

**GSF 960S: Feminist Theory and Imperialism**  
**Fall 2022/Wednesdays 1:45 p.m.-4:15 p.m.**  
**Dras. Frances Hasso and Anna Krylova**  
**Pink Parlor, East Duke Building, East Campus**  
**Revised 5 June 2022**



## Contact

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## Description

In this graduate/postgraduate/faculty seminar we will study historically grounded concepts to explore the institutional, material, and cultural relationships or knots between feminist theory and activism and imperialism in their modern historical and contemporary modalities. We consider how theory is deemed to be theory and its relationships to hegemonic ideology and practices and material relations. Readings examine cultural, economic and intellectual imperialism, which is the focus of feminist and sexual theorization and critique in many parts of the world, as well as leftist movements as sites of anti-imperialist feminist and sexual theorizing and critique. In addition to following the money in the cases of the Open Society Institute and Ford Foundation, we examine a few "cultural" case studies (pinkwashing, Femen, Pussy Riot) where feminist and queer activism and solidarity align with imperialism and colonization. We will repeatedly revisit the question of whether and to what degree universal projects of feminist theory/feminism and queer theory/activism are possible and consider where that leaves us as thinkers, teachers, and community members.

Ideas and discussions and thus an intellectual community will be built over time together, whether or not participants are formally enrolled. It is jarring to this dynamic and community to miss sessions or chronically attend late or leave early.

*All participants are encouraged to and graduate students must write three questions (50-100 words) on the given day's readings and email them to Frances and Anna by 9 am of that Wednesday. We will also ask you to share your questions at the beginning of each class.*

*All participants are encouraged and graduate students will lead two class discussions (one during the first six weeks; the other during the last six weeks) on the given day's readings and, a week later, will write and submit a response essay on the readings discussed in that class meeting.*

Final grades will be based on the *weekly questions*, *two essays based on the two discussions students lead*, and informed attendance and participation.

### **Week 1 (August 31)**

Vernadette Vicuña Gonzalez. *Empire's Mistress, Starring Isabel Rosario Cooper*. Durham: Duke University Press 2021. Duke Library E-Book.

Sylvia Wynter and Katherine McKittrick. "Unparalleled Catastrophe for our Species?: Or, to Give Humanness a Different Future: Conversations." In *Sylvia Wynter: On Being Human as Praxis*. Edited by McKittrick. Durham: Duke University Press 2015. Duke Library E-Book.

### **Week 2 (Sept. 7)**

Samir Amin. "U.S. imperialism, Europe, and the Middle East." *Monthly Review* Vol. 56:6 (November 2004): 13-33. Duke Library.

Ingrid Harvold Kvangraven. "Beyond Eurocentrism." *New Frame*, May 18, 2022. <https://www.newframe.com/long-read-beyond-eurocentrism/>

Bashir Abu-Manneh. "The Illusions of Empire." *Monthly Review* Vol. 56:2 (June 2004): 31-47. Duke Library.

Utsa Patniak and Prabhat Patnaik. "Introduction" and "Chapter 6: Further Elaborations and Clarifications," 1-7, 78-96. In *A Theory of Imperialism*. New York: Columbia University Press 2017. Duke Library E-Book.

Shahrazad Mojab. "Introduction: Marxism and Feminism," in *Marxism and Feminism*, edited by Mojab, 1-30. London: Zed Press 2015. Duke Library E-Book.

### **Week 3 (Sept. 14)**

Leila J. Rupp. "Challenging Imperialism in International Women's Organizations, 1888-1945." *NWSA Journal*, Vol. 8: 1 (Spring 1996): 8-27. Duke Library: <https://www.proquest.com/docview/233238472?pq-origsite=360link&accountid=10598>.

Carole Boyce Davies. "Introduction. Recovering the Radical Black Female Subject: Anti-Imperialism, Feminism, and Activism." In *Left of Karl Marx: The Political Life of Black Communist Claudia Jones*. Durham: Duke University Press 2007. Duke Library E-Book.

Leela Fernandes. "Introduction," in *Transnational Feminism in the United States: Knowledge, Ethics, Power*, 1-32. New York: NYU Press 2013. Duke Library E-Book.

Serene J. Khader. "Is Universalism the Cause of Feminist Complicity in Imperialism?" *Social Philosophy Today* 35 (2019): 21-37. Available in Sakai Resources —>Readings folder.

Natalia Romé. "Schismatic Theory for a Liminal Time: On Reproduction, Feminism and Imperialism." In [\*Decalages\*](#) Vol. 2, 4, 2022.

#### **Week 4 (Sept. 21)**

Antoinette Burton. "'History' is now: Feminist theory and the Production of Historical Feminisms." *Women's History Review* Volume 1:1 (1992): 25-38. Duke Library (click LibKey).

Françoise Vergès, translated by Ashley J. Bohrer. "Chapter 2: The Evolution Towards Twenty-First Century Civilizational Feminism." In *A Decolonial Feminism*. New York: Pluto Press 2021. Duke Library E-Book.

Christine Delphy. "Introduction to the English-language Edition" and "Who's Behind the 'Others'?", in *Separate and Dominate: Feminism and Racism After the War on Terror*, 1-35. London: Verso 2015. Available in Sakai Resources —>Readings folder.

Ann S. Orloff, Raka Ray, and Evren Savcı. "Introduction: Perverse Politics? Feminism, Anti-Imperialism, Multiplicity." In *Perverse Politics? Feminism, Anti-Imperialism, Multiplicity*, edited by Orloff, Ray, and Savcı. Bingley: Emerald Group Publishing Limited 2016. Duke Library E-Book.

## **Week 5 (Sept. 28)**

Carolyn J. Eichner. "Introduction," "Imprisoned, Colonized," and "Conclusion" in *Feminism's Empire*. New York: Cornell University Press 2022. Duke Library E-Book.

Françoise Vergès, translated by Kaiama L. Glover. "French Feminist Blindness: Race, Coloniality, Capitalism," in *The Wombs of Women: Race, Capital, Feminism*. Durham: Duke University Press 2020. Duke Library E-Book.

Frances S. Hasso. "'The Art of Death in Life:' Palestinian Futurism and Reproduction after 1948," in *Buried in the Red Dirt: Race, Reproduction and Death in Modern Palestine*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. Available open access on CUP website.

## **Week 6 (Oct. 5)**

Patricia McFadden. "Interrogating Americana: An African Feminist Critique." In *Feminism and War: Confronting U.S. Imperialism*, edited by Robin L. Riley, Chandra Talpade Mohanty, and Minnie Bruce Pratt, 56-67. London: Zed Books 2008. Available in Sakai Resources —>Readings folder.

Sunera Thobani. "White Wars: Western Feminisms and the 'War on Terror'." *Feminist Theory*, Vol. 8, 2 (2007): 169-185. Duke Library.

Phyllis Chesler and Zillah Eisenstein. "Responses to Sunera Thobani's 'White wars: Western feminisms and the 'War on Terror'.'" *Feminist Theory*, Vol. 8: 2 (2007): 227-235. Duke Library.

Maya Mikdashi and Jasbir Puar. 2016. "Queer Theory and Permanent War." *GLQ: A Journal of Lesbian and Gay Studies*, Volume 22:2 (April 2016): 215-222. Duke Library.

Jasbir Puar. "Feminists and Queers in the Service of Empire." In *Feminism and War: Confronting U.S. Imperialism*, edited by Robin L. Riley, Chandra

Talpade Mohanty, and Minnie Bruce Pratt, 47-55. London: Zed Books 2008. Available in Sakai Resources —>Readings folder.

Jasbir Puar. "Citation and Censorship: The Politics of Talking About the Sexual Politics of Israel." *Feminist Legal Studies*, Volume 19, No. 133 (2011): 133-142. <https://link.springer.com/article/10.1007/s10691-011-9176-3>

### **Week 7 (Oct. 12)**

Nayoung Aimee Kwon. "Millennial Vengeance: Park Chan-Wook's *Agassi* (The Handmaiden) and the Return of Postcolonial Japonisme," in *Theorizing Colonial Cinema: Reframing Production, Circulation, and Consumption of Film in Asia*, 242-271. Edited by Kwon, Takushi Odagiri, and Moonim Baek. Bloomington: Indiana University Press 2022. Duke Library E-Book.

Rahul Rao. "Queer Questions." *International Feminist Journal of Politics* 16 (2) 2014: 199–217. <https://doi.org/10.1080/14616742.2014.901817>.

Nivi Manchanda. Chapters 3, 4 and 5 from *Imagining Afghanistan: the History and Politics of Imperial Knowledge*, 105-220. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 2020. Duke Library E-Book.

### **Week 8 (Oct. 19)**

Anne-Maria Makhulu. "Introduction" and "Conclusion" in *Making Freedom: Apartheid, Squatter Politics, and the Struggle for Home*, 1-26 and 153-168. Durham: Duke University Press 2015. Duke Library E-Book.

Anne-Maria Makhulu. "Introduction," special issue on "Welfare and Precarity," *South Atlantic Quarterly* 115:1 (January 2016): 1-7. Duke Library.

Anne-Maria Makhulu. "Trump, Zuma, Brexit: anti-Black racism and the truth of the world." In *Safundi: The Journal of South African and American Studies*, 21:4 (2020): 493-503. Available in Sakai Resources —>Readings folder.

Pumla Dineo Gqola. Selection from *Female Fear Factory: Unravelling Patriarchy's Cultures of Violence*. Abuja: Cassava Republic Press 2022.

### **Week 9 (Oct. 26)**

Alexandra Kollontai. Preface to *Society and Motherhood* (1915); Marxist archive: <https://www.marxists.org/archive/kollonta/1915/mother.htm>

Anna Krylova. "Bolshevik Feminism and Gender Agendas of Communism," in *The Cambridge History of Communism*, Vol. 1, edited by Silvio Pons and Stephen A. Smith, 424-446. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 2017. In Sakai Resources —>Readings.

Anna Krylova. "Legacies of the Cold War and the Future of Gender in Feminist Histories of Socialism," in *The Routledge Handbook of Gender in Central-Eastern Europe and Eurasia* 2021, 41-51. In Sakai Resources —>Readings.

Elena Gapova. "On Nation, Gender, and Class Formation in Belarus ... and Elsewhere in the Post-Soviet World". *Nationalities Papers* (0090-5992), Vol. 30.4: 639-662. In Sakai Resources —>Readings. [Note: final section on Masculinities is particularly fascinating!]

Kristen Ghodsee. "Socialist internationalism and State Feminism during the Cold War: the Case of Bulgaria and Zambia." *Clio: Women, Gender, History*, No. 41 (2015): 106-125. Duke Library (JSTOR).

### **Week 10 (Nov. 2)**

Lydia Liu, Rebecca Karl, and Dorothy Ko. "On the Question of Women's Liberation" He-Yin Zhen (1907)," "On Feminist Antimilitarism" He-Yin Zhen (1907)." In *The Birth of Chinese Feminism: Essential Texts in Transnational Theory*, edited by Lydia Liu, et al. New York: Columbia University Press 2013. Available as an E-Book at Duke Library.

Mao Tse-tung. "On Practice: On the Relation Between Knowledge and Practice, Between Knowing and Doing." July 1937.

[https://www.marxists.org/reference/archive/mao/selected-works/volume-1/mswv1\\_16.htm](https://www.marxists.org/reference/archive/mao/selected-works/volume-1/mswv1_16.htm)

Xueping Zhong. "Women Can Hold Up Half the Sky." In *Words and Their Stories: Essays on the Language of the Chinese Revolution*, edited by Wang Ban. Brill 2010. In Sakai Resources —>Readings.

Wen Liu, Ana Huang, Jingchao Ma. "II. Young activists, new movements: Contemporary Chinese queer feminism and transnational genealogies." *Feminism & Psychology* Vol. 25:1 (2015): 11–17. Duke Library.

Nicola Spakowski. "Socialist Feminism in Postsocialist China." *Positions: Asia Critique* 26: 4 (November 2018): 561-592. Duke Library.

Nanette Funk. "A Very Tangled Knot: Official State Socialist Women's Organizations, Women's Agency and Feminism in Eastern Europe State Socialism," *European Journal of Women's History* (June 2014): 344-360. In Sakai Resources —>Readings.

### **Week 11 (Nov. 9)**

Joan Roelofs. "The Third Sector as a Protective Layer for Capitalism." *Monthly Review*, Vol. 47(4).

[https://go.gale.com/ps/i.do?p=AONE&u=duke\\_perkins&id=GALE%7CA17338537&v=2.1&it=r&sid=summon](https://go.gale.com/ps/i.do?p=AONE&u=duke_perkins&id=GALE%7CA17338537&v=2.1&it=r&sid=summon)

Darren Walker. "Old Money, New Order." *Foreign Affairs* Vol. 97 (6) (Nov/Dec 2018): 158-166. In Sakai Resources —>Readings.

Karolina Kluczevska. "Donors LGBT Support in Tajikistan : Promoting Diversity or Provoking Violence?" *Sex and Translation in World Politics*, edited by Caroline Cottet and Manuela Lavinias Picq, E-International Relations (E-IR), 2019: 112–26. <https://www.e-ir.info/pdf/79115>

Lucie Ryntová. "Gender seminars for Teachers in Open Society Fund, Prague." *Czech Sociological Review*, Vol. 7, No. 2, The Position of Czech Women in the Society of the 1990s in the Spectrum of Research (FALL 1999): 254-256. Duke Library.



Paul Stubbs. "Flex Actors and Philanthropy in (Post-)Conflict Arenas: Soros' Open Society Foundations in the Post-Yugoslav Space." *Croatian Political Science Review*, Vol. 50, No. 5, 2013: 114-138.

Despina Lalaki. "The Cultural Cold War and the New Women of Power. Making A Case based on the Fulbright and Ford Foundations in Greece." 2018. CUNY Academic Works. Originally published in *Histoire @Politique* n° 35, mai-août 2018 [en ligne: [www.histoire-politique.fr](http://www.histoire-politique.fr)].  
[https://academicworks.cuny.edu/ny\\_pubs/486/](https://academicworks.cuny.edu/ny_pubs/486/)

### **Week 12 (Nov. 16)**

Theresa O'Keefe. "My body is my manifesto!: SlutWalk, FEMEN and Femmenist Protest." *Feminist Review* 107 (2014): 1-19. Duke Library.

Jessica Zychowicz. "Two Bad Words: FEMEN & Feminism in Independent Ukraine." *Anthropology of East Europe Review* Vol. 29 (2) 2011: 215-227. Duke Library.

Elena Gapova. "Becoming Visible in The Digital Age: The class and media dimensions of the Pussy Riot affair." *Feminist Media Studies*, 15:1 (2015): 18-35. Duke Library.

Emily Channell. "Is sextremism the new feminism? Perspectives from Pussy Riot and Femen." *Nationalities Papers* Vol. 42 (4) 2014: 611-614. Duke Library.

### **Thanksgiving Break next week**

### **Week 13 (Nov. 30)**

Duke on Gender public seminar with three or four invited guests for our class that will be live-streamed or recorded for posting on YouTube – **12:30-4:30 p.m.** Catered lunch.

**END**

## ADDITIONAL SOURCES

Gayatri Spivak Chakravorty. "Feminism and Critical Theory." *Women's Studies International Quarterly*, Vol. 1: 241-246.

Gayatri Spivak Chakravorty. "A Moral Dilemma." *Theoria: A Journal of Social and Political Theory*, No. 96 (2000): 99–120.

Carby, Hazel V. "'On the Threshold of Woman's Era': Lynching, Empire, and Sexuality in Black Feminist Theory." *Critical Inquiry* Vol. 12, Issue 1 (Fall 1985). Available online at Duke Library.

Judith Grant. "Inventing Feminist Theory," in *Inventing Feminist Theory*, 2nd ed., 31-53. New York: Routledge 2020. Duke Library E-Book.

Antoinette Burton. "Introduction: The Troubled Ground of Empire" and "Epilogue: Toward a Minority History of British Imperialism." In *The Trouble with Empire: Challenges to Modern British Imperialism* (Oxford: Oxford University Press 2015). Available as an E-Book at Duke Library.

Lila Abu-Lughod. "Do Muslim Women Really Need Saving? Anthropological Reflections on Cultural Relativism and Its Others." *American Anthropologist* 104, no. 3 (2002): 783–90. Duke Library.

Obioma Nnaemeka, editor. *Female Circumcision and the Politics of Knowledge: African Women in Imperialist Discourses*. Westport, CT: Praeger Publishers 2005. Duke Library (not e-book).

Elora Halim Chowdhury. "Locating Global Feminisms Elsewhere: Braiding US Women of Color and Transnational Feminisms." *Cultural Dynamics* 21:1 (2009): 51–78. Duke Library.

Clare Midgley. "Gender and Imperialism: Mapping the Connections," in *Gender and Imperialism*, edited by Midgley, 1-18. Manchester: Manchester University Press 1998. Available in Sakai Resources —>Readings folder.

Sunny Woan. "White Sexual Imperialism: A Theory of Asian Feminist Jurisprudence." *Washington & Lee Journal of Civil Rights and Social Justice*. Issue 2 (Spring 2008). Duke Library.

Kathi Weeks. "Scaling-Up: A Marxist Feminist Archive." In *Feminist Studies*, Volume 47:3 (2021): 842-870. Duke Library.

Kristen Ghodsee. "Untangling the Knot: A Response to Nanette Funk," *European Journal of Women's Studies* 22, no. 2 (2015): 248-252. In Sakai Resources —>Readings.

John Bellamy Foster. "Naked Imperialism: The US Pursuit of Global Dominance." *Monthly Review* Vol. 57:4 (September 2005): 1-11. Duke Library.

Valerie Amos and Pratibha Parmar. "Challenging Imperial Feminism." *Feminist Review* No. 17 (Autumn 1984): 3-19. Many Voices, One Chant: Black Feminist Perspectives. Duke Library.

Sima Shakhsari. *Politics of Rightful Killing: Civil Society, Gender, and Sexuality in Weblogistan*. Durham: Duke University Press 2020. Duke Library.

David Ransom. "Ford Country: Building an Elite for Indonesia." From Steve Weissman, ed., with members of the Pacific Studies Center and the North American Congress on Latin America, *The Trojan Horse: A Radical Look at Foreign Aid* (Palo Alto, CA: Ramparts Press, 1975 revised edition), 93-116.

Igor Czernecki. "An intellectual offensive: The Ford Foundation and the Destalinization of the Polish social sciences." *Cold War History* Vol. 13:3: 289-310.

Eric D. Pullin. "'Money Does Not Make Any Difference to the Opinions That We Hold': India, the CIA, and the Congress for Cultural Freedom, 1951–58." In *Intelligence and National Security* Vol. 26 (2–3) April-June 2011: 377–398.

Tie Han. "The Ford Foundation and Chinese Studies, 1950-1979." Ph.D. Dissertation, The University of Wisconsin - Madison, 1997.

Sam Phiri & Pieter J Fourie. "Media development aid and the Westernisation of Africa: The Case of the Open Society Initiative for Southern Africa (OSISA)." *Communicatio: South African Journal for Communication Theory and Research*, Volume 37 (1) 2011: 80–99.

Wim de Jong. "Humanizing Capitalism: The Educational Mission of the Ford Foundation in West Germany and the United States (1945–1960)." In *Moralizing capitalism: agents, discourses and practices of capitalism and anti-capitalism in the modern age* by Stefan Berger and Alexandra Przyrembel. Cham, Switzerland: Palgrave Macmillan 2019. In Sakai Resources —>Readings.

Mariano Ben Plotkin. "Cultural Imperialism and Transnational Misunderstandings: The Case of the Marginality Project." *J. Latin American Studies* Vol. 47 (November 2014): 65-92.

Caroline Davis. *African Literature and the CIA: Networks of Authorship and Publishing*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 2020. Available in Sakai Resources —>Readings folder.

Eric Thomas Chester. *Covert Network: Progressives, the International Rescue Committee and the CIA*. New York: Routledge 1996.

James Petras. "The Ford Foundation and the CIA: A documented case of philanthropic collaboration with the Secret Police." *Rebelión*, 15 December 2001. <https://www.ratical.org/ratville/CAH/FordFandCIA.pdf>

Matthew Farmer. "Contemporary Context of Sexual Orientation and Gender Identity in International Politics" and "Analysing the UK-Based NGO Landscape Engaged in Transnational LGBT Activism." In *Transnational LGBT Activism and UK-Based NGOs*. Global Queer Politics. Palgrave Macmillan, Cham. [https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-45377-0\\_5](https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-45377-0_5).

Soros Foundation Network. "Building Open Societies: 2002 Report."  
[https://www.opensocietyfoundations.org/uploads/569ceb5a-5a08-472e-ac5f-00b0c0595cf2/a\\_complete\\_report\\_0.pdf](https://www.opensocietyfoundations.org/uploads/569ceb5a-5a08-472e-ac5f-00b0c0595cf2/a_complete_report_0.pdf)

Alexandra Oprea. "The Erasure of Romani Women in Statistical Data: Limits of the Race-versus-Gender Approach." Open Society Institute. 2009.  
<https://www.opensocietyfoundations.org/uploads/ebd0ec48-76fc-4709-9ca3-b674761b828a/roma-data-20030403.pdf>