

Dancers as Diplomats? Quiet diplomacy and post-conflict geopolitics in the 1990 Cambodian National Dance Company Tour to the U.K.

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Data Availability Statement

Data for this publication is derived from: i) public domain resources at the British Library, the National Archives, the Oxfam Archive, Sadler's Wells Archives, the Scottish Theatre Archives and HANSARD. References and links are provided in the source endnotes; ii) private archives of selected individuals where restrictions apply to the availability of these data, used under license for this study; iii) personal interviews for which the research data are not shared.

Abstract

This paper examines the relationship between performance and diplomacy during the 1990 Cambodian National Dance Company Tour to the UK. The tour stemmed from Oxfam UK's Kampuchea Campaign which attempted to restore bilateral aid to the State of Cambodia by pushing for international recognition and a brokered peace settlement. Contributing to geographical work on diplomacy, the paper examines the different agents involved in the tour and their response to the dancers as diplomatic actors, examining the different types of performance in operation and their relationship to diplomacy. Dance was often oriented towards geopolitical ends, but there were also moments when dancers used their artistic performances to open up new modes of subjectivity and identity. The paper attends to these

experiences and to how the dancers' actions extend existing conceptions of diplomatic subjectivity by considering vulnerability. In examining these dynamics, the paper also contributes to research on art and geopolitics, both through its diplomatic focus and its analysis of how diplomatic and creative practices were intertwined through an aesthetic of quietness. It thus attends to how geopolitical aesthetics matter, and how, in this instance, quiet aesthetics were a mark of international disempowerment.

On 5th June 1990, thirty Cambodian dancers, singers and musicians from the Cambodian National Dance Company (CNDC), landed in London for their first tour of 'the West' since before the Khmer Rouge (1975-1979). Accompanied by Pen Yeth, Rector of the School of Fine Arts, Pech Tum Kravel, Director of the Arts Department (part of the Cambodian government's Ministry of Fine Arts), a translator, Lor Chan Dara, and Australian ethnomusicologist Bill Lobban, they embarked on a two-month tour of the UK, the Republic of Ireland and Italy. The tour was sponsored by Oxfam UK, the world music festival WOMAD, and Glasgow City Council and Strathclyde Regional Council as part of Glasgow 1990 (the European Capital of Culture (ECoC)). To celebrate this event, Theatre About Glasgow (TAG) commissioned *Dancer* by John Harvey, a children's play based on dancer Huy Phousita's life. The play was performed in schools as part of a Theatre in Education programme that culminated in the CNDC conducting classical Cambodian dance workshops with over 1,200 children in 25 primary schools across the Strathclyde region.¹ Dance tours by state troupes are often geopolitical events (Prevots 1998), and this tour marked Cambodia's international re-emergence after 15 years of Communist isolation. It was significant. Yet it is also geopolitically anomalous. Why would Cambodian classical dancers perform first in Glasgow, Scotland, rather than France (Cambodia's colonial ruler) or the U.S. (its Cold War frenemy)? What geopolitics were behind this event, and what was its importance?

This mismatch drove my interest in this research and the relationship between dance and diplomacy at a key moment in Cambodian history. The event was opportunistic, emerging from the confluence of Glasgow becoming the ECoC and Oxfam UK's Kampuchea Campaign. From 1975-1979 Cambodia was run by the Communist Khmer Rouge (1975-1979) who wanted to create an agrarian socialism free from corruption. This genocidal regime

destroyed Cambodia's infrastructure, economy and social fabric (see Chandler 1991; Tyner 2008). The Khmer Rouge targeted dancers for execution owing to their associations with royalty and around 90% of artists were killed during this period, leaving a handful of masters to reconstruct classical forms and train students in the post-genocide era. In 1979, Vietnamese forces removed the Khmer Rouge from power without international support. Vietnam then backed the creation of a new state, the PRK (People's Republic of Kampuchea), that, with the USSR, they supported economically for the next decade (Slocomb 2003). However, the PRK was not internationally recognised – it was seen as a client state with an illegal military presence, and, as such, was denied international credit and bilateral aid. Instead, the anti-Vietnamese Coalition Government of Democratic Kampuchea (CGDK) comprised of the Khmer Rouge, the Khmer People's National Liberation Front, and The National United Front for an Independent, Neutral, Peaceful and Cooperative Cambodia was recognised, and supported by the US and China, occupied Cambodia's seat at the United Nations (UN) until the Paris Peace Accords in 1991. On 26th September 1989, Vietnam withdrew its military forces from Cambodia, paving the way for peace negotiations. In 1990, therefore, the State of Cambodia (SOC) existed and instigated policy shifts that differentiated it from its PRK predecessor, but many countries, including Britain, considered it under diplomatic embargo (Slocomb 2003). Oxfam's Kampuchea Campaign had multiple goals, but, geopolitically, it aimed to remove the international legitimisation of the Khmer Rouge, and find a political solution for aid to reach Cambodian people at scale. Despite advances made by the PRK, Cambodia was still poor (Slocomb 2003; Strangio 2020) and Oxfam sought to improve this situation given the legacies of the Khmer Rouge. Oxfam's agenda thus embodied 'the Wilsonian idealism that the international community could make everything better' surrounding Cambodia in the early 1990s (Ear 2012, 11).

For Oxfam, the 1990 tour maintained pressure on the UK government to facilitate geopolitical recognition and a peace settlement. Oxfam suggested that Cambodia's aid and development needs could only be met by achieving these aims.ⁱⁱ However, Ear (2012) argues that the subsequent United Nations Transitional Authority in Cambodia (UNTAC, 1991-1993) created a culture of aid dependency that has prevented political accountability and Cambodian ownership of development initiatives – indeed, Cambodia's inequality has widened with neoliberalism (Springer 2015; Strangio 2020). Nevertheless, Oxfam and the dancers thought the tour might persuade Britain to support these geopolitical goals (particularly as the U.K. chaired the U.N. Security Council in 1990). The use of classical dancers who were, and still are, government employees, and who travelled to the UK on passports that were only issued to government workers, also suggests that diplomacy through the arts was partly intended for the tour.

In examining this event, this paper contributes to existing research on both the geographies of diplomacy and geopolitical aesthetics. Recent work has underscored the relationship between diplomacy and performance (McConnell 2018; Jones and Clark 2019; Fall 2020) and here I examine the shifting dynamics of this relationship by structuring the paper around the different agents involved in the tour (Oxfam and TAG, the dancers, the U.K. government). Bringing these actors together in one frame extends the recognition that various agents are involved in the practice of diplomacy (Constantinou 2016) by considering the different types of performance in operation vis-à-vis creative practice. Dance is a type of culturally embedded movement, but there is a distinction between dance being experienced aesthetically in ways that can proffer new modes of subjecthood and cross-cultural

encounter, and dance being strategically orientated towards geopolitical goals. Such distinctions focus us on the *intentions* and *ends* of performance, on the use of diplomacy (Jones and Clark 2018), something that the idea of performance, with its emphasis on practice for an audience, is well primed for. Inevitably, the two domains blur into one another, and so it becomes possible to consider what elements of Cambodian classical dance aesthetics held geopolitical potential. Through a focus on quietness, the paper therefore simultaneously contributes to research on arts and geopolitics (Ingram 2019, Veal 2019) through its diplomatic focus and by attending to how geopolitical aesthetics act in the world (Ingram 2016).

In what follows, I detail existing research on diplomatic geographies and diplomacy and performance to highlight these contributions. I then examine how Oxfam positioned the dancers as diplomats, and how quiet diplomacy was established through the tour via the dancers' (in)visibility, media representation, and classical performances. The paper then turns to the dancers' experiences, and how their actions and desires extend existing conceptions of diplomatic subjecthood. Finally, I consider the use of dance performances by examining UK government reactions. This enables an evaluation of the tour's power imbalances and the success that it attained.

Diplomatic Geographies and Performance

Diplomacy is the geopolitical realm where select individuals are recognised as legitimate state representatives. These individuals gather information, negotiate, mediate, and persuade on behalf of one state to resolve differences with another (Dittmer and

McConnell 2016). The diplomatic enterprise is thus underpinned by assumptions about recognition, authority and difference that exclude those who do not fit conventional understandings of the sovereign state or the diplomat (McConnell et al 2012). This has led recent research in political geography and critical IR to reconsider what and who constitutes diplomatic authority, and where diplomacy happens. This work explores patterns of diplomatic representation globally (Neumayer 2008), investigates the connection between the location of embassies and other sites of diplomatic activity (Mamadouh et al 2015), and analyses the micro-spaces of diplomatic language, practice and action (Kuus 2015). Collectively, this research illustrates how diplomatic practices are ‘transacted in diverse spatial settings, sites and domains, under conditions of multiple contestations of state authority and legitimacy’ (Jones and Clark 2015, 2).

This paper takes its cue from research that analyses who exercises agency in the diplomatic arena and if this agency is recognised (McConnell 2018). Diplomats increasingly work outside their traditional remits and so enlist other actors (Jones and Clark 2018). Such practices loosen the relationship between the diplomat and the state, and questions who a legitimate diplomatic actor might be because these agents may represent different forms of political organisation (Sending et al 2011; McConnell et al 2012). Here, I analyse how different actors (Oxfam/TAG, the dancers, the UK government) attempted to intervene diplomatically in a geopolitical order that did not recognise the SOC, developing existing work by exploring their different perspectives as they participated in a single event. ‘New’ diplomatic actors often occupy a liminal status, allowing them to challenge existing diplomatic power relations through alternative modes of practice (McConnell et al 2012; McConnell 2017). Betsill and Corell (2007) for example, argue that environmental NGOs

challenge interstate diplomacy by developing new relationships, and by representing constituencies and claiming authority in ways that are not territorially bound. As diplomacy moves beyond statecraft, research thus highlights that diplomatic practice can be 'a means of getting one's way, presenting the case of something or promoting the interests of someone, influencing or forcing others to do what they would not otherwise do' (Constantinou 2016, 24).

Yet whilst political geography has explored different diplomatic locations, practices and subjects, it has not viewed artists as part of these fields. However, dance has long been a diplomatic vehicle, particularly during the Cold War (Croft 2015; Geduld 2010; Prevots 1998). Political geographers have utilised theorisations of performance in studying diplomatic practice, drawing upon the well-rehearsed idea that the state is a performative entity (Weber 1998) and that diplomatic practices performatively constitute inter-state relations (Fall 2020; Jackson and Jeffrey 2021). This article is situated in more theatrical currents that examine the staging of geopolitical events and their micro-spaces of diplomacy (Shimazu 2014; Craggs 2014). As Jones and Clark (2019) argue, ideas of theatricality suggest that performances are practices evaluated by an audience – a conceptualisation that exposes what and who is considered diplomatic, and that highlights those liminal actors who disrupt or push the boundaries of diplomatic activity (McConnell 2017). This model of performance is useful for examining embodiment and emotion, the interactive dynamism and materiality of diplomatic practice, and its unpredictable outcomes (Jones and Clark 2018).

Here, I argue that analysing performance and performers in creative terms offers insights for such research. Firstly, artists are liminal subjects (McConnell 2017), exposing the

multiple ends and types of performance operating in diplomacy. Specifically, there is both a distinction and a blurring between dance as a creative, aesthetic experience that promotes new identities and cross-cultural encounters, and/or as practices that are strategically orientated with a diplomatic function. Analysing when and where each type of performance comes to prominence is important for unpicking where diplomacy happens and for considering its effectiveness. In saying this, I do not want to suggest that existing research has not highlighted creativity and innovation in diplomatic practice – indeed, this is apparent in the digital realm (McConnell and Dittmer 2018; Pinkerton and Benwell 2014). However, artists foreground these dynamics because they may use international platforms to challenge the policies of the governments they represent or express their own ideas (see Von Eschen 2004). In contrast, my research illustrates the complexities surrounding the idea that artistic and liminal subjects hold critical potential. Dance can reinforce statist agendas and representations, particularly in a post-conflict context where reproducing an artistic repertoire is central to the continuity of Cambodian culture, professional artists are often government employees, and concerns over censorship are felt daily (Rogers et al 2021).

Secondly, considering artists' embodied experiences and subjectivity draws attention to the precarity of creative lives (Gill and Pratt 2008), and, in this respect, the Cambodian dancers complicate expectations around what constitutes a diplomatic actor through their vulnerability. Feminist geopolitics has long been attuned to embodied vulnerability (Pain and Staeheli 2014) but this has yet to be fully considered in diplomatic terms. Discussions of vulnerability are found in work on small-power diplomacy that analyses whether small states require specific diplomatic techniques (Payne 2006; Rana 2006). Less research focuses on the embodied vulnerability of individual diplomats, although McConnell (2018) and Jones (2020)

show that being vulnerable and making emotional experiences visible is important to diplomatic activity and can challenge Eurocentric behavioural norms. Labelling groups as 'vulnerable' risks paternalism, but I take my cue from work that does not view vulnerable subjects as one-dimensional, weak, or in need (Askins 2014) but as proactively creating new experiences for themselves. Here, therefore, I attend to *what else* the dancers gained from the tour personally and professionally. As Croft (2015) illustrates, everyday encounters are an important part of dancers being on tour and can allow performers to forge new identities. Here, vulnerability also signalled an active desiring subject that, for dancers who absconded, rejected diplomatic confines. However, the consequence was to intensify the company's association with the SOC and their concomitant sense of responsibility, reinforcing their diplomatic subjectivity.

Finally, considering dance as an artistic performance emphasises performance aesthetics in diplomacy (see also McConnell (2018) on dress and language). This contributes to research on arts and geopolitics which has not considered the diplomatic realm. Research has examined how artworks rethink geopolitical discourses and spaces, particularly regarding the evental space-times of war (Ingram 2019) and the increasing militarization and securitization of everyday life (Williams 2014). Performance techniques also illustrate how the aesthetics of warfare are produced through embodied micro-spaces (Veal 2019). Nevertheless, Ingram (2016) argues that there has not been enough attention paid to aesthetics (see Bleiker 2009). Geographers have interrogated aesthetics in varied spatial settings, analysing the tension between the aesthetic as the domain of the sensory body and as the codified conventions for reading artworks (Hawkins and Straughan 2015). Such work emphasises how aesthetics offer both political possibility and oppression, but Ingram (2016)

suggests we further explore the contradictions surrounding aesthetics and how this is linked to geopolitics, rather than assuming that they are intrinsically connected.

This paper contributes to this agenda – and to that on diplomatic performance – in its analysis of quietness as an aesthetic attached to, and enacted by, the dancers, and how this related to dance as a diplomatic performance. In examining the quietness of diplomatic performance, the ‘unassuming praxis of engaging with others, in which new social relations are built in/through everyday places, relationally connected across a range of geographies’ (Askins 2014, 354) this paper contrasts with conventional accounts of diplomatic events (see also Jones and Clark 2019). Such work tends towards ruptural understandings, ‘a disruptive transformation of the world and of ways of sensing and making sense of it’ (Ingram 2019, 17) that uses the language of thresholds, tipping points, and transformations (McConnell and Dittmer 2018; Jones 2020). This research also emphasises the ‘intense expression’ (Jones and Clark 2019, 1273) of emotions that are ‘noisy’ and dramatic, part of the ‘hurly burly of everyday events, crises, deadlines and myriad pressing demands’ (Rabinow 1997, xviii in *ibid*, 1266). Quietness is not silence, nor does it indicate a lack of engagement, but is instead an affective aesthetic that can be ‘crafted’ through relationships between people, materials and locations (Hughes et al 2017). In examining dance, diplomacy and aesthetics, I argue that the CNDC tour constituted quiet diplomacy in terms of its intensity and interplay with Cambodia’s evolving geopolitical situation. Yet quietness ultimately disempowered the dancers in the formal diplomatic arena.

Methods

Research on the conduct of diplomacy often uses ethnographic methods, particularly participant observation and interviews (Kuus 2014; McConnell 2018). It also focuses on particular communities to examine who constitutes a diplomatic actor and how individuals work across different spheres (Marsden et al 2016). Although interviews can recover accounts of practice and performance (Hitchens 2012), so too can discourse analysis of texts such as diplomatic communications, social media or letters, and visual analysis of photographs, maps, and ephemera (Shimazu 2014; Fall 2020). Different approaches can therefore be used to examine diplomatic conduct and establish how people and their actions are interpreted. This paper combines archival work and semi-structured interviews with those participating in the CNDC tour, including dancers, former members of TAG, and former Oxfam workers. This gave me a fuller understanding of the perspectives and performances of the different actors involved in the tour. I also draw upon my knowledge of Cambodian classical dance, which allows certain observations to be made because the dancers performed a set repertoire.

Archivally, I consulted the Mitchell Library in Glasgow, the Scottish Theatre Archives at Glasgow University, Sadler's Well's Archives, London, the British Library for BBC and WOMAD sound archives, and the personal archives of playwright John Harvey and photographer Alan Crumlish. The tour was reported on BBC regional news programmes but footage is unavailable. Although WOMAD were instrumental in bringing the dancers to the UK, no archives were available for viewing. It is therefore hard to ascertain how the dancers came to the UK (and how visas were approved at a time when Cambodian officials were often refused entry). For information about Oxfam's Kampuchea Campaign and the tour, I consulted the Oxfam Archive at the Bodleian Library, University of Oxford. I also examined

Foreign and Commonwealth Office (FCO) and Overseas Development Administration (ODA) archives at the National Archives, Kew for information about Britain's policy towards Cambodia. In Cambodia, there is no publicly available documentation about the tour: the archive is the dancers themselves. Of the 33 Cambodians who visited the UK, over half have died. I met eleven of the dancers (two of whom have since died), and interviewed eight in-depth, using semi-structured interviews with photo-elicitation. These were conducted with a translator (although I can speak some Khmer) for ease of understanding and to allow for more detailed accounts.

Establishing Dancers as Quiet Diplomats

Analysing the drivers behind the CNDC tour emphasises the organisational perspectives of Oxfam and TAG, the slippery relationship between dance and diplomacy, and how quietness was established as an aesthetic. The CNDC tour was initiated through the synchronicity of Oxfam's Kampuchea Campaign and Glasgow 1990. Oxfam was the first British Non-Governmental Organisation (NGO) to enter Cambodia at the end of the Khmer Rouge (Black 1992) and was one of the few western charities to provide assistance to the PRK during the 1980s aid embargo (Strangio 2020). Oxfam operated as a self-styled diplomatic actor during this period; for instance, after the Vietnamese withdrew, it arranged for a cross-party group of British Members of Parliament (MPs) to visit Cambodia in November 1989 to witness the impacts of the aid embargo. It lobbied those MPs and provided information enabling them to raise questions and initiate early day motions about Cambodia in the House of Commons, it organised cross-charity and internal working groups, and it employed former diplomats to gather information about high-level UN meetings. Oxfam's archives contain a

wealth of classified and unclassified documents from the British FCO and ODA detailing shifts in British and international policy on Cambodia, suggesting that if the charity was not at the heart of what was happening, it was certainly on a main artery to it.

In 1988 Oxfam strengthened its activism, making Cambodia (then Kampuchea) the sole focus for the organisation's campaigning, education and fundraising activity. This extended into 1990 as the Kampuchea Campaign gathered unstoppable public momentum. This campaign included high-profile events, including the Kampuchea Appeal on the BBC children's television programme *Blue Peter*, with 'Bring and Buy' sales that raised over £1.3 million.ⁱⁱⁱ Its success led presenter Caron Keating to interview Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher in December 1988, asking challenging questions about the UK's foreign policy on Cambodia for a young audience.^{iv} The Kampuchea Campaign also included sponsored fasts, petitions, letter writing campaigns, and mock referendums on government policy.^v Oxfam co-ordinated activities to increase pressure on the UK government, notably in the lead up to the UN General Assembly's debate on Cambodia on 16th November 1989. This included a sponsored fast and celebrity supported candle-lit vigil at St. Martin's-in-the-Field Church, London, and the broadcast of John Pilger's documentary *Cambodia: Year Ten* on ITV on 31st October.^{vi} This documentary reignited the Cambodia debate nationally and led to over 16,000 letters to the FCO, 20,000 letters to Oxfam and Central Television offering financial support, and heavy mailbags to local MPs (see St Clair Smith 1991: 13).

Oxfam therefore used its liminal status as an NGO (McConnell 2017) to persuade the UK government to shift course. Yet initially, Oxfam did not frame the tour as a mechanism for lobbying the UK government. Rather, the liminality of the dancers as both artists and

Cambodian representatives allowed the event to slip under the radar and for Oxfam to keep its political agenda quiet. The dancers were represented as a microcosm of Cambodian society so that messaging was conveyed “not in an intensely political way but in a way which represents the struggle of the Cambodian people to rebuild their lives.”^{vii} There was “not a heavy lobbying message”^{viii} even as Oxfam continued to outline the geopolitical obstacles to peace and development. This quiet framing partly emerged because the Kampuchea Campaign placed pressure on British politicians and formed part of the 1990-1991 Oxfam Charity Commission Inquiry. This ruled that Oxfam pursued its aims ‘with too much vigour’ and that they ‘breach [*sic*] both the law prohibiting charities from undertaking political activities and the charity’s own objects’ (St Clair Smith, 1991: 2). The Inquiry was ongoing as the tour was planned, and Oxfam did not want to *appear* to be politicising Cambodia:

“How can we maintain a profile on Cambodia in a way that keeps a spotlight on the country but that doesn’t engage those geopolitical situations in quite such an overt way? The story of the dance troupe [...] is symbolic of the revival of Cambodia and we bought into that [...] At a level it was non-threatening, but it was so powerful that it was, of course, threatening. The main audience for this was the Foreign Office, the public were the second audience” (Interview Judith Robertson, former Campaigns Officer for Oxfam Scotland 25/8/18).

Here, performance as *presence* was key to the dancers’ diplomatic performance for the UK government, as was what they represented in terms of cultural longevity and state reconstruction. This is underscored in the context of FCO archives from this time that illustrate robust discussions around visas for ordinary Cambodians to enter the UK. The

dancers do not appear in publicly available files, which perhaps suggests that their liminal status as artists performing at WOMAD enabled them to enter the UK.

The dancers' performative presence was thus framed through quietness as an oblique or indirect engagement with geopolitics. However, once the company arrived, Oxfam's tack shifted, and the dancers were consistently framed geopolitically in attempts at diplomatic persuasion. Publicity materials articulated the need to maintain pressure for a political solution, with the tour representing "an important break in the international isolation of Cambodia."^{ix} Even more explicitly, Oxfam highlighted its geopolitical objectives vis-à-vis the artists and tour; "Oxfam is campaigning to restore UK government development aid to Cambodia and is asking the government to take part in an international initiative to bring long term peace to Cambodia."^x Bright green, double-sided A4 leaflets were handed out at performances, with a picture of a young dancer getting ready to perform entitled "Help them to Rebuild..."^{xi} The leaflet used the dancers as a way into describing some of Cambodia's development problems, such as the need to repair broken machinery, restore wells and irrigation canals, and de-mining efforts. However, one side argued that the geopolitical stalemate was the reason for the slow resolution of these problems, with the following in bold capitals: "But the causes of Cambodia's problems cannot be tackled simply by the relief and development aid that Oxfam is known for". There then followed a section entitled "What you can do" which encouraged campaigning and fundraising to maintain pressure. The leaflet was an ephemeral geopolitical object to be read and taken home, a way to perhaps challenge the scrutiny Oxfam was under. As such, the leaflet did not simply mediate power (Meehan et al 2013) but subverted it by utilising Oxfam's organisational liminality (McConnell et al 2012).

When the dancers were in the UK and within Oxfam's orbit, they were therefore framed as geopolitical agents. The dancers also embodied such a position and viewed their artistic performances as diplomatic performances with tangible effects:

"Amanda: Why did you tour to the UK?

Buth Channa: Culture is a kind of diplomacy. First, it helps promote our national identity. Second, culture is a bridge that allows one nation to understand another nation. [...] It showed the world that Cambodia is more open. After that tour to the UK, we went to many other countries, the U.S., France, Australia. So the diplomacy *that we conducted* from the tour to the UK allowed us to go to many other countries" (interview 15/01/18, my emphasis).

"Amanda: Why did you feel it was important to go?

Om Yuvanna: During the Pol Pot era I didn't know where to get help. I waited and waited for 3 years and 8 months. The United Nations existed, but they didn't help us [...] So, during the tour to the U.K., we really wanted others to know Cambodia, know about our culture, so if there was any conflict or war again, they know us so they will help us" (interview, 18/01/18).

The dancers clearly felt that they represented their country diplomatically –culturally and politically. By conveying their history, culture and identity through dance they felt able to build relationships with other nations that could be harnessed if Cambodia remained politically turbulent. The first quotation literally views dance performances as diplomatic acts, with the UK narrated as a gateway to the West. This self-perception suggests that Cambodia

wanted to re-establish diplomatic relations, and that the dancers viewed themselves as state envoys paving the way for future relations.

However, the dancers' liminality also highlights how artistry and culturally-encoded movement produces aesthetic experiences for audiences. The idea for the tour emerged between Judith Robertson, then Campaigns Officer for Oxfam Scotland, and Sally Hobson, then General Manager of Theatre About Glasgow (TAG) at a time when Glasgow's arts organisations were encouraged to do high-profile, international events celebrating the European Capital of Culture (ECoC). TAG was therefore concerned with a place-specific agenda, one that intersected with Oxfam's geopolitical push, but was more concerned with cross-cultural exchange:

"Judith and I were talking about Cambodia, and she mentioned the dance troupe. I thought this would make a great idea for working with TAG. Oxfam could sponsor the dancers to come to the UK and we could run a schools project about what had happened with Pol Pot. The children could learn about the history and what happened in Cambodia and then see the real dancers. It's a story of the loss of culture, the annihilation of free expression. It was strong and difficult, but Glasgow is a place that deals with that, and I thought it can embrace it. Then being able to see the dancers and meet them in a completely embodied way could make it about something more than the form itself, but a deeper human connection"

(interview, Sally Hobson, 23/07/18).

The life-affirming story behind Cambodian classical dance, of near eradication followed by revival, held a locally resonant potential that connected the story of the dancers with

Glasgow as a city. It chimed with Glasgow's aspirations to reinvent itself through cultural-led regeneration (Quinn 2005). TAG hoped that *Dancer* would foster interpersonal connections, with the director describing how, "My job was to make their [the CNDC's] experience of coming meaningful to the wider community. My job was to prepare the path" (interview, Tony Graham, 23/08/18). The schools programme accompanying *Dancer* was extensive, encompassing Cambodian geography, history, background to classical dance, a tape of traditional music, and the story *Little Brother* by Allan Baillie set during the Khmer Rouge.^{xii} These activities did not shy away from war and loss, and moved beyond an Orientalist narrative of Cambodia as a place of violence in their attempts to create understanding (Springer 2011). Here, the dancers were part of arts activities that built locally meaningful cross-cultural interactions. Indeed, Alan Crumlisk, an official photographer for Glasgow 1990, took photos of them "that were specific to Glasgow" but that nevertheless emphasised this dynamic (interview, 24/07/18). This included the dancers at a party wearing a Glasgow 1990 black and white t-shirt stating 'Glasgow 1990 It's Pure Dead Brilliant' in a design reminiscent of Charles Rennie MacIntosh, or teaching classical dance to children wearing Celtic football shirts.

These representations of the dancers and their performances as diplomatic and/or artistic were highly localised in media reportage. There was not a wide public consciousness about the tour, as there was little coverage in mainstream British newspapers aside from features in *The Telegraph Weekend Magazine* before the CNDC arrived, and one on Huy Phousita in *The Guardian* to publicise *Dancer*.^{xiii} The tour can therefore be considered a quiet event overall but with moments of visibility, reflecting how quietness shifts according to location (Hughes et al 2017). For instance, on 7th June, Oxfam organised a welcome

reception, press conference and photo call at Southwark Cathedral, London, for the CNDC but it received virtually no news coverage.^{xiv} It is unclear why, and Oxfam records indicate that they wanted this evaluated.^{xv} This media invisibility in the UK's capital highlights the lack of geopolitical and diplomatic credence afforded to the dancers in the British political imagination. However, in Glasgow, a press conference on 11th June announced the company's arrival locally for the ECoC (see Figure 1).^{xvi} Here, they were welcomed by film star Julie Christie at the St. Enoch's Centre, an example of 'celebrity geopolitics' in action (Benwell et al 2012). Christie was an Oxfam Ambassador for Cambodia, was involved in the Kampuchea Campaign, and had created two documentaries about the country: *Miracle Under Threat* (1988); and *Caught in the Cross Fire* (1989). Through this, she visited the School of Fine Arts and met some of the Company.^{xvii} Her presence raised the tour's profile and associated it with Oxfam for the Scottish public; pictures of Christie with the dancers were front page on all the major Scottish newspapers the next day.^{xviii} The combined effect of staging Glasgow as a city through the ECoC, alongside Oxfam's implicit messaging through Christie's appearance, positioned the dancers as both artistic and political agents, with the cultural-economic context of Glasgow 1990 boosting the latter. Remaining newspaper coverage is locally focused on touring locations and varied in its reportage. Despite being the most important cultural event for Cambodia regarding 'the West' for over fifteen years, the CNDC tour was not high-profile, and geopolitical and creative performances had a limited, local reach.

Figure 1: Members of the CNDC with Julie Christie in Glasgow. Photograph © Alan Crumlish, reproduced with permission.

Dancers/Diplomats on Tour

Examining the dance and the dancers in more detail illustrates how geopolitical desires were linked to the aesthetics of Cambodian classical dance *and* relied upon the blurring of diplomatic and artistic performances. Here, quietness, particularly as associated with the aesthetics of grace and refinement in classical dance, is important. Although quietness is often interpreted as an absence of noise, it also signals a 'range of bodily controls and knowledges' including composition, composure, attention, relaxation, self-discipline and concentration (Watkins and Noble 2011, 119). In media reports, for example, the dancers and the dancing were frequently described in terms of quietude - as a 'beautifully delicate' and 'breathtaking study in poise and grace'^{xix} with a 'detailed vocabulary of graceful hand gestures [...] its calm extended balances on one leg'^{xx} through which 'a calm dignity is evident.'^{xxi} Despite Orientalist associations of demure women associated with such descriptions (see Rogers forthcoming), dancers reiterated this sentiment, describing how dance 'shows Cambodian culture and Cambodian characteristic as soft but strong' (interview, Om Yuvanna, 18/01/18). The Company were regularly told by Krael and Yeth to be principled and disciplined, such that quietness was also internalised off-stage. Similarly, Crumlish's photographs of school workshops show dancers in benign, smiling poses (see Figure 2). The photographs focus on the positioning of the body through touch to capture flows of energy, reflecting his approach to 'respond to what is happening, to interaction' but the pictures also evoke a concentration and detailed attention that suggest quietude (interview, Alan Crumlish, 24/7/18).

For the dancers, the desire to perfect their art dovetailed with the desire to build relationships that might help their country become peaceful, such that creative aesthetics embodied a diplomatic function; 'We wanted them to help us. We didn't want any more fighting. Because of those reasons we performed happily, we practice and practice without thinking of exhaustion' (interview, Om Yuvanna, 18/01/18). The dancers were obsessive about perfecting their movements and had strict daily rehearsals. Dancers described how they could make small mistakes in Phnom Penh, but in the UK, they had to 'measure the scale' (interview, Chap Siphath, 17/01/18), which meant being in perfect synchronisation, hands at the correct height according to role, spacing of movements exactly the same distance apart. They repeated sequences until they were exhausted, but they were concerned to reach this perfection artistically, such that the poetics and choreographic characteristics of the dance simultaneously worked to showcase culture and express geopolitical desires.

Figure 2: Pen Sok Chea teaching during a school workshop in Glasgow. Photograph ©Alan Crumlish, reproduced with permission.

In this performance of dance *as* diplomacy, dance embodied the diplomatic skill of persuasion. Reportage often depicted the CNDC as emissaries of peace, as representing a rich cultural past and a future without conflict. Although peace was 'an empty 'other' defined by an absence of violence' (Williams and McConnell 2011, 928), the aesthetic of quietness enabled classical dance to also enact Cambodian cultural narratives associated with peace, such as harmony and balance (Brickell 2015). Classical dance also acquired nationalistic

potency after the Khmer Rouge (Shapiro-Phim 2008) and officials used the dual artistic and diplomatic functions of performance to promote Cambodia as non-threatening and indirectly desirous of assistance:

‘We think this is a great opportunity for us to show the British audience and British people to see the true colour of the Cambodian nation so that we can express our opinions, our ideas from our true hearts so that people can know that Cambodians, you know, don’t like war, and they want peace very much. We consider ourselves to be messengers of peace for Cambodia’^{xxii}.

‘We are very tired of spending our blood, our flesh, in killing and fighting. All the people of Cambodia have spent a lot of tears’^{xxiii}.

In the context of post-genocidal Indonesia, Larasati (2013, 134) argues that when the performing body represents a harmonious nation it helps translate diplomatic relations into economic co-operation because ‘investors feel safer pursuing stronger economic ties.’ There were signs that a similar logic vis-à-vis narratives of peace underpinned this tour in statements that the event was also about ‘inspiring confidence abroad in the Cambodian people’^{xxiv}. This was probably less about investment *per se* and more about securing aid. This is supported by the fact that Cambodian officials were ‘eager to talk to politicians about the problems in his [sic] country’^{xxv}, presumably to garner support for ongoing peace initiatives and stimulate donor contributions (see below).

However, considering the dancers as artists also offers insights regarding the vulnerability of diplomatic subjects (McConnell et al 2012; McConnell 2017). Creative lives are precarious (Gill and Pratt 2008), and although the dancers were highly skilled and held cultural capital in Cambodia, they were materially poor. Dancers described borrowing suitcases and clothes from friends and family because they did not own enough items for a lengthy stay. What they brought was also inadequate for the British weather and the dancers were cold (interview, Ros Yaran, 18/01/18). Oxfam provided them with winter coats in summer, an incongruity evidenced in Crumlish's photographs and that the dancers remembered. They also seemed to have little money for daily expenditure, not least because WOMAD appear to have paid the company half their fee before the tour and half afterwards. Oxfam faxes from Phnom Penh in November 1990 suggest they were still waiting for payment, with the dancers desperately needing money because they were being moved from their accommodation, a situation that highlights their economic vulnerability and lack of power.^{xxvi} Oxfam prepared collections for the dancers after performances and the audio recording from WOMAD evidences the solicitation of donations from audiences.^{xxvii} Personal photographs of the dancers with audiences also showed them holding donation baskets: 'This is after our performance. I was carrying a basket labelled Oxfam asking for donation. The UK audiences donated £10 or £20 every day. Bill Lobban used that money to support our artists' (interview, Chan Palla, 22/01/18). Oxfam did not need to raise money for Cambodia at this time, and so profits went to the School of Fine Arts (now the Royal University of Fine Arts), with the dancers paid a stipend of £17 per day.^{xxviii} A week's earnings thus amounted to around one year's salary at that time – a significant amount of money. Bringing this artistic position into dialogue with the dancers' diplomatic role, therefore emphasises their

embodied economic vulnerability, with the tour finances and fundraising underscoring this position, despite donations and company earnings overall.

Yet as Brice (2020) argues, vulnerability is not simply a circumstance imposed on subjects, and the Company's actions, experiences, concerns and hopes also challenged and exceeded such a characterisation. Considering the dancers as individuals brings this alternative perspective into play. Here, the tour was not about diplomacy, or showcasing art and culture, but about travel, freedom, new experiences, learning English, and for some, a new life. The dancers talked about having more freedom compared to previous tours where 'we would be watched and tracked' (interview, Anon). They therefore felt able to think, and consider their desires for themselves and for Cambodia, particularly when experiencing new places and meeting people (through homestay visits, receptions, a ceilidh, and tourist activities). The school workshops were important here, as all the dancers described how they enjoyed these the most. Many dancers realised that they wanted to become teachers through this experience because they could pass on their cultural knowledge:

"That experience helped me to become a teacher. It was a significant lesson learned for me. We did not know how to speak the language, we only showed gestures. But I learned how to teach people without any knowledge of dance and I realised that is what I wanted to do" (interview, Om Yuvandy, 17/01/18).

The dancers' interests were therefore not always tied to diplomatic agendas, with younger dancers especially re-fashioning their subjectivity through this experience. In Glasgow, the Company stayed in a Brownie hut in Kilmacolm, and in England, in the New Forest and the

Oxfordshire countryside. Their memories of the tour are largely of the UK as rural, and some described getting up early to experience the atmosphere of calm:

‘Watching the cows and horses in green fields, it made me feel so happy. Just to be somewhere peaceful and quiet. I hoped my country will be like this [...] It felt like we were re-born from the dead’ (interview, Chap Siphath, 17/01/18).

There were many accounts about having space and freedom in a new environment to simply *be* without an agenda, but these were sometimes combined with feelings of frustration that Oxfam and Britain no longer help Cambodian arts – or not in ways that this older generation tangibly experienced.^{xxix}

It is easy to suggest that these experiences are irrelevant to diplomacy. However, individual desires and creative activities can diverge from those wished for by governments (Von Eschen 2004) and can have geopolitical implications – something evidenced when two dancers failed to turn up to the bus after the WOMAD performance. It is thought that they had help from the Cambodian community in the UK, who invited the dancers to their homes after performances in London and hosted them locally. Another dancer also had a baby whilst in the UK and stayed for several years before moving. Cambodian officials were concerned about dancers absconding, but Oxfam considered it to be low risk because there are so few Cambodians in Britain. In her analysis of the 1990 U.S. tour, Shapiro (1994) describes how dancers signed affidavits before coming to the UK stating that they would return. Indeed, the reason the dancers stayed in countryside locations when possible was so that they ‘could not run away’ (Anon, interview). Dancers were also reminded by Yeth and

Kravel of the honour and trust placed in them by their government. Yet this trust had limits, for whilst the dancers had recreational time and were aware of media coverage, ‘Those newspapers were kept away by my boss. They wouldn’t let us see them until much later’ (Anon, interview). These actions were undertaken to prevent dancers gaining an illusion of grandeur that might lead them to not return, and this increased when the two dancers left:

“Pen Yeth called me to discuss with him and Pech Tum Kravel. He told me not to stay there. I said that I was born under the palm tree and I would not die under the apple tree. He also said that as a selected performer, you were all trusted by government to send you here. [...] Later, when I needed to go to the United States or France I was never interviewed” (interview, Preang Sokhana Rith, 16/01/18).

“I really wanted to live there since it was like a heaven. Everyone wanted to live there. But I cannot leave [my family]” (interview, Anon).

Implicitly, the dancers did talk among themselves about staying in the UK and those who left intensified the idea of dance as diplomacy for those who remained. As the quotations suggest, the tour allowed dancers to demonstrate their future diplomatic loyalty. It is tempting to describe those who left using the Cold War geopolitical language of defections, but this obscures the desire to create a new life. It also seems the UK government did not view the runaways in these terms, as geopolitical actors, and there seem to have been few immediate repercussions as the remaining Company seem not to have been contacted by the U.K. Home Office, nor does contact seem to have been made with Oxfam (although I cannot confirm this regarding WOMAD). There was also no reportage of these events in the British

media until 2005 when the dance master, Em Theay, performed in London and newspaper profiles appealed for information about her son. This contrasts with the 1990 US tour where Shapiro (1994) has detailed the sensational geopolitical reporting of Cambodian dancer 'defections', their links to a large, politicised Khmer American community and the response by the U.S. government to interview the dancers on tour. The Cambodian community in the UK is smaller, more dispersed, and simply less important geopolitically to Britain.

The Ends of Dance as Diplomacy

Drawing on theatrical understandings of performance that highlight the role of an audience, this final section turns to the perspective of the UK government. As *the* key audience for Oxfam, it is worth considering how the dancers were perceived by civil servants. This enables an assessment of the effectiveness of dance as a diplomatic performance that achieved Oxfam's goal of halting the aid embargo and Cambodia's diplomatic isolation. This involved geopolitical forces that Oxfam could neither control, nor measure their success against, and were overly ambitious. Yet from the Cambodian perspective, the 1990 tour was significant in opening up to the West and expressing the desire for peace. But on a wider geopolitical stage the tour's quietness both aesthetically and in media terms was its mark of marginality and disempowerment. It is difficult to connect local creative activity with concrete development outcomes (Stupples and Teaiwa 2017), let alone in an ambitious campaign context that desired the reworking of global geopolitics.

Certainly, the UK government had 'no special axe to grind on Cambodia. Our strategic interests are closer to home than South East Asia'^{xxx} and FCO files state that the tour could

'scarcely be described as a political visit.'^{xxx} The Company was therefore viewed as a group of artists with no geopolitical function. However, the Head of the South East Asian Department of the FCO was invited to a performance and reception party in Oxford on 1st July 1990 (where Oxfam UK's headquarters are based) by Dr Peter Carey (a supporter of Oxfam and the Cambodian cause). The invitation signals an attempt to involve the civil service in viewing the tour as a diplomatic arena at an elite British university from which civil servants were traditionally drawn. The presence of senior civil servants at this event belies the initial dismissiveness, and represented a check on whether the dancers were geopolitical actors:

'There was little or no direct propaganda for the Hun Sen regime and the attached Oxfam leaflet states that "The UK government has made great efforts in pressing for a diplomatic solution to relieve Cambodian suffering." This is progress. The fact that Oxfam is now publicly campaigning for an UN empty seat is no surprise.'^{xxxii}

The UK government was therefore curious about the extent to which the dancers were promoting Hun Sen as a political leader, as the UK did not recognise the SOC or allow entry to official government representatives at this time. As a result, the dancers were not seen in a diplomatic frame. Civil servants were also interested in Oxfam's messaging against the backdrop of the Inquiry, reinforcing that Oxfam was the political agent in a British context, rather than the dancers. However, the remainder of the report (around one and a half sides of A4) is redacted on the basis of Freedom of Information Act exemptions 27 (1), 40 (2) and 41: the grounds that the contents would damage UK interests abroad or relations with a foreign state; contravene the protection of third party data; and the information was

provided in confidence in person. This is intriguing, perhaps indicating that there was more politics surrounding the dance tour than appears.

Available evidence thus suggests the tour was of negligible import to the UK government, who as the imagined audience, was involved in events elsewhere. By summer 1990, the UK government's position had already softened towards Cambodia with a concomitant increase in aid: over £1 million was pledged to multilateral agencies working in the country, £224,000 was donated to projects run by British NGOs in Cambodia and another £230,000 was committed.^{xxxiii} This was the result of Oxfam's Kampuchea Campaign, but 1990 was a year of intense geopolitical activity focused on developing a Cambodian peace settlement. As the Cold War ended, US-Soviet relationships improved, as did those between China and Vietnam, creating the desire to resolve regional conflicts. The five permanent members of the UN Security Council met regularly in 1990 to develop a peace plan for Cambodia (see Strangio 2020). By the time of the tour, they had already met four times, and met again on 16th-17th July whilst the dancers were in the UK. Indeed, on 18th July the US government enacted a U-turn in foreign policy, with Secretary of State James Baker withdrawing the US recognition of the CGDK and distancing the US from the Khmer Rouge.^{xxxiv} The tour was therefore not a ruptural event that shifted policy, but instead was part of, and responded to, unfolding international events (Dittmer 2017). The dancers were aware of this, as in interviews and newspapers they described watching the television for news about Cambodia and any negotiations, something Lobban translated for them.^{xxxv} This galvanised their desire to perform to the best of their abilities in order to 'speak' to the UK government:

‘I told myself for my life and for my nation, I needed to focus on performing. We went there to represent our nation to let other countries, especially Britain, know about Cambodia so they would help because there were a lot of negotiations’ (interview, Om Yuvanna, 18/01/18).

The geopolitical dynamic of performance, where dancers viewed themselves in a diplomatic mould, was not shared by the UK. Although it is tempting to place the dancers as liminal subjects ‘on the margins’ of activity (McConnell 2017, 141), they did not view the tour in such terms, and cited a range of positive outcomes including improving their English, their pride in showcasing their culture, and the appreciation shown by audiences. As indicated earlier, many felt it had been successful geopolitically in raising Cambodia’s profile and opening it up internationally, with several dancers discussing subsequent invitations to perform abroad. However, in assessing these dynamics, it is worth remembering the hierarchies of the dance world, the lack of critical commentary on the Cambodian government (where Hun Sen remains in power), and the tendency for politics to only be discussed with immediate family and close friends (Eng et al 2019). For example, one dancer stated, ‘I am low ranking even now, so I don’t know’ (interview, Anon). The result is a close alignment between artistic and government agendas. Perhaps, therefore, the 1990 tour is best viewed as a “gentle reminder to the UK government to keep things moving forward”^{xxxvi}, to maintain pressure by using dance as a persuasive mode of diplomatic practice that would lead towards a peace settlement. The dancers’ performative presence, which was known about and checked by government, was therefore not invisible but quiet in intensity, force and effect.

Conclusion

Diplomatically, the CNDC tour's agenda and its performance for the UK government was, perhaps, misplaced. It was Oxfam's established relationships with Cambodia and its government ministries, alongside its importance as a British NGO in the country, that cemented the possibility of a tour, and the 1990 ECoC funding, combined with the expertise of WOMAD, that enabled it to happen. Perhaps to the CNDC, and the SOC itself, it did not matter *where* the first tour to the West happened, so much the fact that it did, sending a message internationally that Cambodia was opening up, its geopolitical position was shifting, and that it needed peace settlement to rebuild from the Khmer Rouge. As the final event of Oxfam's Kampuchea Campaign, the tour also perhaps suffered from a lack of relevance to the British public. The moment of Oxfam's profile on this issue, and its influence on the UK government, was passing; the charity had secured their attention, increased British distance from the Khmer Rouge, and raised government aid to Cambodia via NGOs, but Britain was now pursuing established diplomatic channels via the UN to find a 'comprehensive political settlement'^{xxxvii} for Cambodia. Even in Cambodia, Oxfam's contacts in government preferred the charity to keep a low profile at this time owing to the sensitivity of on-going peace negotiations.^{xxxviii} The noise, the profile, the excitement around Oxfam's Kampuchea Campaign was replaced by something more conventional diplomatically speaking, and this side-lined the tour and its impacts.

This paper contributes to research in political geographical on diplomacy and to research on geopolitics, art and aesthetics – both of which have overlooked the agency of artists in the diplomatic field. This research on the CNDC tour illustrates that creative practices in the cultural realm can deepen our understanding of diplomatic subjectivity and

geopolitical aesthetics. The paper has pulled out the different types of performance enacted on the tour, alongside their different readings and effects. It thus builds on work that considers the *ends* of diplomacy (Jones and Clark 2018) and develops discussions around the shifting practice of diplomacy which is often couched in the language of performance. Future research can further tease out these different ideas, practices and effects of performance geopolitically and their shifting relationship to diplomacy.

Developing this, I have argued that artistic subjects, as creative subjects, are not simply liminal diplomatic actors, but that particular conditions that stem from creative lives (notably precarity and vulnerability) extend existing conceptions of diplomatic subjectivity. In addition, thinking about performances as culturally encoded movement draws greater attention to the aesthetic qualities of performance. Although research on diplomacy has begun to explore these dynamics (McConnell 2018), here, I have connected them to a wider debate around the need to specify how aesthetics work geopolitically, and to explore their contradictions (Ingram 2016). Through examining the localised visibility of the tour, the mechanisms of political messaging, the representation of the dancers and the aesthetics of classical dance as a form, the paper has explored how the tour proceeded as a mode of quiet diplomacy that shifted in form and intensity as it attempted to persuade the UK government. This aesthetic promoted the desire for peace so that Cambodia could move on from its geopolitical stalemate, something that would enable it to obtain recognition, development aid, and a new beginning, but it was also a mark of disempowerment in a British and global geopolitical arena.

However, the dancers described a range of positive outcome from the tour and viewed it as diplomatically successful in opening Cambodia up after international isolation. The dancers, whilst not seen as state envoys by the UK government (even though they were checked as such) nevertheless sought to represent their country and had many personal and professional experiences that exceeded their diplomatic framing. Although liminal subjects are often seen as marginal geopolitically and able to challenge existing norms, the dancers did not position themselves in such terms. They reinforced their alignment with the current Cambodian state, and perhaps retrospectively narrated the tour in terms that emphasised such alignment rather than challenged it – despite the experiences of those who left (cf. McConnell 2017). Combined, therefore, the paper provides a fresh perspective on how performance and performers occupy shifting relationships to spaces of diplomacy and opens up new avenues for thinking through performance, creative aesthetics and diplomatic practice.

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ⁱ *Dancer*: A balance sheet, Tony Graham, STA TAG 11/2/7. Scottish Theatre Archives, Glasgow University.

ⁱⁱ Cambodia Campaigning Strategy for 1990, Public Affairs Unit, Oxfam, MS Oxfam CPN/4/3/30 Folder 1. Bodleian Library.

ⁱⁱⁱ Cambodia Campaign Evaluation 1988/89 Commissioned by Oxfam's Campaigns Unit, Public Affairs and Communications Division, Maggie Black, MS Oxfam CPN/5/1. Bodleian Library.

^{iv} Margaret Thatcher: Blue Peter interview on Kampuchea
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^{vi} See, for instance, press releases for the Kampuchea Campaign, 'Oxfam begins one week vigil for Cambodia' (6 November 1989), 'Julie Christie delivers Cambodia petition to Downing Street on the eve of the United Nations debate' (14 November 1989), MS Oxfam COM/1/3/5. Bodleian Library.

^{vii} Benefits to Oxfam of Dance Troupe Visit, Judith Robertson, 20 June 1989, p.1. Personal archive of John Harvey.

^{viii} Proposed Campaigning Activities on Cambodia June-December 1990, p.1, Steve Duke, (n.d.) Campaigns Unit, MS Oxfam CPN/4/3/24 Folder 2. Bodleian Library.

^{ix} Press release, 'Cambodian National Dance'.

^x Cambodian National Dance Company flyer. S/SWT/2/7/6. Sadler's Wells Archive, London.

^{xi} 'Help them to Rebuild....' Oxfam, Item 110, Foreign and Commonwealth Office archives FCO 15/6006, National Archives, Kew.

^{xii} *Dancer*. TAG Theatre Company. Teachers pack. STA TAG 11/2/6. Scottish Theatre Archives, Glasgow University.

^{xiii} Back from the dead, Melanie McFadyean, *Telegraph Weekend Magazine* (n.d.) and A dance of life from the Killing Fields, Melanie McFadyean, *The Guardian* 13 June 1990. STA TAG 11/8. Scottish Theatre Archives, Glasgow University.

^{xiv} Press release, 'Cambodian National Dance: First visit to the West for 30 years' Oxfam, 4 May 1990, MS Oxfam COM/1/3/5. Bodleian Library.

^{xv} Minutes of Cambodia Meeting 12 June 1990, Correspondence of Ann Grant Director of Public Affairs and Communications Services Cambodia, MS OXFAM CPN/4/3/24. Bodleian Library.

^{xvi} Press release, 'Cambodian National Dance'.

^{xvii} Proposed Programme for Oxfam video team 1-8 September 1988, 'DJA', Correspondence of Bill Yates, campaigns co-ordinator, folder 1, MS OXFAM CPN/4/3/19 – 1. Bodleian Library.

^{xviii} For example, Dancing their way back to reality, Christopher Bowen, *The Scotsman*, 12 June 1990. STA TAG 11/8. Scottish Theatre Archives, Glasgow University.

^{xix} Cambodian National Dance Company, Old Athenaeum, Gillian Clark, *Evening Times*, 19 June 1990,

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^{xxi} A step out of the darkness, Sara Villiers, *Observer Scotland*, 24 June 1990, STA TAG 11/8, Scottish Theatre Archives, University of Glasgow.

^{xxii} Master Pech Tum Kravel, Meridian Reports, BBC World Service. 30th June 1990. SX 61345/1, British Library, London.

^{xxiii} Pen Yeth in Dancing for Freedom, Jo Roe, *The List*, 15-28 June 1990, p.11. STA TAG 11/8, Scottish Theatre Archives, University of Glasgow.

^{xxiv} 'Mystical Charmers!' R. Neville, *Edinburgh Evening News* 19th June 1990. STA TAG 11/8, Scottish Theatre Archives, University of Glasgow.

^{xxv} Pen Yeth in Dancers at 'home' in Cork, M. Fox, *Cork Examiner*, 28th July 1990. STA TAG 11/8, Scottish Theatre Archives, University of Glasgow.

^{xxvi} Oxfam Phnom Penh fax from Jill Arace to TJ in Public Affairs Unit, Steve Duke in Campaigns, and David Bettle, 7th November 1990 p.4 Folder 1, MS Oxfam CPN/4/3/30. Bodleian Library.

^{xxvii} National Dance Troupe of Cambodia, 21st July 1990, WOMAD. WOMAD C203/160, British Library, London.

^{xxviii} Letter from Jay Kirkland, Oxfam UK to Jill Arace, Oxfam Phnom Penh, 4 April 1990. STA TAG 11/9/33, Scottish Theatre Archives, University of Glasgow.

^{xxix} However, in Cambodia, Oxfam's Voices for Change programme, has worked with the arts sector (notably Phare Ponleu Selpak) to use performance to promote inclusion and enable self-expression among vulnerable slum dwellers in Battambang.

^{xxx} Draft address of Lor Brabazon to the United Nations Association 23 July 1990 (delivered 24 July 1990) Foreign and Commonwealth Office archives FCO 15/6006, National Archives, Kew.

^{xxxi} Carter, P.L. (1990) 'Recent visits to the UK Vice Ministers of the Phnom Penh regime and a Cambodian dance troupe' 6th July. Document 13. Foreign and Commonwealth Office archives FCO 15/6006, National Archives, Kew.

^{xxxii} Cambodian National Dance: Oxford: 1 July. 2nd July, DH Colvin report to Mr Burns. Document 94. Foreign and Commonwealth Office archives FCO 15/6006, National Archives, Kew.

^{xxxiii} Draft address of Lord Brabazon to the United Nations Association 23 July 1990 (delivered 24 July 1990) Foreign and Commonwealth Office archives FCO 15/6006, National Archives, Kew. See also 'Cambodia: Written Answers' 25th July 1990, HANSARD, Vol 177: <https://bit.ly/2IrKvRi>

^{xxxiv} Oxfam hails breakthrough over Cambodia, Oxfam, 18 July 1990, press releases, MS Oxfam COM/1/3/5. Bodleian Library.

^{xxxv} See 'Dancing for Freedom'.

^{xxxvi} Proposed Campaigning Activities on Cambodia June-December 1990, p.2. Steve Duke, (n.d.) Campaigns Unit, MS Oxfam CPN/4/3/24 Folder 2. Bodleian Library.

^{xxxvii} Cambodia: Written Answers

^{xxxviii} Oxfam Phnom Penh fax.