

性工作女性主義：偶然與必然

“Already historiography” – sex work (and) feminism

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摘要

二十世紀九零年代到兩千年，是一個女性主義全球符號體系轉碼的時代。隨著號稱「冷戰」的終結，美國國內女性主義陣營的分裂日益明顯，甚至分道揚鑣。女性主義之一種反性工作（合法）路線開始走向國外，在加拿大、北歐等造成很大影響。這關鍵的十年，美國國內出現一系列女性主義自我提醒及批判的文章，延續也拓展七零、八零年代的黑人女性主義、有色人種女性主義、邊緣底層同志酷兒與後殖民路線等。這些批判或多或少受（更早的）與草根陣營連結的九零年歷史學左翼知識份子影響，包括中國女性主義史學研究者以及東歐女性主義研究者。這些學者們的研究對象，在「冷戰」期間是被美國劃成意識形態的敵對陣營。美國媒體慣常把這些研究對象灌以刻板印象，稱為「意識形態」化身。於是研究過程中，學者們對於自己可能帶入研究的潛在國家主義視角與框架高度警覺。她們特別關注到九零年代開始活躍於國際女性主義舞台，尤其是透過聯合國平台的各種組織，新興的、看似中性的、穿透冷戰帷幕的一種「國際女性主義」話語。這些學者們有的從個人歷史追溯出發，有的對這種新興話語作仔細的論述分析，

審視這波國際女性主義與美國七、八零年代「性戰役」的淵源。女性主義進路的分裂，部份導致在美國國內文化和學術領域不全然「勝利」的反性工作法理路線走向國際政治舞台。九零年代後期國際的美國激進文化女性主義者便成為主要的反性工作女性主義國際路線和組織的主事者。此「國際女性主義」反性工作的法理路線順勢銜接美國外交和全球英語自由貿易秩序的網狀佈局。在今天二十一世紀，我企圖借助一些英美歷史學家及社會學家的研究視角，對女性主義知識體系與全球運動影響慣性的歷史分斷作出有效的重讀與反省，讓故事得以被重新歷史化，反思敘述的前因和思想的預設。

Abstract

In this paper, I read a selection of historians and sociologists located in the US and UK on women's organization for indexical signs to how feminism as language (in English) emerges as a pedagogical imperative from the post-war, cold war period into the present. This particular lineage of feminism is traceable through new cold war histories of the last decade examining the role of feminism as tutelage in US-brand democracy. These fragments of a story are placed alongside some of these scholars' self-reflections on the state of US feminism as thought and lesson, as the latter continue to exert juridical and moral influence in many worlds. These critical scholars presume and query the defining of cold war as historical period in crossing habituated divisions in everyday thought practices. I read such crossing of partitions in thought as moments of a potential failure in a cold war feminist pedagogical imperative; this is a failure that is not yet assured, but is condition for hope. Other moments of hope arise in locales to the side yet also central in cold war politics,

such as Taiwan – where a feminist civilizational moral exemplarity is exhorted to nonetheless fall short.

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A battle for hearts and minds is under way, and feminism is one of the contenders.¹

If historiography is where we can read about the constraints operating on previous generations of historians, why not read, as many of us do already, our own historical work and the work of our contemporaries as though it were *already* historiography?²

Are sex workers feminists? Is sex work feminist? Halfway through the second decade of the twenty-first century, sex work, feminists, feminism still or more than ever seem to compose an oxymoron: “a combination of contradictory or incongruous words.”³ Still, because Anglophone feminist writings have argued for sex work as feminist since the nineteenth century, yet culminating in the US sex wars of the seventies, whose “internationalization” has cast a shadow we are still contending with. More than ever, because the past two decades have witnessed heightened global media representation that tend to conflate sex work with trafficking in persons, with UK and the EU considering the Nordic model of a feminist state management of sex work: criminalizing clients and procurers, but not the victim-prostitutes, toward

¹ Janet Halley, *Split Decisions: How and Why to Take a Break from Feminism*, Princeton University Press, 2006, p. 22

² Tani Barlow, “Degree Zero of History,” in *Comparative Literature*, 53:4, 2001: 419.

³ Merriam Webster online (<http://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/oxymoron>, 2014/4/30).

eradication of demand and desire for all commercial sex.⁴ This continued polarization despite more than a decade's worth of feminist interventionist works aimed at complicating the divide.⁵

This paper suggests that sex work and feminism, and sex work feminism, have been impeded in thought and as movement in much Anglophone feminism in part due to historical and historiographic reasons.⁶ From the site of Taiwan, a strongly US-inflected state in East Asia, these historical and historiographic reasons can be gleaned through the reflective essays of feminist historians and sociologists writing out of the US and UK in the past decade. These essays in turn compose a meta-story of how sex work feminism in its perceived and effective centrifugal force vis-à-vis moral compulsion to modern gendered lives, have become oxymoronic sign. The latter is effect and ruse of a congealed history, a stasis in signification that forgets historicity and resists historiographic reading.

In late summer 1997, what has come to be known as Taiwan's own "sex wars" erupted through then Taipei City Mayor Chen Shui-bian's proclamation of one hundred twenty-eight licensed prostitutes illegal.⁷ The city's abolitionist move and moral rationale met with unforeseen resistance from mostly middle-aged prostitutes who took to the streets, with the support of labor women's groups. The resulting Taipei licensed prostitute's movement

⁴ The US based CNN and the UK Guardian have both contributed reports on this front from opposed yet convergent camps. The CNN's Freedom Project and Julia Bindel's articles in the UK Guardian, with the former often conflating anti-sex work with anti-trafficking, while the latter celebrates Iceland as most feminist state in its eradication of strip clubs and lap-dancing (<http://www.theguardian.com/lifeandstyle/2010/mar/25/iceland-most-feminist-country>, 2014/4/30).

⁵ On which more in a last, unfinished section.

⁶ Anglophone is used here to refer to feminist writing published in English with an assumption not always reflected upon of "global" dissemination and readership. The disparity in scale, distance, and time within "global" are often absent from discussion.

⁷ See the Collective of Sex Workers and Supporters (COSWAS) website: <http://coswas.org/>; for English version of COSWAS story: <http://www.bayswan.org/taipei.html>, 2014/4/30.

gradually transformed into a sex worker's and supporters coalition group, with sex worker activists today struggling to maintain one brothel site in Taipei city as public cultural heritage against the latest wave of urban gentrification and private development.

In spring of 2013, Professor Catherine MacKinnon as foremost US feminist in the sphere of legal activism was invited to give a series of lectures in Taipei. The sponsoring institution and the quality of responses attest to the significance of the event. The audience response is enthusiastic as MacKinnon continues to espouse a global feminist legal strategy while endorsing and admiring Taiwan's state feminist legal reform successes.

Sixteen years after Taiwan's "sex war" this visit from a foremost proponent of the Nordic model compels me to return to the previous moment of partition for feminisms in Taiwan. My work had sought to understand partition through how component parts separated and converged over time. How erstwhile status divisions among domestic women become class divide between prostitutes and concubines turned mistresses, vis-à-vis those whose usually more resourced trajectory is from daughter to (first) wife. This is where past status differences return to again, yet differently divide women whose "equality" is formal yet far from substantive, to be enacted through struggle. These struggles include such as the Taipei licensed prostitutes turned sex worker's movement.⁸ Stories that traverse names as identities show the latter as embodied movement in time, as dynamic stories of agonistic relations that might help unravel historic shame and modern aversions.

This essay however comes at partition from outside within, revisiting one small corner of a field of US feminism of and since the US sex wars, toward a vantage point within a co-constructed Taiwan, that is, a US knowledge and

⁸ See Ding, "Wife-in-Monogamy and 'The Exaltation of Concubines'", *Interventions: International Journal of Postcolonial Studies*, Vol. 9 No. 2 (2007), pp. 219-237.

language inflected Taiwan. I propose that a heretofore invisible frame of one corner of US feminism shares continuity with as it partially determined the partition of Taiwan feminisms in 1997. The sex work supporters (camp) have been represented as derivative of US pro-sex feminism and obstructive of local democratic political progress. In one version of this story, sex work supporters are product of to the extent they are tolerated by state liberalization and democratic advances exemplified in state feminism since the turn of this century. An indivisible Taiwan-US nation-state frame undergirds such readings. What imaginaries enable this indivisible frame in and as feminism is my question.

Of MacKinnon's critics in the US and elsewhere, Janet Halley's sympathetic reading of her "power feminism" as the embracing of power in redress for an unalloyed victimization is astute. Yet Taiwan audience's positive response is also to do with a US cultural export of feminism since at least the late nineteen eighties if not earlier. This context is explicitly referred to by MacKinnon near the end of her last talk in Taiwan, when she mentions the "successful" Nordic model of state feminist fight to contain if not eradicate commercial sex, and how she helped incubate the idea of *radical legal containment in the US where implementation had not been as successful*. Mackinnon goes on to laud Taiwan feminists and women's organizations for achieving legal reform surpassing those in the US. I especially note here the mention in passing of a quasi-failure, or at least not total success, of the litigation (power) feminism that seems then all the more urgently pushed amidst contestation in Europe and Africa.⁹ An (insufficiently) "failed" tutelary

⁹ "Jacqui Hunt, London director of the human rights group Equality Now, said: "[...] It is no accident that three of the top four countries with the highest level of gender equality have adopted the Nordic model as a way to combat sex trafficking and sexual exploitation. We are urging all governments, including the UK, to adopt legislation on prostitution, to promote the core principle of equality so the exploitation of women and girls can become a thing of the past."

feminism and its suasion in contexts outside of its originating locale need more thought and are a more helpful lesson.

In the first and second sections, I read a selection of historians and sociologists located in the US and UK on women's organization for how feminism as language (and in English) emerges as a pedagogical imperative from the twentieth century post-war, cold war period into the present. This particular lineage of feminism is traceable through new cold war histories of the last decade examining the role of feminism as tutelage in US-brand democracy. These fragments of a story are placed alongside some of these scholars' self-reflections on the state of US feminism as thought and lesson, as the latter continue to exert juridical and moral influence in many worlds. These critical scholars presume and query the defining of cold war as historical period in crossing habituated divisions in everyday thought practices. I read such crossing of partitions in thought as moments of a potential failure in a cold war feminist pedagogical imperative; this is a failure not yet assured, but condition for hope. Other moments of hope arise in locales to the side yet also central in cold war politics, such as Taiwan – where moral exemplarity (in feminist-teacher mold) is exhorted yet will fall short.¹⁰

Read as historiography, Laville's account allows us to see how and the extent to which women's organizations mediate the US's post-war international cultural work. Laville's work correlates with that of Lisa Yoneyama on the US discourse on Japan in examining a mediation that can be read as contiguous with a new language of faith facilitating the making of appropriately gendered

<http://www.theguardian.com/society/2012/dec/26/government-pressure-review-prostitution-laws>, 2013/9/22).

¹⁰ See Ding, "Imagined Concubinage" in *positions* Fall 2010 18(2): 321-349; Hans Huang, "Modernising Gender, Civilising Sex: Perverse Imaginary in the State Feminist Politics of Liu Yu-hsiu", *Inter-Asia Cultural Studies* 8.4 (December 2007): 540-558." 黃道明·〈良家婦女的性變態想像：劉毓秀與台灣國家女性主義的文明教化〉。《台灣社會研究季刊》，75期（2009年9月）：45-83。

possessive individuals in post-war twentieth century's remaining hinterlands of the world, often seen as tending toward socialisms.¹¹

In the third section, I revisit the sex wars of the seventies and early eighties in the US as a series of US feminist domestic crises whose partitions of thought and political work will by the early nineties be transposed to the international front, in post-war organizations such as the United Nations, as well as through non-governmental organizations such as the work of CATW.¹² This is where Tani Barlow's reflection (2000) on an ascendant US-UN international feminism and its avatars in classrooms at home aligns with critiques of a feminism variously termed capitalist feminism, cultural feminism, and cold war feminism.¹³ I read these as composing an uneven US high feminist discourse from the late nineteen eighties onward that, as Spivak already then noted, forgets as it reproduces axiomatic of imperialisms.¹⁴ If Laville had noted how the maternal subtends cold war feminist international work, by the nineties, the common ground whereupon international feminism rests is sexual exploitation and violence, with sex work (sexual slavery) often principal target. US sex wars contextualized in this way would show a relay between seemingly a-political patriotic women's organizations in the post-war period and US radical-cultural feminist legal work abroad and in the UN today.

¹¹ Nick Cullather, *The Hungry World: America's Cold War Battle Against Poverty in Asia*, Harvard: 2010, p. 1.

¹² "Coalition Against Trafficking in Women – the world's first organization to fight human trafficking internationally," <http://www.catwinternational.org/WhoWeAre/Board>, 2013/9/20.

¹³ Alice Echols coined "capitalist feminism" in 1983, referring to the entrepreneurial work and spirit of a group of separatist feminists including Charlotte Bunch, member of the lesbian-feminist FURIES. In the last chapters of *Daring to Be Bad* (1989), Echols traces how cultural feminism arises with the decline and eclipse of radical feminism, in part against the collapse of these two terms in current usage.

¹⁴ British imperialism in Gaytri C. Spivak's essay that coined the term, and for Angela Davis, women of color critiques, and sex wars of the eighties: US neo-imperialism. Spivak critiques a literary high feminism whose assumptions took an international and legal turn by the nineties.

One invisible frame that is a cornerstone of a global edifice I am calling “cold sex wars” following what I have learned through recent histories of cold war feminism, and turn of this century’s critiques of an international feminism located in and operating out of the US. Whereas re-education comes from UK based historian Helen Laville, who uses it to describe what happened in post-war Germany via cultural exchanges between women’s groups from the US and West Germany, funded and instituted by the US. How re-education cultural programs helped tutor women away from enemy patriarchal-cum-socialist influences. These readings together help render cold war frames legible. This in turn allows for reading of practices across these frames that had been heretofore disregarded or dismissed.

A sentimental re-education

Sometimes I think that the difference between our Victorian grandmothers and ourselves is that they thought that a good woman could create her own oasis of quiet goodness in a bad world by staying within her own home and garden and making them as nearly perfect as anything could be in this imperfect world. But we know that the weeds outside the garden will blow over the wall and the germs of the unswept streets will be tracked on the cleanest floor.¹⁵

Helen Laville’s *Cold War Women: The International Activities of American Women’s Organizations* (2002) gives us the post-war/cold war story of a continuing saga of what is now a 21st century international feminist pedagogical imperative.¹⁶ Laville’s history of U.S. women’s organization work in the Cold War details a shift from international sisterhood to nationalist

¹⁵ Helen C. White, ‘Liberal Education, 1944,’ *Journal of the American Association of University Women*, 38:1 (Autumn 1944), p. 6; quoted in Helen Laville, *Cold War Women*, Manchester U. Press, 2002, p. 26.

¹⁶ Laville, 54-55.

propaganda work,¹⁷ from a stress on democracy to emphasis on anti-communism, conjoined with a cold war U.S. state and agenda.¹⁸ This work is part of the last decade's new cold war histories revisiting U.S. domestic and foreign policy and actions, showing how these intertwine to advance but also mark the limits of what have come to be "universal" race and gender politics.¹⁹ Laville painstakingly traces how women's organizations came to take on the position of "Cold War warriors" partially in response to anti-communist duress in the home country.²⁰

This then is how a feminist universalism stressing maternal responsibility in public work²¹ and voluntary association as ideal form came to embody an ultimately nationalist sentimental "re-education" in Germany (and Japan) as part of post-war U.S. occupation.²² Occupation is displaced by U.S. women's organizations and by media representation in a narrative of German (and Japanese) women's victimization and emancipation. The logic of victimization differentiates between a fallen (male and patriarchal) regime versus the women who are then seen as the totalitarian regime and its feudal family's victims.²³ The latter become subjects for re-education in the mirror of U.S.

¹⁷ Laville, 9.

¹⁸ "The rhetoric of American women's organizations, which had in the immediate aftermath of the Second World War proclaimed them internationalists and women, became increasingly focused on their role as Cold War warriors and Americans." (Laville, 90-91)

¹⁹ See Mary L. Dudziak, "Brown as a Cold War Case" (2004) for how the civil rights movement against racial segregation was aided and constrained through instrumentalization by the US state to showcase the more progressive democracy.

²⁰ Laville, 108

²¹ Laville, 78

²² "The Cold War era saw the development of an important mythology of voluntarism, which lauded the association as a crucial component in the preservation of democracy. [...] The promotion of voluntary associations after the Second World War was a direct response to the totalitarian regimes of fascist states and to the authoritarian states of communist powers." (Laville, 43-44)

²³ Laville, 70

democracy, exemplified in the free and equal association between and amongst women of erstwhile enemy nations.²⁴

One of the first documents of the Psychological Strategy Board (PSB), set up by President Truman in 1951 to co-ordinate all aspects of the US psychological battle with Soviet communism, suggested for future action 'that a series of projects be assigned to veteran's, youth and women's organizations, which appear to be institutionally inspired, which could permit contact with similar groups in other countries whose goals, aspirations and activities have a common aspect'. As an example the report proposed that contact between American women's organizations and women's organizations in Japan be encouraged in order to 'ensure continued pro-Western orientation'.²⁵

Such pro-Western orientation, shored up through an "emotional anti-communism,"²⁶ is now usefully recalled with a twist at the turn of this century. In "Liberation Under Siege: U.S. Military Occupation and Japanese Women's Enfranchisement" (2005), Lisa Yoneyama reads US media representations of its post-war occupation of Japan as liberation of Japanese women from feudal family and authoritarian state. In contrast to Japanese men, Japanese women are represented as passive victims awaiting help and needing liberation, an implicitly infantilizing discourse in line with Laville's analysis of U.S. women's groups' "re-education" projects for women in post-war Germany. Such media discourses justify military occupation under the sign of women, progress and modernization, while simultaneously

²⁴ "If American voluntary associations were what stood valiantly between liberty and tyranny in the USA, they could surely perform a similar role in other nations. This panacea was as relevant in states such as Germany, which had suffered the experience of dictatorship, as in nations whose emergence from colonial rule raised concerns about their population's lack of training in or understanding of citizenship." (Laville, 45)

²⁵ Laville, 47

²⁶ Laville, 98-99

rendering U.S. women exemplary subjects of freedom and equality.²⁷ By the turn of this century, the cultural memory of a beneficent occupation of Japan, in Yoneyama's analysis, serve to invoke success for new "just wars" under the Bush administration. Whereas Laville tells the complicated story of how women's organizations turned to patriotic service under the sign of women's international work rather than feminism, Yoneyama analyzes the uses of feminism as rhetoric in the service of a nation's new wars.

Yoneyama thus coins the term "cold war feminism" for a mode of US media propaganda that upholds "the superiority of antilabor, anticommunist American-style democracy"²⁸ while disseminating "depoliticized and desocialized ... understandings of gender liberation and democratization."²⁹ Importantly, Yoneyama notes that U.S. media reportage's "liberation" of Japanese women ignores the occupation's disenfranchisement of colonized subjects living in Japan.³⁰

"...a path to modernity"

United States-financed international feminism is likely to form a future neoliberal orthodoxy. Indeed, because the elements of international feminism are already so pervasive, my undergraduate students tend, rather uncritically,

²⁷ "[...] U.S. media representations of Japanese women under occupation helped naturalize the American audience as the subject of rescue and liberal democracy, while simultaneously containing desires for radical social transformation. [...] the cultural logic that posits the United States and the rest of the West as the normative site of democratic rights and emancipation has been inseparably linked to feminist universalism." (Yoneyama, 889)

²⁸ Yoneyama, 898

²⁹ "By the time the occupation drew to a close, cold war feminism had appropriated the meanings of liberation and democratization for Japanese women and recast them as simply having the aim of achieving equality and freedom in conjugal relations within an imagined bourgeois domesticity." (Yoneyama, 900)

³⁰ Yoneyama, 905

to embrace arguments that reconsolidate the liberal relation of universal and particular in international law, which not only universalizes law but also regards [sexual] crime as a common ground for all women.³¹

For students from South Korea, India, or Ethiopia, what I was teaching them in women's studies courses was the stuff of daily life. It was their bridge to the United States. In short, my lessons in feminism were, to them, not oppositional at all. *They were a how-to course in being U.S. citizens.* I was giving them a powerful means of acculturation. In watching how my students absorbed and reacted to the material I offered them, I was in effect observing how closely the ideas embodied in U.S. feminism represented a path to modernity.³²

The first quotation is from the year 2000, in an essay where historian of Chinese feminism Tani Barlow writes of a US financed international feminism on the cusp of becoming neo-liberal orthodoxy. Barlow notes how this feminism is in her U.S. classrooms ingrained through international law and gender violence as common sense. Less than a decade later, sociologist Hester Eisenstein reflects on the arrived orthodoxy of that U.S. financed international feminism in the preface to her study of a 21st century feminism “seduced” by capital – in part become the “feminist capitalism” historian Alice Echols coined in 1983.³³ Teaching in New York shows this feminism as pedagogical imperative for US branded modernity; a necessary and desired indoctrination especially for first and second generation immigrant students. What forces move such plate shifts?

In a series of essays Tani Barlow reflects on the rise and expansion of an “international feminism” whose reach by the 1990s is global and whose

³¹ Tani Barlow, 2000: 1102

³² Hester Eisenstein, *Feminism Seduced: How Global Elites Use Women's Labor and Ideas to Exploit the World*, 2009: 13

³³ This is Alice Echols's term (1983).

medium is women's and gender issues via the work of transnational non-governmental organizations. The theory of this international feminism seems a version of a U.S. eighties cultural feminist narrative that might be caricatured as: women have been socially oppressed and sexually exploited and violated by men throughout history and in all societies, nowhere more so than in those places with recidivist patriarchies.³⁴ This logic of women most victimized in places most hostile to the US and housing most recalcitrant patriarchies tend to replay the rhetoric of Laville's women organization turned cold war warrior.³⁵

I read Barlow as advocating an overcoming of a cold war division of knowledge with its high-modern way of seeing and its debasing of women and knowledge caught in muddier byways. In this division system which Laville and Yoneyama show as installed in Germany and working through the media representation of Japan during the post-war/cold war era, US women's organizations and domestic media reportage aggrandize the superiority of American freedom, peace, equality and democracy. Women's organizations and gender issues are rendered prism through which these qualities become exemplars for the world.

As Laville relates a shift from international sisterhood to sometimes unwitting nationalist propaganda work among US women's groups in the fifties, Barlow notes the reverse - the naturalization, or making invisible (as way of telling) – of a cold war feminist discourse in the guise of, by the nineties, a

³⁴ See Alice Echols *Daring to Be Bad: Radical Feminism in America 1967-1975* (University of Minnesota, 1989), especially last two chapters, for how a radical (and in some cases socialist) feminism was displaced and in parts assimilated to a cultural (anti-socialist) feminism. See also Janet Haley as former "cultural feminist" for a working definition of the kind of convergent feminism *in the US* (I would add emanating from the US) from which "we" need to take a break, i.e., "m/f, m>f, and Carrying a Brief for f" in *Split Decisions: How and Why to Take a Break from Feminism*, Princeton University 2006, pp. 17-20.

³⁵ Barlow, 2001: 413.

universalist feminist pedagogy in US classrooms.³⁶ In the process, socialist and other schools of feminism are subsumed and relegated to the partial, historical, and problematic.³⁷

In what matrix was a certain form of sex as backward and criminal translated into one of *the* universal lessons in women's rights and feminist modernization? One route from within the US is the sex wars and its devolution especially in places marked by a-synchronic United-States-ism in East Asia.

Cold sex wars

Through the medium of the UN, the Soviet Union and the USA became involved in a battle [during the cold war] over which political system best assured the 'status of women.'³⁸

"We [at CATW³⁹] believe that State-sponsored prostitution is a root cause of sex trafficking. We call legalized or regulated prostitution State-sponsored

³⁶ "These internationalized and flexible market-sensitive or donor-agency feminisms evade some simple questions. They rest on the kind of internationalism (an ideological complement of the international state system) that makes it difficult to talk seriously about social relations of production, simple political economy, and ideologies of citizenship, and, most troubling for a teacher, *they unduly obscure the conditions of their own production.*" (Barlow, 2000: 1103; italics added)

³⁷ Barlow, 2000: 1104

³⁸ Laville, 115

³⁹ The quotation begins: "Mr. Chairman and members of the subcommittee, thank you for the opportunity of presenting testimony before this committee. Today, I will focus my remarks on sex trafficking. To put my remarks in context, I should tell you that my organization, the Coalition Against Trafficking in Women (CATW), has been working for fifteen years to promote women's right to be free of sexual exploitation. We have organizations in most of the major world regions of Africa, Asia, Europe, Latin America and North America. And we conducted the first U.S.- based study, funded by the National Institute of Justice (NIJ), that interviewed numbers of victims of sex trafficking. Our organization, in various parts of the world, has also interviewed 146 victims of trafficking in 4 other countries; funded and initiated trafficking prevention programs in Venezuela, the Philippines, Mexico and the Republic of Georgia; helped set up shelters for Nigerian and Albanian victims of trafficking in

prostitution because although systems vary, the common element is that the system of prostitution itself becomes sanctioned by the State. The term State-sponsored prostitution signals that in any of these systems that recognize the sex industry as a legitimate enterprise, the State effectively becomes another pimp, living off the earnings of women in prostitution. State-sponsored prostitution is a provocative term, especially in these days when the term is used in the context of state-sponsored terrorism. And it is meant to be provocative. State-sponsored prostitution is a form of state-sponsored sexual terrorism posing as sexual and economic freedom for women.”⁴⁰

How did the US sex wars brew cultural feminism’s moral crusade against exploitative sex in ways translatable into an international feminism for nineties, global media supported and US-UN allied movements against sex work as one major form of violence against women? The quotations above present two moments of intra-women’s group alliances and intra-feminist divisions initiated in the US that by the eighties impelled movement toward a global arena.

The second quotation is part of a testimony statement made by Janice G. Raymond to the United States Congress on October 29, 2003. Earlier that year, on February 25, the Office of the Press Secretary in the White House had issued “for immediate release” a “National Security Presidential Directive.” These special directives from the President were first set up in 2001. In her statement, Janice G. Raymond cites the February NSPD, the “Trafficking in

Italy; provided legal assistance to victims of trafficking in the United States, the Philippines, Bangladesh and the Republic of Georgia; and helped draft the new UN Protocol to Prevent, Suppress and Punish Trafficking in Persons, Especially Women and Children, Supplementing the United Nations Convention Against Transnational Organized Crime.”

⁴⁰ Janice G. Raymond, “The Ongoing Tragedy of International Slavery and Human Trafficking.” Testimony of Janice G. Raymond, Ph.D., “Hearings Before the Subcommittee on Human Rights and Wellness” of the Committee on Government Reform, House of Representatives, One Hundred Eighth Congress, October 29, 2003. Accessed 2012/9/20.

Persons National Security Presidential Directive,” to refer Congress to the political force and security rationale upholding her statement. The argument and language she uses indexes a minor history in feminist debates, two decades earlier.

In the early nineteen-eighties, feminists in the US had engaged in battle (“horizontal hostility” according to Catharine MacKinnon) over feminine sexuality as “pleasure or danger,” butch-femme, sado-masochism, prostitution and sex work, as well as pornography over and against issues of representation and censorship. By 1989, Dorchen Leidholdt and Janice G. Raymond edited a volume entitled *The Sexual Liberals and the Attack on Feminism* (Pergamon Press, 1989), a volume of presentations at a conference in retaliation against the feminist critique of the anti-pornography campaigns and the by then already influential legal reform spearheaded by Catherine MacKinnon and Andrea Dworkin.⁴¹

The term “sex wars” refers to a series of confrontations among US feminist and lesbian-feminist groups one of which historic moment was the 1982 Barnard Sex Conference in New York, where a group of anti-pornography feminists protested and boycotted the conference and branded its organizers as condoning and even promoting “pervert” sex and sexuality in “anti-feminist” ways before and during the event. Call-ins to college administration led to the university’s confiscation of the conference booklet in the name of pornography.⁴² The conference organizers finally got the college

⁴¹ The contributors of the volume include: Catharine A. MacKinnon, Andrea Dworkin, Sheila Jeffreys, and Janice G. Raymond.

⁴² “[A]nti-pornography feminists made telephone calls to Barnard College officials and trustees, as well as prominent local feminists, complaining that the conference was promoting anti-feminist views and had been taken over by “sexual perverts.” [...] Within days, Ellen V. Futter, President of Barnard, interrogated the staff of the women’s center, scutinized the program, and – concerned about the possible reactions of funders to sexual topics and images – confiscated all copies of the conference booklet.” (Carole Vance, quoted in Rubin, “Blood Under the Bridge,” *Deviations*, 2011: 204)”

to pay for reprints of the booklet, but only after removing the sponsoring organizations (the college and the Helena B. Rubinstein Foundation) from the offending publication. The booklet was mailed to participants after the conference (in June), and in August, was resent by Andrea Dworkin with a cover letter quoted in part for the first time by Gayle Rubin in her essay “Blood Under the Bridge” (2011) on the event and its aftermath.⁴³

The “political integrity” and “moral authority” of this particular strand of anti-pornography, anti-patriarchal perversion, anti-prostitution as radical feminism purportedly remain consistent, that is “simple and feminist.”⁴⁴ In the decade following the sex wars, this perhaps aided its expansion in global influence as it eventually accessed and lobbied the US Congress, State Department and the UN in efforts to eradicate sexual terrorism globally.⁴⁵ Its success is in part attested to by the passion of its conservative opponents

⁴³ “This *Diary* shows how the S&M and pro-pornography activists... are being intellectually and politically justified and supported. [...] There is no feminist standard, I believe, by which this material and these arguments taken as a whole are not perniciously anti-woman and anti-feminist. It is doubtful, in my view, that the feminist movement can maintain its political integrity and moral authority with this kind of attack on its fundamental and essential premises from within.” Quoted in Rubin, “Blood,” also in “Rethinking Sex,” *GLQ: A Journal of Lesbian and Gay Studies*, edited by Heather Love, 17:1.

⁴⁴ From “Demand and the Debate” speech by Dorchen A. Leidholdt in 2003, (http://childtrafficking.com/Docs/leidholdt_2003_demand_and_the_debate.pdf)

⁴⁵ “Since *A Passion for Friends* was published in 1986, the vibrancy of the international women’s movement has given new meaning to women’s friendships. [...] Much of the feminist organizing that I have been engaged in over the past decade [from the 1990s] – opposing the globalization of the sex industry and the creeping legalization/regulation of prostitution as “sex work” where pimps are redefined as “third party business agents” – transforms female friendships into international policies, national and regional legislation, and institutional viability. And it also transforms feminist organizing into female friendships. The policy and institutions we create acquire not only institutional memory but result in effective institutional structure – and give our ideas and friendships consequence in the world. [...] A growing involvement in international womanpower – coalitions, networks, meetings, actions, organizing, conferences, and forums underpins the feminist friendships of the new millennium.” Janice G. Raymond, Preface to new edition of *A Passion for Friends*, 2001, Australia: Spinifex, p. xv.

lobbying at the UN for protection of family rights and against gay marriage and gay rights.⁴⁶

Nonetheless, by the first decade of this century nations and states are now yearly ranked and policed in a US State Department TIP Report (Trafficking in Persons Report)⁴⁷ for whether or not they are towing the line, with international NGO's such as CATW in crucial mediating positions.⁴⁸ This is how one lineage of what Barlow has termed as US-UN allied feminism work on moral and juridical fronts through influencing decisions on whether or not to continue funding particular organizations, domestic as well as international.⁴⁹

⁴⁶ See the United Families International blog, especially on family issues, where cultural, radical, and socialist feminist and sexual politics are conflated:

<http://unitedfamiliesinternational.wordpress.com/family-issues-guides/2013/10/1>

⁴⁷ See <http://www.state.gov/j/tip/rls/tiprpt/>, 2013/10/1

⁴⁸ "The National Security Presidential Directive (NSPD) on Combating Trafficking in Persons, signed in December, 2002, states that "prostitution and related activities are inherently harmful and dehumanizing, identifying these activities as contributing to the phenomenon of trafficking, and opposing the regulation of prostitution as a legitimate form of work for any human being." *The policy directs all agencies to review matters including training, personnel and grantmaking to accommodate the provisions of this Directive. [...] We applaud this policy but caution that any policy is only as good as its implementation. One problem is that U.S. NGOs supporting prostitution as work, and decriminalization of the sex industry, are still being funded.* For example, the Freedom Network, organized by the International Human Rights Law Group and CAST, has received a DOJ grant which began in April, 2003, to conduct nationwide trainings and mentoring activities over a 3-year period for law enforcement, government agencies and NGOs. There are, of course, some NGOs in this network who do not support prostitution as an employment choice but this is not the issue. The central problem is that this anti-trafficking network is organized and led by well-known, pro-"sex work" advocates. CAST, through the Little Tokyo Service Center, has received almost \$2 million in grants from the Office of Victims of Crime and the Office of Refugee Resettlement." Janice G. Raymond; italics added.

⁴⁹ "Borrowing rhetorical devices from Cold War anticommunists, antiporners denied all dissent on sexual issues as "collaboration" (in this case, with "the patriarchy") and treason (against feminism, or against all women). ... We are not just talking about sharp words here. We are talking about sponsorship of state suppression of our livelihoods, our publications, our art work, our political/sexual expression." Lisa Duggan, "Introduction to the 10th Anniversary Edition of *Sex Wars*," 2006, p. 5

The US will of course also derive part of its authority and difference in spearheading feminist rescue operations.⁵⁰ The hierarchy of nations and asymmetry of states vis-à-vis the UN and the US state and public (as addressee), is as clear in an essay by Madeleine Albright on the UN as it is in Janice Raymond's testimony for the US congress.

Thus, Janice Raymond in her testimony to the US Congress in 2003 states: "The Coalition Against Trafficking in Women recommends that no country legalizing prostitution should be in Tier 1. Rather, it should be noted that these countries have legalized brothels and pimping that contribute to "significant numbers" of women being trafficked into these countries for sexual exploitation." While in the same year, Madeleine Albright reassures those in the US who worry that dealing with the UN might be too constraining: "The United Nations' authority flows from its members; *it is servant, not master*. [...] Questions about U.S. sovereignty are misplaced and appear to come primarily from people aggrieved to find the United Nations so full of foreigners."⁵¹

⁵⁰ This is presaged by Tani Barlow, and affirmed by Janet Halley. "It is fair to conclude that the international feminism initiative is congruent with ongoing drives to restructure global capital. But no matter what international feminism turns out to be in the end, it is now a series of totalizing theories that cannot admit to an outside of feminism and will not admit the tangibility of any social forms in excess of their own drive to represent "the interests of the world's women." This latter claim rests on the pretension that international feminist work lies beyond all specific national and thus is beyond even U.S. parochial concerns. Students [in the US] find this claim incredibly liberating. On the basis of international feminist theory and U.S. capital, they, like [Hilary] Clinton, can participate in what they tend to view as cosmopolitan, generous, antiracist feminism." Barlow, 2000: 1103. And from Janet Halley: "In some important senses, then, feminism rules. Governance feminism. Not only that, it *wants* to rule. It has a will to power. And not only *that*, it has a will to power – and it has actual *power* – that extends from the White House and the corporate boardroom through to the minute power dynamics that Foucault included in his theory of the governance of the self." Janet Halley, 2006, p. 22

⁵¹ Madeleine K. Albright, "United Nations," *Foreign Policy*, No. 138, Sept.-Oct. 2003, p. 22; italics added. An earlier comment compares the world system of nation-states to a family (of nations) business: "While at the United Nations, I used to joke that managing the global institution was like trying to run a business with 184 executive officers – each with a different language, a distinct set of

Allbright's comment registers impatience with a segment of US population and its uppity parochialism, countering it with a shared sense of (national) superiority vis-à-vis the organization, admonishing the UN be properly seen as "servant" not "master." Needless to say, this is not a sentiment shared by most (state or individual). This positional superiority can also be glimpsed in Janice Raymond's testament to Congress insofar as she addresses a state with (albeit waning) power over and against most other states. I take this positional superiority as possibly strategic (feminist instrumental use of statecraft) but also marking a moment of forgetting. This is a forgetting of the socialist and radical feminist critique of imperialism in the sixties and seventies. It also forgets historical continuity in military-industrial backed governance from pre-war colonial sites to cold war US-backed authoritarian governments (such as Taiwan). This forgetting in turn enables a post-war cold war sentiment that conflates and projects outward its anti-communism as anti-authoritarianism.⁵² Finally, the ascendance of US cultural feminism by the eighties, and its alliance with a law and litigation feminism in and through international organizations is in part propelled by US women of color, queer and post-colonial critiques of radical and cultural feminism on the fronts of domestic and international racial, sexual, and class politics.⁵³ A "simple and feminist" argument that impels convergence on "woman" in terms of sexual harm could be at once transparent, efficient, expansive and transhistoric – efficaciously inter-national.

priorities, and an unemployed brother-in-law seeking a pay-check. [...] the pressure to satisfy members from Afghanistan to Zimbabwe remains a management nightmare." (p. 20)

⁵² See William Pietz recalling Aimé Césaire on continuity between colonial methods of rule and western civilization's totalitarianism, and the will to forget this historical link as a "post-colonialism" in the cold war discourse of key writers. William Pietz, "The "Post-Colonialism" of Cold War Discourse" in *Social Text*, No. 19/20 (Autumn, 1988), pp. 55-75.

⁵³ See Alice Echols (1989).