relies on his network of informants and expands it with new potential collaborators. He meets old acquaintances, friends of friends, as well as other RF-funded theatre makers, including some of his literary heroes.²² He also renews his relation with the Asia Foundation (AF), founded in 1954 as the successor to the short-lived Committee for Free Asia (1951–54). James Stewart, an advocate of Yu in post-Liberation days in Seoul, now works in the AF's San Francisco headquarters and warmly welcomes Yu at the airport.

At the University of Michigan in Ann Arbor, where Yu takes English language classes during his first long stay (early July to mid-August 1956), he sees the "Arena Style Theatre" of the drama department. Although impressed by the movable seats that can be re-arranged depending on the production, he discourages the use of a similar system in Korea, not only because of its costliness but also because he fears "it will become bothersome and ultimately demolished" (Yu 7, p. 197).²³ He visits various prominent drama schools on the East and West Coast (among others, Columbia, Howard, University of North Carolina, Stanford, and UCLA) and spends almost three weeks at Yale's School of Drama (Nov. 1956). While he is not particularly impressed by the quality of their facilities, he closely observes the joint practical courses on playwriting, directing, and acting, commends on the diligence of the students who start to practice "before breakfast," and notes the particular policy of admitting only graduate students (Yu 7, pp. 250–51, 1957).

More than the large-scale performances he sees on Broadway – mostly musical comedies that he feels "harm the original value of theatre by excessively prioritizing entertainment" (Yu 9, p. 255) –, he is interested in the various experimental stages that have developed in the U.S. since the early 1950s, including the Cleveland Play House, the Arena Theater in Washington, D.C., the Pasadena Playhouse, and the Actor's Workshop in San Francisco. Due to Margo Jones' untimely death in 1955, Yu does not have the chance to meet her in person, but he visits the Dallas Civic Theatre that she founded. More noteworthy, however, is his encounter with Paul Baker (1911–2009), a multiple Rockefeller Grant recipient and founder of the drama program at Baylor University in Waco, Texas. Baker shows Yu the peculiar on-campus theatre "Studio One," in Yu's words

“a recreation of Medieval simultaneous staging” with revolving chairs and multiple surrounding stages (Yu 9, p. 245). A production of *Hamlet* that Yu attends there in February 1957 makes use of this technology: “analyzing his [Hamlet’s] inner world, three Hamlets of different character were shown at the same time and the lines were delivered as monologue, by several actors, and as a chorus” (ibid.). Yu is impressed by the innovative production and Baker’s approach of “combining theory and practice” (ibid.), but also by the warm welcome he receives from this “master” he has heard about before. When Baker even suggests a partnership between Studio One and a Korean theatre, Yu feels embarrassed due to the lack of appropriate partner theatres in Korea (ibid.).

Yu also attends the recently founded Stratford Shakespearean Festival in Ontario, Canada (Aug. 1956), where the architecture of the Festival Theatre (fig. 2) catches his eye: an open-air thrust stage covered with a large tent, in Yu’s words “a compromise between an open-air theatre from Ancient Greece and an Elizabethan apron stage theatre” (Yu 7, p. 235).²⁴ Similar in form but accommodating much more spectators than a typical theatre-in-the-round, the Festival Theatre nevertheless “does not look that large, making it appear as if stage and auditorium become one,” which Yu considers the “right way” for theatre (Yu 7, pp. 235, 1957).²⁵ Actors use the seven aisles not only to enter and exit the stage, but on occasion also perform there, between the spectators, reminding Yu of the *hanamichi* (“flower passage”) across the auditorium in Japanese *kabuki*. Paralleling his assessment of Jones’ theatre-in-the-round, Yu praises the staging strategies that the Festival Theatre affords: without a curtain, scene changes are signaled only through lighting, which “liberates modern theatre from the prison of the proscenium stage [...] to a land of freedom” (ibid.). The idealist image of America evoked here also characterizes his productions of U.S. plays in the post-war era (cf. U SJ 2013).

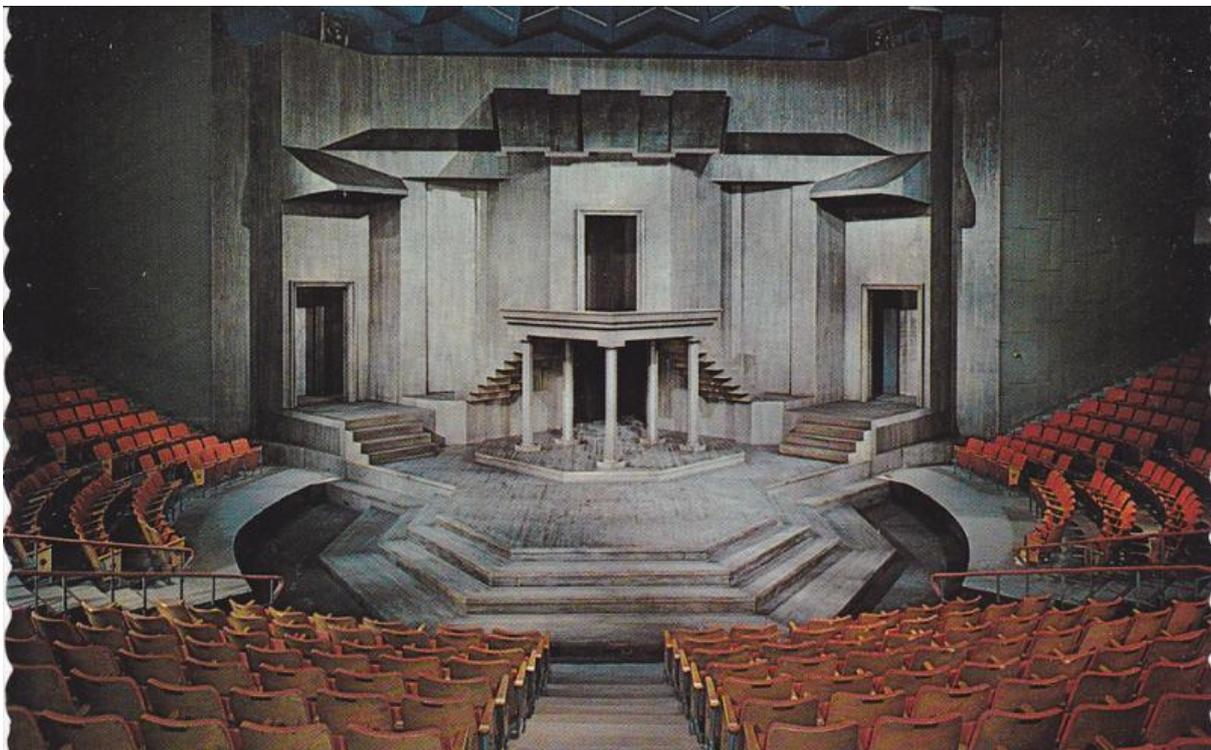


Figure 2: Stage of The Festival Theatre in Stratford, Ontario, after completion of the permanent building in 1957, postcard image, courtesy of Hekman Digital Archive, Calvin University, Michigan.

In Europe, where Yu visits over twenty countries between February and June 1957, he appreciates the variety of professional ensembles and historical theatres, impressed by the “high artistic standards [...] even in small countries (Yu 7, p. 223). He also shows interest in the generous government subventions and the resulting audience development in Germany, as well as the relatively similar repertoires and active exchanges between countries (ibid., pp. 223–24).

During his one-year voyage, Yu Chi-jin can compare Jones’ concept of the theatre-in-the-round with reality. He praises the intimacy and close distance between actors and audience provided by the circular thrust stages he sees and considers organizational aspects of a self-sustainable theatre, such as a continuous repertory and the integration of educational facilities. Even though Yu’s attempts to publish his plays in the U.S. remain unsuccessful, he returns to Korea full of inspiration and with many international contacts. Flattered by the interest in Korean traditional theatre he experienced, he discusses traditional performing arts as a possible foundation for a “national drama” in his theoretical writings of the late 1950s (Bak 1997, pp. 237–44). For the moment, however, the contemporary theatre he envisions for Korea remains based on Western conventions and repertory. With a new “sense of direction for a contemporary drama liberated from the realist proscenium stage” (ibid., p. 236), it is clear though, that a new stage is needed in Korea – a plan that becomes more concrete in the following months.

4. Breaking Ground (1957–62)

After returning to Korea in late June 1957, Yu Chi-jin faces several problems. First, one of his plays, an adaptation of an earlier work, has to be cancelled due to the pro-Japanese content of the original. Later, a stage adaptation of Boris Pasternak’s novel *Doctor Zhivago*, planned to be performed by ensemble Sinhyeop, does not pass censorship and is replaced by an earlier piece of Yu’s. In both cases, relatively large amounts of money have to be returned to the Asia Foundation (AF), which sponsored both events. Furthermore, Seo Hang-seok, the new director of the National Theater and a former-friend-turned-rival, is planning to have Yu’s ensemble Sinhyeop dissolved in favor of an associated National Theatre Company (Gungnip Geukdan). Given these circumstances, a new theatre – self-sustainable and under his own full artistic and economic control – becomes a viable option for Yu. In addition, a combined theatre and drama school might be capable of solving the main problems of Korean theatre at that time: The lack of dedicated spaces and trained artists, which result in a lack of new plays and insufficient time for rehearsals (Yu 7, pp. 72–74).

Meanwhile, Fahs is hearing conflicting opinions on Yu. First, before leaving for his biannual trip in 1958, Fahs meets Kim Chewon in New York. Kim, who expressed caution before, now mentions that Yu Chi-jin “had run into some difficulties because [...] he had chosen to republish a play he had written during the period of Japanese control” and suggests that Fahs should also meet Seo Hang-seok (March 18, 1958). Fahs, when arriving in Korea the following month on what will turn out to be his last visit as an RF officer, is greeted by Yu – now part of “the usual delegation” – at the airport. Later that day Fahs discusses Yu’s situation with members of the U.S. Embassy, Marcus W. Scherbacher and Stanley Heitela, who assure him that Yu’s “difficulties after return from abroad [...] were largely due to jealousies” and that he remains “the only person worth talking to in the field of drama” (April 23, 1958).²⁶ Fahs subsequent actions suggest that he shared this opinion:

his diaries fail to mention a meeting with Seo Hang-seok or any further reference to the National Theater, for that matter.

Two days later, Yu discusses the prospects of a new theatre in Seoul at a dinner meeting at his home with Fahs. Stressing his intention of founding a self-sustainable theatre, Yu appears confident that “a dearth of entertainment possibilities in Seoul” should allow to “operate continuously.” Yu mentions an existing “academy of theatre,” an institution he has been using to receive funding from the Asia Foundation for theatre productions and student contests.²⁷ Until recently the academy was financed with revenues of Sinhyeop but is now “in the process of incorporating [...] under non-profit laws.” Yu presents “plans, including architect’s drawings [...] for constructing a small, three-story building incorporating an arena theatre with about 250 seats,” which would offer both a dedicated stage for Sinhyeop and space for the academy. Fahs furthermore notes that Yu has received a land donation “in a busy area in the center of Seoul” and successfully raised “twenty million of the fifty million won needed for construction” (April 25, 1958).²⁸

Yu’s plans for a small theatre-in-the-round, inspired by Margo Jones and other stages he saw abroad, appeal to Fahs, who believes that Yu “appears to know what he is doing in proposing this form of staging here” and consequently supports his request for additional RF funding. Fahs even reports enthusiastically that “this might be the most important thing the RF could do for drama here if the statutes, incorporation, and leadership prove good on further examination” (April 25, 1958). Before leaving Korea, Fahs visits the proposed construction ground in central Seoul together with Yu (April 30, 1958).²⁹

As chairman of the newly-founded Korean Research Institute for Dramatic Arts,³⁰ Yu applies for RF funding in November 1958. Following the five “basic principles” Margo Jones used in her own proposal to the RF (Jones 1951, 64–65), he lays out his plans for financing, staffing, programming, as well as for the architecture and philosophy of the combined theatre and drama school he envisions, in a six-page “Project Proposal” (Kim JS 2018a, pp. 227–30). In December 1958 the RF board approves a grant of \$45,000. A *New York Times* article announces that “[o]perating costs of the project are expected to be met by school tuitions, rentals of the theatre and the sale of theatre publications” (Feb. 25, 1959, p. 35). Internal debates between RF and AF lead to a cooperation with the American-Korean Foundation (AKF), an organization founded in 1952 to help South Korea recover from the war. Unlike the RF, the AKF runs a field office in Seoul and, serving as an intermediary, is able to receive a favorable “philanthropic” exchange rate when transferring foreign currencies.³¹ Even though the AKF has taken over operative responsibility, Fahs remains in the loop at least until 1960 to mediate between the different parties involved, as his correspondence with AKF, AF, and Yu Chi-jin indicates (cf. Kim JS 2018a: pp. 233–35).

Reasons and timeline of the modification of plans that eventually lead to the expansion of the theatre to almost 500 seats (instead of the prospected 250) and a change of location to the current site of the Drama Center on the slope of Mt. Namsan (about a mile away from Chong-Noh bell tower) are not entirely clear.³² Yu retrospectively explains his motivations as lead by altruism and hope: first, he wanted to use this “good chance” to fulfill not only his own dream, but also realize those of other theatre makers; second, he hoped that the government would provide more support for this “national project” once it got started (Yu 9, p. 278).³³ It is dubious when and to what extent Fahs was informed about these modifications, as the RF’s *Annual Report* of 1959 still refers to a small-scale plan,

an “arena theatre, seating approximately 200 people” (169), while Fahs himself reported already in May 1959 on a phone conversation with Dr. Dorothy M. Frost of the AKF in which he shared concerns on Yu’s “ambitions to put up a larger building with bank loans” (May 7, 1959). Ultimately, he remains in favor of Yu, though, supporting “minor changes” and subsequent expansions when Yu’s project “has shown that it can maintain itself” (ibid.). The RF’s 1959 *Report* concludes with the expectation “that small-scale production, encouraged in this way, will soon develop in Seoul and spread to other communities outside the capital” (169).

As history has shown, these high expectations were not realized. The opening of the Drama Center is postponed several times, personal funds from Yu and his network, as well as private donations acknowledged on chairs in the auditorium, allow the construction to conclude in early 1962.³⁴ Prominent guests and donors from Korea and the U.S. attend the opening ceremony on April 13, 1962. The new production *Hamlet*, directed by Yu Chi-jin himself (fig. 3), is praised for making good use of the new facilities: The actors overcome “the isolation of stage and auditorium” by making entrances and exits from all sides and, due to their close distance, “do not forcefully shout but can deliver their lines with freely chosen pitch” (*Dong-a Ilbo*, April 14, 1962). Yet, despite the great success of *Porgy* later that year, decreasing audiences cause financial problems.³⁵ Within one year, the once promising new theatre turns into a rehearsal stage for student productions of the Korean Theatre Academy (opened in fall 1962), then into a venue for hire. The dream of a center for theatrical activities, where “talents are nurtured, theatre experiments are conducted, and theatre makers can gather” (Yu 9, p. 278), appears to be over even before it began.



Figure 3: *Hamlet*, opening production of the Drama Center, directed by Yu Chi-jin, April 1962, open source archival photo, courtesy of KTV, The National Audi Visual Information Service of Korea.

Conclusion: The Rockefeller Foundation's Legacy

The relation between Yu Chi-jin and Charles B. Fahs developed during more than one decade and included a network of other individuals and institutions directly and indirectly involved in U.S.-Korean Cold War relations. While Fahs dominated early encounters, whether regarding the trustworthiness of his Korean interlocutor, the conditions for RF support, or his pitching of Margo Jones' *Theatre-in-the-round*, Yu took the initiative after his U.S. voyage in securing funding and developing plans according to his vision for a new theatre in Korea.

Even before the proper construction of the Drama Center began, the Rockefeller Foundation presented their philanthropic engagement in the Korean world of theatre as a success. The 1959 *Annual Report* framed the RF's contribution as part of a "long-standing Foundation concern with a healthy institutional base for the production of both new and classical drama," an extension of efforts in the U.S. that in the future might include support in other countries, too (pp. 143–44). Indeed, the Drama Center was one of the biggest philanthropic endeavors in Korea, more than 1% of the 1959 RF budget for humanities (about \$4 Mio in total) and a rare case of RF support for the construction of a theatre building abroad.³⁶ In line with the RF's mission of unpolitical philanthropy, the ongoing project was justified as a response to the importance of a "living theatre [...] [as] an important asset to a free people," which is capable to "advance general self-awareness and make possible fruitful derivation from the best of world culture" (p. 144).

Beyond the Drama Center, Yu Chi-jin continued his international activities in the wake of the 1956/57 voyage. As representative of South Korea, he attended congresses of the International Theatre Institute (ITI) in Helsinki (1959) and Vienna (1961), as well as the conference of the International Federation for Theatre Research (IFTR) in New York (1969). On invitation by the Asian Foundation, he participated as jury member in the Asian Film Festival in Tokyo (1961, 1963).

While the RF began to limit its philanthropic activities in the cultural sphere in South Korea and in the 1960s shifted its efforts towards other fields, such as family planning and population control, the Drama Center underwent constant changes, struggling with sustainability. Closer affiliation with the Korean Theatre Academy,³⁷ a membership system for audience development, and a resident ensemble,³⁸ enabled the Drama Center to flourish again in the 1970s (cf. Kim SH 2005). The next generation of theatre makers, prominently Yu Deok-hyeong (Yu Chi-jin's son), An Min-su (his son-in-law), and Oh Tae-seok (a graduate of the Academy's "dramatist workshop"), employed the special stage of the Drama Center for intimate, audience-focused avant-garde theatre aimed at reviving community-related aspects of earlier theatre traditions. The Cold War networks forged by Yu Chi-jin since the 1950s proved particularly helpful in connecting this new theatre to the wider world.

Yu Deok-hyeong, for instance, received a grant from the Ford Foundation to study with Paul Baker at Trinity University (San Antonio, Texas) in the early 1960s, followed by graduate studies at Yale University. After his return to Korea, he took over the Drama Center in 1968 and continued to expand the network through several international projects, at that time almost unheard of in the Korean theatre scene. For instance, he cooperated with Cecile Guidote, likewise a former student of Trinity University and

founder of the Philippine Educational Theater Association (PETA), leading to the co-production *Alamang* at the Third World Theater Festival in Manila (1971). With support by Rockefeller and Ford Foundation he also staged the co-production *Jilsa*, based on Oh Tae-seok's experimental play *Grass Tomb* (Chobun), at La MaMa Experimental Theatre Club in New York City (1974), and later sent two productions on guest tours to the U.S. and Europe (1977). Following in his father's footsteps as South Korean delegate of the ITI, he participated in various congresses around the world, including a visit to the USSR in 1973. As a successful opinion molder who, supported by U.S. philanthropy, promoted cultural contacts between Korea and the world, Yu Deok-hyeong was awarded a John D. Rockefeller 3rd Award by the Asian Cultural Council in 2015 for "a significant contribution to the international understanding, practice, or study of the visual or performing arts of Asia."³⁹ Having served as head of the Academy from the 1970s to the 90s, Yu Deok-hyeong took the post of director again in 2007 until accusations of fraud force him to step back in 2018.

Seen from some decades of distance and in a frame that goes beyond the extended Yu family, the legacy of the Drama Center appears ambiguous. Although at first crippled by financial problems, the Drama Center later gave important impulses to the Korean theatre world. The late 1960s and 70s are considered an important turning point for Korean theatre, from the borrowing and imitation of transmitted techniques and dramas rooted in the colonial era to a self-conscious process of experimental adaptation and appropriation, paired with a rediscovery of Korea's own performance traditions.



Figure 4: The Seoul Drama Center today, with a bust of its founder Yu Chi-jin next to the entrance, courtesy of Namsan Arts Center.

But the philanthropic roots of the Drama Center cast shadows into the present. Thanks to the RF's decision to rely on Yu Chi-jin as an opinion molder and theatre manager, he could maintain and strengthen his privileged position throughout the Cold War and beyond, even inherit it to his family. Since the 2000s, when Yu's pro-Japanese activities during World War II were officially acknowledged,⁴⁰ his colonial collaboration overshadowed his Cold War activities, both achievements and failures. However, when the Seoul Institute of Arts in 2018 threatened to end its rental contract with the Seoul Metropolitan Government, which has run the Drama Center as a public theatre since 2009 (fig. 4), Yu's engagement with the Rockefeller Foundation began to be reconsidered, too.⁴¹

Current scholarship attributes the early financial failure to Yu's excessive ambitions and irrational planning, conducted with a circle of close acquaintances rather than in cooperation with a wider public, which constitutes a breach with Jones' concept of a community theatre and entails ramifications that last until today (Kim JS 2018a, pp. 242–47). The decision to integrate a drama school and a continuously running theatre, which Margo Jones avoided, afraid that “[a] school would take the time and the energy of the staff away from the plays” (Jones 1951, p. 85), may have helped to sustain the Drama Center when paying audiences decreased. Nevertheless, the assimilation of the Korean Research Institute for Dramatic Arts, originally founded as a non-profit organization to receive philanthropic support, into the Dongrang Arts Foundation that runs the Academy ultimately amounts to a privatization of the Drama Center, which was donated in the process (cf. Kim OR 2017).

The contribution of Yu Chi-jin, the Rockefeller Foundation, and the international network of collaborators and supporters that connects them, to the history of Korean theatre as well as to the Yu's family fortune are undeniable. Yet, the future of the Drama Center as a “living theatre” for “free people,” rather than the asset of “Cold War entrepreneurs” (Klein 2017, p. 292), remains to be written.

Endnotes

- 1 I employ the Revised Romanization to transcribe Korean terms and names, with the exception of common names with conventionalized different spellings or official English versions, such as the “Seoul Drama Center.” In the following, “Korea” refers to post-World War II South Korea (since 1948 the Republic of Korea). In case of possible confusion, I reference Korean authors with initials of their given name. All translations from Korean are mine, unless otherwise noted.
- 2 Besides the daily news, the monthly theatre magazine *Hanguk Yeongeuk* also reported on this matter repeatedly, see for instance Jeong Jin-su's appeal for “A Theatre that Has to be Regained – The Drama Center” (No. 158, July 1989, pp. 83–85).
- 3 Papers of particular interest are those by Kim Ok-ran (2017), based on Asia Foundation records held at the Hoover Institution Archive (Stanford University), and Kim Jae-seok (2018a; 2018b), who additionally uses material from the Rockefeller Foundation Archive.
- 4 Charles B. Fahs “diaries” are referenced by date. See the “Works Cited” section for details.
- 5 Yu Chi-jin's writings are quoted from his *Collected Works* (Dongrang Yu Chi-jin Jeonjip), published in nine volumes in 1993. See the “Works Cited” section for details. Yu's *Autobiography* (Jaseojeon), first published in 1975, later as volume 9 of his *Collected Works*, constitutes a kind of oral history recorded shortly before Yu's death in the early 1970s and edited by theatre scholar Yu Min-yeong. Yu Min-yeong (as far as I know unrelated to Yu Chi-jin) later wrote his own biography of Yu Chi-jin (2015), mainly drawing on autobiographical sources and likewise partial, as the title (Father of Korean Theatre) suggests.
- 6 Before becoming better acquainted, Fahs uses various spelling variations for Yu Chi-jin's name, here referring to him as “Mr. Riu Chi-chin.” In later diaries, the spelling “Yoo Chi-jin” is adapted.

- 7 Jeonguk Yeonguk Yesul Hyeophoe (cf. Kim JS 2018b, p. 151), which Oh Kon Cho translates as “National Association of Theatre Arts” (2015, p. 211).
- 8 Later, in 1949 and 1950, Yu’s ensemble Sinhyeop would stage several recent Broadway plays, Maxwell Anderson’s *High Tor*, Sidney Kingsley’s *The Patriots*, and Arthur Laurents’ *Home of the Brave*, with USIS support (Yu 9, p. 181). U Su-jin considers Yu Chi-jin’s stance towards U.S. plays in this era as characterized by an idealizing imagination of “America(ns)’ values like humanism and rationalism” in opposition to the former colonial oppressor Japan (U Su-jin 2003, pp. 96–101).
- 9 An Ho-sang is referred to as “Dr. Paul Auh,” his Westernized name.
- 10 The building later served for the most part administrative functions, hosted the South Korean National Assembly and, since 1991, the Seoul Metropolitan Council.
- 11 Yu dates the meeting on April 11, 1952, apparently incorrectly, to “spring 1953” (Yu 9, p. 226).
- 12 Jeonguk Munhwa Danche Chongyeon Hyeophoe. This institution, where Yu serves as vice-chairman since 1949, is referred to by various other English names at later points.
- 13 For instance, Fahs himself considers the Federation of Cultural Associations, where Yu serves as “head of the committee on drama,” as “a counterweight to the communist-controlled ‘League of Korean Cultural Associations’” (April 21, 1950).
- 14 Yu studied English Language and Literature in Japan throughout the 1920s and admits his inarticulate pronunciation due to an education focused more on grammar than conversation as well as a lack of opportunities to practice (Yu 9, p. 236).
- 15 Incorrectly referred to as the “wife of an officer of the American Korean Foundation” by Fahs (April 16, 1956).
- 16 In the following, I quote from the 1970 reprint of Jones’ *Theatre-in-the-round*.
- 17 The Korean translation of *Theatre-in-the-round* appeared under the title “Wonhyeong Geukjang” (lit. Circle Theatre) in seven installments in the short-lived journal *Yesul Sibō* in spring 1954. I could verify the tables of contents of four issues (qtd. in Jeon Ji-ni 2016, pp. 130–36). Given that each installment consists of merely two pages in Korean, a closer inquiry of the selection and other translational choices promises further insights into the reception process of Jones’ concept in Korea.
- 18 Fahs wrongly attributes the Korean translation of *Theatre-in-the-Round* to Yu Chi-jin himself (May 6, 1954). The actual translator was a playwright Ju Dong-jin (1929–99), an associate of Yu and former member of Sinhyeop who studied English Language and Literature (Yu 9, p. 227).
- 19 Here written in English followed by the Korean transliteration.
- 20 While Jones compares the management of a theatre to that of a department store (Jones 1951, p. 61), Yu uses a restaurant where “one has to cook tasteful food of high nutritional value” (Yu 9, p. 227) as a metaphor.
- 21 The publisher Richard Taplinger, whom Yu Chi-jin meets in New York City in July 1956, highlights later, in a phone conversation with Robert W. July of the RF, that the appeal of Yu’s plays would be limited in the U.S. (qtd. in Kim JS 2018b, p. 168). Whether this assessment is based on their anti-communist content or their conventional form remains open.
- 22 Yu meets, for instance, Sidney Kingsley (1906–95), whose play *The Patriots* Sinhyeop had staged in 1949, and, in place of the recently deceased Eugene O’Neill (1888–1953), his widow Carlotta Monterey.
- 23 The text originally appeared as an open letter in *Gyeonghyang Sinmun*, July 14, 1956.
- 24 The Festival Theatre is the first modern reconstruction of Shakespeare’s Globe stage (Martin Hunter 2001, 26). A permanent roof was added in 1957, one year after Yu’s visit.
- 25 Yu mentions 3,000 seats (Yu 7, p. 234), but according to the current Stratford Festival homepage “[t]he theatre seats well over 1,800 people, yet no spectator is more than 65 feet [20 meter] from the stage” (www.stratfordfestival.ca/AboutUs/OurHistory/Timeline).
- 26 Yu himself mentions later, in the words of Fahs, the “jealousy on the part of others which contributed to criticism of an effort to revive a play which he had written during the war (April 25, 1958).
- 27 Asia Foundation records refer to it as “Korea Drama Academy” (Kim OR 2017, pp. 204–205).
- 28 To clarify the value of this money, Fahs applies an exchange rate of 500:1 “at the official rate, a little more than half that at the black market or at the benevolent rate” (April 25, 1958). On the problem of money exchange to retrospectively determine the funding of the Drama Center, see Kim OR 2017, pp. 205–207.
- 29 The address given by Fahs here (“226 Kwan Chul Dong”) probably refers to the same place “at the Chong-Noh bell tower” Yu mentioned in 1956.
- 30 Hanguk Yeonguk Yeongu-so.

- 31 This preferential rate is also known as “missionary dollar” or, as Fahs calls it, “benevolent rate” (April 25, 1958).
- 32 For details on the building site (Yejang-dong No. 8-19), see Jo Si-hyeon 2018.
- 33 Yu refers with “national” both to the state (*gukga-jeok*) and people (*minjok-jeok*) of Korea.
- 34 A list of donors, almost 300 individuals and companies in total, is published in the program book of the Drama Center’s opening production (qtd. in Jo UY 1993, p. 9). Today these names are on display in the lobby of the Drama Center.
- 35 In the case of *Porgy* (Aug. 8 – Sept. 19, 1962), an average of 475 spectators per performance (16,141 spectators in 34 performances) indicates an almost continuously sold out house, given the total capacity of 483 spectators. While Shakespeare proved moderately successful (*Hamlet*: 357, *Romeo and Juliet*: 407), numbers decrease below 300 for recent U.S. plays and even below 200 for Yu’s own work. For a list of the first season’s productions, including number of performances and audience attendance, see Jo UY 1993, p. 14.
- 36 The 1959 *Annual Report* notes that the RF “has hesitated to support large projects in the arts outside the United States before gaining a clearer understanding of what could be accomplished at home” (p. 144).
- 37 While undergoing several name changes, the small Academy developed into a full-fledged three-year arts college with a campus outside of Seoul and is today known as Seoul Institute of the Arts. For an English timeline, see www.seoularts.ac.kr/mbs/en/subview.jsp?id=en_010103000000.
- 38 First simply known as Ensemble Drama Center (Geukdan Deurama Senta), after Yu Chi-jin’s death in 1974 the ensemble was renamed Dongrang Repertory Ensemble (Dongrang Repeoteori Geukdan), in reference to his pen name.
- 39 www.asianculturalcouncil.org/our-programs/awards.
- 40 Yu Chi-jin is listed in the *Who’s Who Dictionary on Pro-Japanese Collaboration* (Chin-il Inmyeong Sajeon Pyeonchan Wiwonhoe 2009).
- 41 A special issue of the theatre journal *Yeongeuk Pyeongnon* (No. 89, fall 2018) comprises four papers on the history of the Drama Center that were presented on site as part of an “Emergency Measure Meeting of Theatremakers” earlier that year (www.facebook.com/whydramacenterofkoreaisnotforpublic). These papers have been published together with several others in the recent volume *Yu Chi-jin-gwa Deurama Seunteo: Chin’il-gwa Naengjeon-ui Yusan* (Yu Chi-jin and the Drama Center: Legacy of Pro-Japanese Collaboration and Cold War). Seoul: Yeongeuk-gwa In-gan 2019.

Figures

- Figure 1: The interior of the Drama Center at present, apart from a remodeling the original structure remains intact, courtesy of Namsan Arts Center.
- Figure 2: Stage of The Festival Theatre in Stratford, Ontario, after completion of the permanent building in 1957, postcard image, courtesy of Hekman Digital Archive, Calvin University, Michigan.
- Figure 3: *Hamlet*, opening production of the Drama Center, directed by Yu Chi-jin, April 1962, open source archival photo, courtesy of KTV, The National Audio Visual Information Service of Korea.
- Figure 4: The Seoul Drama Center today, with a bust of its founder Yu Chi-jin next to the entrance, courtesy of Namsan Arts Center.

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- . Diary: Trip to the Far East, 12 April – 18 June 1950 (Korea, 1950, 18 April – 26 April 1950, pp. 12–36).
- . Diary: Trip to the Far East, 5 April – 6 June 1952 (Korea 1952, 8 April – 13 April 1952; pp. 1–18).
- . Diary: Trip to the Far East, 26 April – 23 June 1954 (Korea 1954, 3 May – 7 May 1954, pp. 20–38).

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Yu Chi-jin's writings are referenced as "Yu [volume]: [page]," e.g. (Yu 7, p. 235) for Yu's text "Yeongeuk Gihaeng" (Theatre Trip) from 1957, reprinted in volume 7 of his *Collected Works*, with a quote from page 235. Yu's writings referenced in this paper are as follows:

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