



PROJECT MUSE®

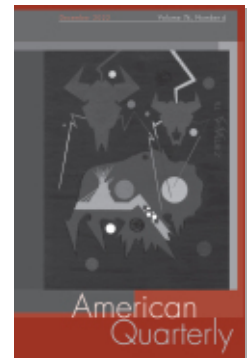
Elizabeth "Betita" Martínez: A Tribute

Sarah M. Quesada, Maylei Blackwell

American Quarterly, Volume 74, Number 4, December 2022, pp.
996-1009 (Article)

Published by Johns Hopkins University Press

DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1353/aq.2022.0066>



➔ *For additional information about this article*

<https://muse.jhu.edu/article/871663>



Figure 1.
Portrait of a young Elizabeth "Betita" Martínez, by Melanie Cervantes, Dignidad Rebelde.

Elizabeth “Betita” Martínez: A Tribute

Sarah M. Quesada and Maylei Blackwell

Long before Alexandria Ocasio-Cortez turned red lipstick into a political statement, Elizabeth “Betita” Sutherland Martínez donned it as a badge of audacity. After all, Martínez epitomized the unapologetic scholar-activist for Chicano studies and the world. A legendary advocate and Chicana journalist, she often appeared on the front lines battling on behalf of numerous causes, from access to reproductive health care to racial justice, to equal rights in an early antiglobalization movement. From the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) to supporting African decolonization at the UN, to fighting for Latinx workers’ rights during the global shift to neoliberalism, hers was a legacy of multiracial, feminist, and internationalist solidarity. Ninety-five years after her birth, Martínez succumbed to vascular dementia and passed away on June 29, 2021, in San Francisco, California. While her physical presence has vanished, her legacy could not be more enduring. Martínez’s lifetime of writing, organizing, teaching, and inclusive militancy creates a framework for American studies that this tribute seeks to highlight. In particular, her additional roles as a social movement knowledge holder and historian, a committed mentor and a bridge to youth activists, a women of color feminist, and a prolific documentarian underscore lessons learned from her lifetime that serve as an antidote to and an inspiration for a troubling present era.

Reeling from the effects of the COVID-19 pandemic, the twenty-first century has seen the rise of totalitarianism in Russia, China, and the United States, the latter via the growth of Trumpism. The related proliferation of white supremacist movements and a virulent anti-immigrant hatred have fueled an unbridled epidemic of racially motivated gun violence and threats to women’s rights. But Martínez’s legacy provides a framework for scholar-activists to address these challenges with an inclusive platform modeled after her commitments to social justice and her radical democratic thinking in the face of despair and uncertainty. One of the Chicano Movement’s most powerful thinkers and prolific writers, Martínez understood well the legacies of coloniality. In a truly Fanonian fashion, she perceived the legacies of colonial

power as equally affecting both domestic and international communities of color. Likewise, she heeded the urgency of organizing against patriarchal and white-dominated organizations to effect equality for women, especially those of color. Finally, she believed in the need to write resistance into the archive, passionately documenting the plight of others so that we might all follow in the activists' footsteps. This tribute provides insight into Martínez's exemplary written legacy and untiring resistance. After all, those who knew her can still hear her chanting against foreign intervention in "Raza Sí, Guerra No!" For those who did not know her, this tribute provides an access point to that legacy. The contributions in this forum feature the intricacies of Martínez's internationalism, her multigenerational activism and multiracial feminism, as well as the foundational role of her memory work for social change. We examine these three pillars of her life's work mainly chronologically and thus start from the beginning years of Martínez's life.

Racial and Internationalist Solidarities

Elizabeth "Betita" Sutherland Martínez was born in 1925 in Washington, DC, to a Mexican immigrant father who was a diplomat and later a Georgetown literature professor, and an Anglo mother who was a high school Spanish teacher. Raised bicultural and bilingual, her dual identity is reflective of a painful in-betweenness that marked her identity. The forms of exclusion and relative privileges of being biracial while growing up in a segregated, whites-only Maryland suburb can be seen in her *nom de plume*. She first used her mother's maiden name, "Liz Sutherland," as she came of age as a writer and journalist in the Jim Crow era, later adopting "Betita Martínez," as part of the Civil Rights Movement and her lifelong commitment to racial, economic, and gender justice.¹ While her life journey and political history led to her intersectional feminism, her early political roots were also decidedly internationalist in ways that shaped her commitment to anti-imperialism, her solidarity work, and the global perspective she was known for.

Martínez attended Swarthmore College, where she wrote for the school newspaper on the horrors of Nazi Germany and the US deployment of atomic bombs. Married to the Jewish writer Hans Koning—a founder of an antidraft group during the Vietnam war—she became quite vocal against the Vietnam war herself. Perhaps fundamental to her developing an anticolonial consciousness was her work at the United Nations until 1953, reporting on African decolonization. In an interview with Maylei Blackwell, Martínez states:

When I graduated from college I wanted to work with the United Nations. That was my goal. To get a job with the UN . . . because one of my classmates was a friend of Ralph Bunche who was one of the very first African-American leading figures in the secretariat. See, I worked for the Secretariat . . . in the research section. We researched colonialism in Africa. My job was to study the reports made by the colonial powers to the UN on their administration of their former colonies or what were called trust territories. After World War I their status was changed from colony to trust territory . . . but we read all this, all these horrible, horrible things and we prepared reports on it and so we exposed some of the maladministration of the colonial powers. It was Belgium in the Congo, South Africa, Southwest Africa.²

Although the *New York Times's* eulogy lamentably categorizes Martínez's yearning to work for world peace as an expression of "youthful idealism,"³ Natalie Havlin argues that Martínez was instead developing a "Third World consciousness."⁴ During this time, Martínez also worked on reports concerning the civil wars in Rwanda and Namibia.⁵ In a telephone interview, she purportedly states that she leaked accounts on the Congo and South Africa to "progressive representatives of the trusteeship council" because she was "completely disgusted" by what she read. This was also a key moment for Martínez, in which she "ma[de] a connection 'very early between racism and colonialism.'"⁶ It was this exposure to African decolonization and her anti-Vietnam protests that informed her unique ideological internationalism before she traveled to Cuba in August 1959.

Martínez first traveled to Cuba in 1959 and returned many times, becoming involved in the Fair Play for Cuba committee. When Blackwell asked why Martínez first went to Cuba, she paused and looked at her interlocutor, raising an eyebrow and stating that she "was interested in revolution." She continued:

I went in March or April of '59 . . . in early '59, it was just a few months after the overthrow of Batista. It was so exciting, wow, people were still dancing in the streets. Walked into the lobby of the former Hilton Hotel which was renamed the Havana Libre. The whole lobby is full of campesinos hanging out in gold chairs and velvet singing and whooping it up. It was so wonderful to see this fancy hotel lobby filled with all these peasants. It was really exciting, a very exciting time. I got to know some of the writers and became aware of a whole debate that was going on in terms of writers and the government and came back the next year in '60 for the first Congress of Writers and Artists. . . . The United States was already beginning to get anti-Cuban and after '61, which was the Bay of Pigs invasion . . . Fidel Castro said, "Cuba is going to be a Socialist country." Then nationalized a lot of US companies, then after that there was a lot of work to be done in terms of defending the Cuban revolution, and there was a lot of sympathy for it because the Bay of Pigs was really outrageous.

When Blackwell later asked Martínez about the spirit of revolution, she said:

Well the Chinese Revolution had just succeeded in '49, ten years before. The liberation struggles in Africa were getting hot. There was a whole mood of revolution in the making around the world, which really hit its peak in the early 60's. There were revolutions all over the place. Vietnam fighting France—So it was a very dramatic, very compelling period of history. It was impossible not to get involved in a lot of things.

Like many of her activist peers, Cuba marked a turning point in Martínez's life. She would note enthusiastically that “when Cuba declared itself socialist, so did I,” a declaration that got her flagged by the FBI for associating with “far leftist groups” and subpoenaed by a HUAC subcommittee investigating pro-Cuban propaganda in the United States.⁷

For her part, Martínez's internationalism was heightened with her visit to the teacher-training centers in Cuba: “When I asked them about their goals, they said: ‘to help make life better for all Cubans.’ Then one of them added proudly, ‘after that, we’ll help teachers in Africa, Asia, all over the world!’”⁸ Upon her return, Martínez reflected on her experience through a series of essays such as “Castro's Work for the Peasants” and “Cuban Faith in Castro” in the *Guardian* and “Letter from Havana” in the *Nation*. In her report on the First Congress of Cuban Writers and Artists, she nuanced the debates between democratic socialism and the Soviet Union's more rigid approach,⁹ a debate she found necessary to learn from and later implement in the US. Martínez would not return to Cuba until 1967 to attend a convention led by the Organization of Latin American Solidarity.¹⁰ These visits would culminate in the radical text *The Youngest Revolution: A Personal Report on Cuba* (1969). That year, in May and June, she also published the piece “Que Linda es Cuba!” Later, as coeditor for *El Grito del Norte*, Martínez was proud of the fact that of all the newspapers of that era, theirs was distinguishably “international,”¹¹ sending reporters to many of the countries affected by imperialist invasions.¹² In fact, Martínez herself visited North Vietnam in 1970, the first Chicana civil rights leader to do so.¹³ Martínez was part of an internationalist current of the Chicano Movement. As she said herself in an interview with Dionne Espinoza, “It was very clear to me that what I wanted to do was put out politics that were rooted in the best of what I would call Chicanismo, of the nationalist thrust of the movement, combined with an international perspective.”¹⁴

In 1968, Martínez traveled to Cuba with Stokely Carmichael. What is less discussed is that it was this context and her simultaneous participation in the Civil Rights Movement that set the stage for Martínez's internationalist and

cross-racial solidarities, and her intersectional understanding of feminism, as well as multi-issue organizing. Traveling with Carmichael, who was representing SNCC at OLAS (the Organization of Latin American States), Martínez recounts:

SNCC was invited to the OLAS conference, and I went with two other guys, two men from SNCC, partly because I could be an interpreter for them. Stokely Carmichael joined from London, and I stayed. They left. I stayed and wrote a book about Cuba and that was the end of my SNCC connection, in terms of working officially for SNCC. While I was working on that book, *The Youngest Revolution* it's called, I looked at three problems that die very hard. Sexism, racism and classism and how you overcome them in a revolutionary society, and how is Cuba working on them. Those three things, you know, that's before everybody was teaching courses on race, class and gender man, I mean nobody was using that phrase. [laughs] So I was there in '68 so the book must have come out in '69, even '70. It came out after I had moved to Nuevo Mexico, which I did in '68.¹⁵

With a global outlook on community organizing, Martínez's international ethos was foundational to her writing. In fact, the first contribution of this tribute engages precisely in Martínez's internationalist traces in many of her renowned and lesser-known works. As one of Martínez's bibliographers, Claudia Huiza shares the humorous ways that Martínez would draw in her reading public with clever puns and an urgent call to arms. Reading from *The Youngest Revolution: A Personal Report on Cuba* and articles like "That Old White (Male) Magic," or even her editorial work in what would become known as *El Grito del Norte*, Huiza explores how Martínez modeled an internationalist form of solidarity writing. Reading these writerly interventions through Gramsci, she considers how Martínez's firsthand experience of the Vietnam war and the Cuban Revolution shaped how Martínez would apply a Third World solidarity model to her admired activism. In this internationalist context, Martínez used this language of intersectionality, paving the way for her signature feminism.

Multiple Insurgent Feminisms

A central, if not a fully recognized figure in Chicana emancipation, Martínez was not only an early feminist: her cross-movement work and multiple insurgencies came to define a complex, nuanced intersectional feminism that she forged in multi-issue organizing.¹⁶ As Martínez (and another SNCC Chicana member, Maria Varela) both struggled to find their place in an organization that began to turn toward Black nationalism, Martínez eventually left SNCC and dedicated her writing talents to the New Mexican Land Grant Movement.

Her 1968 position paper, “Black, White, and Tan,” was a way to name her stakes in the Civil Rights Movement as well as to break open the Black-White binary. Yet her own memories of her early participation in the women’s liberation movement were also full of racial and socioeconomic class exclusions. In the oral history that Blackwell conducted with Martínez, she clearly remembers the day she became distanced from the movement. The night Martin Luther King was assassinated, she bemoans the racial insensitivity of white women:

I also worked in the women’s movement. I went to a number of consciousness-raising—the New York Radical Women was the group I was hooked into. Yeah, it made sense until the day that Martin Luther King was assassinated and there was a meeting that night and nobody was even talking about Martin Luther King being assassinated. All white women. I said, “What is this? This is crazy. I’m not about to complain about my husband tonight or whatever, not doing the dishes.” So I left and I never went back and that was the kind of experience that a number of women of color had in terms of a women’s movement. It was—that was it. And I remember I was so angry I was walking down 14th St. on the East Side in Manhattan. There were a lot of stores with big glass windows, big displays. I was looking at these windows, I was thinking about getting a rock and breaking out all those windows. I really seriously thought about doing it. It was that kind of anger that many people were feeling. So that tension, the racism within the women’s movement, the classicism within the women’s movement were not unknown subjects.

Nevertheless, she went on to fight against sexism in the SNCC and later in the Chicano Movement, as many of her writings in her book *De Colores Means All of Us* illustrates. In “#BetitaTaughtMe: Risk-Taking as a Coalitional Gesture,” Rafael R. Solórzano explains how Martínez evoked an ever-evolving feminist struggle in her *De Colores Means All of Us*, a book that, in his words, captures “a transition between a climate of massive disempowerment” and what Martínez called “a new movement backed by an angry, energetic generation with several years of activist experience seeking a long-range strategy.” His contribution more specifically explains the ways that Martínez’s risk-taking in the 1964 Mississippi Freedom Summer Project became exemplary for other movements in the 1990s. This is because, after the 1963 bombing of the 16th Street Baptist Church in Birmingham, Alabama, Martínez had quit her full-time job as the arts editor at the *Nation* to dedicate herself full time to SNCC, where she was active in the Freedom Schools in Mississippi.¹⁷ She later asked to run the NY SNCC office, and while she worked at Simon and Schuster, she published a book of photographs of the civil rights era and the royalties went to SNCC. This is the coalitional gesture that ignited Martínez’s foundational 1965 *Letters from Mississippi*. Solórzano thus maps out the ways Martínez’s model of coalition ignited strategies for building momentum in the present and how her legacy lives on in femtorship.

Martínez's feminist consciousness was also woven into her work in the Chicano Movement when she began covering the farmworker struggle in 1966. She joined the Movement full-time in New Mexico in 1968, documenting the Tierra Amarilla land rights activities, later editing *Viva La Raza! The Struggles of the Mexican American People* in 1974. Of note was her participation and reflection on the 1969 Denver Youth Liberation conference. Martínez stated: "The thing I remember most, however, is this women's workshop where 50 to 70 women together, Chicanas! On the one hand, women were doing the work. They were often in the leadership; they had a lot of the ideas. At the same time, they were often consistently expected to make the food, to do the typing, clerical work."¹⁸ At this historic convening of the Movement, Chicanas met to discuss their role, their participation, and the obstacles they all faced. The spokesperson for the Chicana caucus infamously reported back on the floor of the conference that "the Chicana does not want to be liberated." While many took this statement to mean that Chicanas were not interested in women's rights, the group of Chicanas met to discuss precisely that paradigm: how women were dedicated to the Chicano Movement, performing a significant amount of organizational labor, and did not want to be limited to domestic chores for fundraisers and secretarial work. Yet many activists also rejected organizing separately as women or the individualism of the White Women's Movement. Martínez described the statement as "a rejection of the women's liberation movement of those years, which was . . . overwhelmingly a middle class and Anglo women, white women [movement], who did not understand racist oppression, did not understand oppression of people of half whom are male."¹⁹ Both Martínez and Enriqueta Longeaux y Vasquez wrote powerful responses to this seemingly antifeminist statement, and their responses added complexity to the women's struggle within the Chicano Movement. While their responses circulated throughout the Movement press and republications in multiple regions, they were the only two Chicanas to appear in Robin Morgan's *Sisterhood Is Powerful: An Anthology of Writings from the Women's Liberation Movement*. Despite these efforts, however, the notion that "Chicanas did not want to be liberated" circulated in the Movement's popular memory without the fuller context that Chicanas had indeed met to discuss their central role, one that challenged gender inequality, racial oppression, and class exploitation. Martínez's strident Chicana feminist analysis of the 1969 Denver Youth Liberation conference was one of the catalysts for her decades-long feminist writing that fused anti-imperialism, women's equality, racial justice, Latinx politics, and an anticapitalist lens together. As much as her writing was critical during the social movements of the 1960s and 1970s, her historical analysis, reflections,

and documentation during the 1990s challenged both the Eurocentric and middle-class biases of the Women's Movement history and the male-centered narratives of the Chicano Movement with essays like "Chingón politics die hard." Hence Martínez was not only a crucial knowledge holder of the history of radical social groups; her analysis of both the Feminist and Chicano Movements gave a fuller historical understanding of the period. As Huiza and Solórzano illustrate with their contributions, her historical writings were essential to building multiracial coalitions and youth organizing in the 1990s. Even more compelling was the organizing, storytelling, and shared analysis Martínez forged by organizing *with* youth, thereby bridging generations of social justice activists in an era when the gains of the Civil Rights and Feminist Movements were under attack (and politicians like California governor Pete Wilson whipped up anti-immigrant hatred to get elected). These youth would come of age in the context of anti-immigrant hatred for Proposition 187 that criminalized teachers, health care professionals, and social workers, or anyone who aided undocumented people.

The Archivist and the Archived

Equally important as Martínez's role as a feminist was her role as a documentarian, analyst, and knowledge keeper of the histories of multiracial struggles for liberation and revolution in the US and across the globe. After all, she launched the Chicano Movement's newspaper *El Grito del Norte*, with Beverly Axelrod (a movement attorney) and Enriqueta Longeaux y Vasquez, who had also visited Cuba in 1969.²⁰ As Dennis López explains, the journal had a prominent role in shaping the Chicano Movement's causes "within a broader frame of reference" and a "critical understanding of the political economy of imperialism and its grim consequences for the global working classes."²¹ In line with the internationalism we discussed above, as Emily Cheng states, the journal shifted from a "mouthpiece for the Alianza to include reports on indigenous issues in Latin America, Africa, and Asia."²² While these considerations are certainly not new, as Jessica Frazier notes, the global reach of socialist efforts and their effects on Chicana feminism, for example, are severely understudied.²³ Martha Cotera, a librarian and Chicana feminist activist, notes in her foundational book, *Diosa y Hembra: The History and Heritage of Chicanas in the U.S.* (1975), the impact of Martínez's efforts with *El Grito del Norte* and the role that Chicanas played in the Chicano Press Association:

An important organizing strategy of the decade was the development of an active group of Chicano community newspapers which mushroomed throughout the country and which maintained informal communications through the Chicano Press Association. Women journalists in the tradition of Jovita Idar (1910) and Belen Gutierrez from Mexico assumed an important function. Two of the most outstanding are Nuevo Mexicanas Betita Martínez and Enriqueta Longeaux y Vásquez, editors of *El Grito Del Norte* (1968–1973) Espanola, New Mexico. *El Grito*, among the entire collection of newspapers, had the distinction of being the most sophisticated and comprehensive in its coverage of Chicanos and other Third World people. It accomplished much in raising Chicano consciousness about the war and other social issues including feminism.²⁴

Martínez paved the way for this feminist outlook in *El Grito del Norte*, and as she reportedly noted, “The ground of my life was shifting, stretching.”²⁵ But as Tony Platt has mentioned, her “insistence on women’s leadership of the newspaper didn’t sit well with Tijerina’s nationalism and old-style chauvinism” to the point that she was “once again marginalized in an organization that she had helped to build.”²⁶ Despite these setbacks and disappointments, Martínez’s legacy lives on not only through her writings but through her mentorship and work with movement youth. Martínez edited *450 Years of Chicano History in Pictures / 450 Años Del Pueblo Chicano* (1976), later reprinted as *500 Years of Chicano History in Pictures* (1991). Widely used in schools, it articulated this history as a story of resistance, economic exploitation, and labor struggles. She wrote a companion and bilingual volume, *500 Years of Chicana Women’s History / 500 Años de la Mujer Chicana* (2008) when she was in her eighties, cementing her reputation as a documentarian with a wide-ranging capability for memory work creating a visual and historical record for younger generations. In this regard, Annemarie Perez turns to Martínez’s archivist technique. Other than these two noted anthologies, Perez also looks to earlier examples of her collage assemblage style that characterized most of Martínez’s book-length publications. Specifically, she looks also to two books that Martínez edited for the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), *The Movement: Documentary of a Struggle for Equality*²⁷ and *Letters from Mississippi* (1965), to underline how her community and relationship building is visually and narratively represented through her collage method. Perez also discusses the ways that Martínez would underscore the tragedy of death in the young activists lost to Mississippi’s white supremacy while also remaining staunchly optimistic in *500 Years of Chicano History*. Focusing on Mississippi in particular, she remarks on Martínez’s challenge of editing and organizing hundreds of letters at a remarkable speed. Consistent with her life of service, Martínez’s selfless editorial work, Perez writes, also gave voice to others, as her annotations actively sought to minimize her agency or authorship.

If Perez focuses on Martínez's archivist technique, María E. Cotera describes the process by which Martínez's documents themselves became an archive, which began as part of Cotera's collaboration with Linda Garcia Merchant on the Chicana por mi Raza (CPMR) project. In "Betita's Garage: Tracing the Archival Afterlives of Elizabeth 'Betita' Martínez," Cotera recalls how Stanford University's Special Collections came to preserve her collection, and feeling shocked to find that Martínez's papers, "ninety linear feet of materials," had not been preserved at any institution. Drawing from Michel Rolph-Trouillot's work on silences in the archive, Cotera explains how these kinds of absences in the historical record also render invisible the resistance of the movements of social justice to which Martínez dedicated her life. Cotera narrates with candor the process by which Martínez's papers entered the archive while nuancing the contradictions of this heroic act.

The irony of the archivization of Martínez's papers—coupled with a lack of digitalization and access due to the COVID-19 pandemic—is that this

"monumentally rich archive of struggle currently remains largely invisible to the very communities that she engaged in her life's work." Cotera concludes by meditating on the ways by which we might cease to see the archive as an object and instead embrace it as a site of collaborative relation, or "encuentro." Cotera's key contribution on the politics of memory runs parallel to our efforts in this forum. For in our efforts to textually memorialize Martínez, we seek less to build a memorial to her past than to provide a memorialization for the future.

Figure 2.

Portrait of Elizabeth "Betita" Martínez as an elder, by Melanie Cervantes, Dignidad Rebelde.

Final Reflections: What Would "Betita" Do?

As this tribute underscores, heeding Martínez's political engagement over sixty years has great implications for our current times. First, Martínez's global commitment to fighting against imperialism and her work bridging generations of activists from the anti-Vietnam war era to groups against the first Gulf War and the invasion of Iraq is pivotal as the US is trying to extricate itself from not only the longest war in our history but one without borders: the War on Terror. Yet in the context of #MeToo and #TimesUp, her feminism was grounded in economic and racial justice and Third World solidarity. She did not stand for sexism, sexual harassment, and violence, which were experienced even within the organizations she was involved with. Relevant to current events, Martínez's feminism supported reproductive justice and women's right to abortion. With



Roe v. Wade now overturned, Martínez's grassroots organizing might provide the stepping stones to renewed resistance against the regulation of women's bodies. Similarly, in the time of family separation, child theft, and the deterritorialization of homeland security across multiple geographies and borders, Martínez centered immigrant voices, lives, and labor. In the face of white supremacy, Martínez not only organized across multiple coalitions for racial justice, including the Civil Rights and the Chicano Movements, but she also spent decades building multiracial justice organizing. Hers was a teaching of deep ethic and a praxis of solidarity that activists and intellectuals would do well to heed equally. Lastly, Martínez made it easier for us to attend to her directive as a renowned archivist. As she began writing histories of the lessons learned during the Civil Rights Movement in the 1990s, she did so not only to document this era but to engage in a form of memory work and collective analysis that provided the building blocks for multigenerational, youth-led organizing that she continued well into her seventies and eighties. Yet she did not only look to the past. Martínez positioned herself on the front line, documenting the early antiglobalization movement from the Battle in Seattle to the Zapatistas, to the importance of Latinx workers in the global shifts in capital that many would come to know as neoliberalism. This lifetime of writing, organizing, teaching, and militancy created a broad, inclusive, and infectious vision: to build more just systems and other possible worlds. Now, in the wake of this tremendous loss, hers is a call to an ethics of solidarity and coalition building, feminist theory and anti-imperialist praxis, and a bridging of multiple generations of activists and thinkers. ¡Betita Presente!

Notes

We would like to thank Tessa Koning-Martínez, Betita's daughter, for her contribution of images for the digital altar, and all Betita's comrades and friends who contributed memories and insights to this special dossier.

1. Annemarie Pérez, "'Tu Reata Es Mi Espada': Elizabeth Sutherland's Chicana Formation," in *Chicanas Movidas: New Narratives of Activism and Feminism in the Movement Era*, ed. Dionne Espinoza, María Eugenia Cotera, and Maylei Blackwell (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2018).
2. Betita Martínez, oral history interview with Maylei Blackwell, 1999.
3. Katharine Seelye, "Elizabeth Martínez, Voice of the Chicana Movement, Dies at 95," *New York Times*, June 29, 2021.
4. Natalie Havlin, "'To Live a Humanity under the Skin': Revolutionary Love and Third World Praxis in 1970s Chicana Feminism," *Women's Studies Quarterly* 43.3 (2015): 82.
5. Loretta Ross, interview with Elizabeth "Betita" Martínez, March 3 and August 6, 2006, Atlanta, GA, and Oakland, CA, in *Voices of Feminism Oral History Project*, Sophia Smith Collection, Smith College, Northampton, MA, p. 5.

6. Judy Tzu-Chun Wu, *Radicals on the Road: Internationalism, Orientalism, and Feminism during the Vietnam Era* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2013), 213.
7. Tony Platt, "The Heart Just Insists: In the Struggle with Elizabeth 'Betita' Sutherland Martínez," *Social Justice* 39.2–3 (2013): 37, 38.
8. Elizabeth Martínez, *De Colores Means All of Us: Latina Views for a Multi-Colored Century* (Cambridge, MA: South End, 1998), xv.
9. George Mariscal, *Brown-Eyed Children of the Sun: Lessons from the Chicano Movement, 1965–1975* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2005), 111.
10. Mariscal, 111.
11. Lorena Oropeza, *Raza Sí!, Guerra No! Chicano Protest and Patriotism during the Viet Nam War Era* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2005), 98.
12. Platt, 85.
13. Platt, 39.
14. Dionne Espinoza, interview, July 26, 1994, in "Pedagogies of Nationalism and Gender: Cultural Resistance in Selected Representational Practices Of Chicana/o Movement Activists, 1967–1972" (PhD diss., Cornell University, 1996), 71.
15. Espinoza.
16. Maylei Blackwell, *¡Chicana Power! Contested Histories of Feminism in the Chicano Movement* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2011).
17. Martínez, oral history interview.
18. *Chicano! The History of the Mexican American Civil Rights Movement*, "Episode One: A Quest for a Homeland," produced by Galán Productions (National Latino Communications Center, 1996).
19. *Chicano!*, Episode One.
20. Enriqueta Vasquez, *Enriqueta Vasquez and the Chicano Movement: Writings from El Grito del Norte*, ed. Dionne Espinoza and Lorena Oropeza (Houston: Arte Público Press, 2006).
21. Dennis López, "El Grito del Norte, Chicana/o Print Culture, and the Politics of Anti-Imperialism," *Science & Society* 79.4 (2015): 540.
22. Emily Cheng, "The Vietnam War and Chicana/o Environmentalism in *El Grito del Norte* (1968–73)," *American Quarterly* 72.1 (2020): 55.
23. Jessica Frazier, "Developing 'Third World' Feminist Networks, 1970," in *Women's Antiwar Diplomacy during the Vietnam War Era* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2017), 55.
24. Martha Cotera, *Diosa y Hembra: The History and Heritage of Chicanas in the U.S.* (Austin, TX: Information Systems Development, 1975), 164–67.
25. Platt, 38.
26. Platt, 38–39.
27. A number of other scholars are not aware of Martínez's role in editing this powerful book. Angela Davis's article sheds light on Martínez's work in SNCC in *Social Justice*: "Before I Knew Elizabeth Martínez," *Social Justice* 39.2–3 (2013): 96–100.