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## **“To Live a Humanity under the Skin”: Revolutionary Love and Third World Praxis in 1970s Chicana Feminism**

Natalie Havlin

Love, naming both affection and an expression of ethical commitment, is often considered foundational to feminist and queer frameworks of collective social change. As Maria Lugones argues, a feminist practice of love that recognizes interdependence and seeks to understand other women’s perspectives can serve as the groundwork for coalition building, particularly among women of color in the United States (1987, 8). Scholars and activists have typically followed Lugones and subsequently Chela Sandoval in tracing the emergence of love as a radical ethic and political methodology to the interventions of U.S. third world feminism and women of color coalition building in the 1970s (Lugones 1987; Sandoval 2000; Nash 2011; Moore and Casper 2014). As Sandoval explains, U.S. third world feminists developed a “hermeneutics of love,” a method and mode of resistance rooted in collective care and transformation (2000, 140). In this article, I contribute to elucidating U.S. third world feminist love politics by tracing what I describe as a revolutionary love-praxis in the work of Chicana feminist writer Elizabeth “Betita” Sutherland Martínez and her collaborations with fellow Chicana journalists Dolores Varela and Enriqueta Vasquez during the 1970s.

Active in the civil rights movement, women’s liberation organizations, and the Chicano movement, Martínez also contributed to left and emergent political formations of Chicana feminism and U.S. third world feminism during the 1970s.<sup>1</sup> Martínez’s collaborators and movement scholar-activists such as Tony Platt and Angela Davis have celebrated Martínez’s dedication to and influence on Chicana/o and interracial movements for social justice (Platt 2013; Davis 2013). Yet Martínez’s

contributions to theorizing and practicing Chicana feminism, third world feminism, and Black and Latina/o coalition building have not been examined in-depth in feminist scholarship. Through an analysis of Martínez’s journalism about transnational alliance building in relation to writing by fellow Chicana feminists Varela and Vasquez, I trace an emergent Chicana feminist praxis that links interpersonal feeling and affection to the project of revolutionary internationalism, the latter a political commitment to global proletarian struggle against capitalism and imperialism most often associated with third world Marxist theorists, U.S. Black Power, and Asian American and Chicano radical politics during the 1970s (Pulido 2006; Wilkins 2007, Watkins 2012; Young 2006).<sup>2</sup> The revolutionary love-praxis that I locate in the work of Martínez and her collaborators reflects an alternative framework to left paradigms of revolutionary discipline and political love popular in the 1970s. Martínez and fellow Chicana feminist writers Varela and Vasquez portray experiential feeling and expressions of interpersonal care as constitutive of, rather than incidental to, collective struggles against capitalism, imperialism, racism, and sexism.

### **Love and the Dilemma of Revolutionary Discipline**

In May 1967 leaders of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), a key civil rights organization known for leading lunch counter sit-ins and the Mississippi Freedom Summer project, voted to transition to an all-black staff and membership. In the months following the decision, Elizabeth “Betita” Sutherland Martínez, the director of the New York City office of SNCC and one of two Chicanas on staff, offered a singular analysis of the shifting political vision in SNCC.<sup>3</sup> In a series of notes titled “Black, White and Tan” submitted to the SNCC Atlanta offices in June 1967, Martínez provides a “personal and incomplete attempt to think things out” with respect to SNCC members’ growing black nationalism and exploration of third world revolutionary struggles as models for social change. In Martínez’s assessment, the growing “ideology of blackness” in SNCC and emergent “consciousness of peoplehood” among black Americans represents a stage of struggle necessitating a consideration of the “price of revolution, the human toll of righting wrong” (1967, 2). She recounts that prior to and during her work in SNCC she traveled to Hungary, Poland, Russia, and Cuba to understand what a revolutionary struggle to fundamentally restructure a so-

ciety would require. The armed revolutionary struggles that she studied and observed often entailed a “moratorium on humanism (sometimes in the name of humanism)” and produced “unpredictable byproducts” (1967, 3, 7). Reflecting on the self-discipline involved in revolutionary struggle, she asks: “Could you kill your father or mother as a Tom, a ‘traitor to the revolution,’ if ordered to do so? Could you work in a struggle which destroys your friends?” (1967, 3). Encouraging SNCC leaders to consider the implications of engaging in revolutionary struggle, she clarifies that “these questions are no abstractions, not in this century. We all face bloody upheaval (if not swift annihilation) . . . armed struggle means discipline and discipline means expediency” (1967, 3).

As a combination of strategic organizational analysis and self-reflexive discussion of U.S. racial categories in a global context, “Black, White and Tan” records the emergence of a Chicana feminist and internationalist analysis from within the U.S. black liberation movement. Martínez’s interest in questions of discipline parallels theorizations of revolutionary praxis and internationalism circulating within emerging U.S. political formations during the late sixties and seventies, particularly Che Guevara’s discussion of love and revolutionary discipline. In addition to studying Franz Fanon’s theorization of anticolonial resistance, members of SNCC, the Black Panther Party, the Young Lords Party, the Red Guard, and U.S. third world left organizations often turned to Guevara’s essay “Socialism and Man in Cuba” (1965) and his book *Guerrilla Warfare* (1961) as models of revolutionary praxis (Young 2006, 8; Watkins 2012, 51). Particularly, Guevara’s statement that “the true revolutionary is guided by great feelings of love” gained popularity among revolutionary nationalist and radical left organizers linking U.S. movements to third world struggles during the 1960s and 1970s ([1965] 2003, 211). Notably, *El Grito del Norte*, the newspaper that Martínez edited from 1968 to 1973, and other radical publications from the period regularly included images of Guevara in addition to reprinting his declaration of revolutionary love.

Guevara’s discussion of “feelings of love” as components of revolutionary praxis provides a useful context for understanding Martínez’s call for emergent black revolutionary nationalists to consider the “price of revolution” and the implications of practicing internationalism. Martínez’s discussion of self-discipline and personal sacrifice as components of revolutionary struggle parallels Guevara’s broader argument in “Socialism and Man in Cuba.” While elaborating that even as “feelings of love” are funda-

mental to revolutionary practice, Guevara clarifies that “one of the great dramas” that an authentic revolutionary encounters is the resolve to make “painful decisions without flinching” and combine “passionate spirit with a cold intelligence” ([1965] 2003, 212). Although Guevara invokes love, he indicates that a revolutionary leader must train himself to confidently express this love through actions that do not “descend, with small doses of daily affection, to the level where ordinary people put their love into practice.” The leaders of the revolution “take the revolution to its destiny” by limiting friendship to their “circle of comrades in the revolution” and limiting their time with their children and “wives” ([1965] 2003, 211). Rather than express embodied and romantic “daily affection,” revolutionary leaders should enact a “love of living humanity” through “actual deeds” that “serve as examples, as a moving force” toward “proletarian internationalism” ([1965] 2003, 212). For Guevara, actions that bring about global change, rather than interpersonal and localized affection, better express and attest to the revolutionary leader’s ethical love for humanity. In Guevara’s characterization, the love guiding a revolutionary praxis is expressed through a deep ideological commitment combined with affective embodied self-discipline to manage “flinching” and “daily affection.” Muscular and emotional control is a measure of revolutionary character in Guevara’s analysis.

Martínez’s notes reflect a revolutionary humanism consistent with Guevara’s theorization of internationalism. She also goes beyond Guevara’s discussion of discipline by encouraging SNCC leaders to consider the commitment to working across difference and geographic scales as a mode of self-discipline. To fully explore the “price of revolution,” Martínez explains, a study of revolutionary movements in Latin America would deepen SNCC’s recent resolution to “commit [SNCC] to the ‘Third World’ to struggle for human rights ‘not merely in the United States but throughout the world’” (1967, 7). She argues that advocating for black nationalism while working in solidarity with the third world will require working through “political complexities” (1967, 7). “If SNCC is to establish contact with Latin-Americans,” she argues, “it must understand” that Latin America “contains people of many color shades” and “most Latin-American revolutionaries . . . are Socialists or Communists” (1967, 7–8). As she explains the relevance of Latin American racial politics for SNCC, Martínez uses herself as an example of a different understanding of race. Stating that “the question of whether I was to be classified as white

or Mexican (i.e., non-white) has come up in SNCC,” Martínez announces that she will “set the record straight” about her self-identification (1972, 9). She explains that as the daughter of a white mother and a mestizo Mexican national growing up on the East Coast that she experienced racism, but she developed a “Latin consciousness” that was “primarily cultural and emotional” (1972, 10). Later she developed a “Third World consciousness” after “working at the U.N. on African colonialism” and at SNCC. She closes by urging SNCC to learn about “the Latin consciousness, the Mexican consciousness” by studying the article “The Tale of the Raza” (1966) by Chicano playwright and farmworker organizer Luis Valdez (Martínez 1972, 10).

Martínez’s consideration of revolutionary struggle as a rigorous practice of somatic and ideological discipline parallels Guevara’s argument that humanism, rather than interpersonal affection, should motivate effective revolutionary leaders. Yet in addressing discipline as an unresolved problem for SNCC to explore, Martínez’s notes also begin to complicate the paradigm of revolutionary love as a mode of humanism that supersedes interpersonal bonds such as friendship and romantic commitment. In both her notes to SNCC and her subsequent work, Martínez probes a central question: How do revolutionaries put into practice their love for humanity? As I outline below, in her subsequent writing, Martínez begins to articulate a broader vision of revolutionary love built on what I refer to as an affective analytic, a methodology that evaluates emotional expression and everyday affection to better assess a person’s revolutionary commitment. Martínez’s evolving vision of internationalism and revolution becomes increasingly grounded in an interpretation of everyday feelings and emotions as indicators of a deep care for and commitment to others.

### **Feeling the Revolution in Cuba**

During the summer of 1967, Martínez visited Cuba to gather material for a manuscript and report on the Organization of Latin American Solidarity (OLAS) conference. Following her return to New York City, she accepted an invitation to start a local newspaper covering the Chicano land rights struggle in northern New Mexico. In 1968 Martínez cofounded *El Grito del Norte* with civil rights lawyer Beverly Axelrod and recruited local residents and national writers to contribute to the newspaper. While editing *El Grito del Norte*, Martínez published a monograph entitled *The Young-*

*est Revolution: A Personal Report on Cuba* (1969). Merging ethnographic analysis and first-person narrative vignettes, *The Youngest Revolution* provides U.S. readers an in-depth account of race, gender, and sexuality ten years after the 1959 Cuban revolution. While her notes to SNCC in 1967 take up affective self-discipline as a measure of revolutionary praxis, her analysis in *The Youngest Revolution* is distinctive in her turn to affective expression as both evidence and a method of revolutionary praxis. In *The Youngest Revolution*, Martínez analyzes Cubans’ affect—emotions as well as visceral processes of feeling—as evidence of Cuba’s ongoing struggle to divest from individualism and reorient society toward collectivity. Simultaneously, Martínez draws on her own affective experiences to convey the radical potential of the Cuban revolution, creating an opportunity for her U.S. readers to vicariously experience and subsequently internalize revolutionary internationalism. The two functions of affect in Martínez’s work, I argue, illuminate a central component of Chicana feminist love-praxis: the deployment of everyday feeling as a resource for identifying and sustaining a deep commitment to others. In Martínez’s writing, the work of performing revolutionary love grows out of the visceral and emotional feelings produced through a process of building interpersonal and ethical bonds with others.

*The Youngest Revolution* moves between social analyses and ethnographic accounts of the activities surrounding the 1967 OLAS conference, Martínez’s interactions with Cuban youth, and her experience working on an agricultural youth brigade during the summer of 1967. As in much of her writing, she focuses on everyday revolutionaries, such as the women she works alongside on the youth brigade, rather than discussing the revolutionary vanguard or individual leaders. In each chapter, Martínez situates her discussion of how Cubans approached race, gender, and sexuality as components of the broader Cuban revolutionary project of developing a “New Man” and a “New Woman.” Martínez explains that the Cuban revolutionary government sought to develop men and women with a “new sense of self” for whom “work is a function of one’s interdependence with all beings in a society where wealth is created and shared communally” (1969, 102). While some Cuban revolutionary policies support a reorganization of social values, she explains that the continuation of “white supremacy,” “machismo,” “male chauvinism,” class-based “attitudes of superiority,” and the “restriction of homosexuals” demonstrate that the revolution continues to struggle with the “old idea[s] rooted in

Cuba's past society" (138, 172, 187). In her account of continuing social hierarchies in Cuba, Martínez regularly clarifies how Cubans' analyses of social inequality, such as antiblack racism, relate to and differ from U.S. understandings of race, class, and colonialism. Martínez explains, "while similarities between black Cuban and Afro-American experiences existed, there must also be great differences" (1969, 155). In addition to different histories of enslavement under Spanish colonialism and the retention of Bantu and Yoruba cultural traditions, she explains that in Cuba "black, white, and mulatto—not merely blacks—have been a colonized people [by Spain and the United States] and have experienced, for example, the cultural inferiority complex that forms part of the colonized mentality" (1969, 157). Martínez's recounting of the legacies of colonialism in Cuba provides the context for her comparison between black Cuban and African American analyses of antiblack racism. Although black Cubans were "doubly colonized" since they formed a "colony within the colony," she explains that black, white, and mulatto Cubans "shar[ed] the colonized experience" and as a result experience less distance than in what African Americans have identified as the "colonial relationship" between white Americans and black Americans (1969, 156–57). Like her notes to SNCC in 1967, Martínez's rhetorical approach in *The Youngest Revolution* encourages readers to learn from and attend to the differences in third world revolutionary contexts. As Judy Tzu-Chun Wu notes in her study of Martínez's later reportage about North Vietnam and China in the 1970s, Martínez's comparative practice served as a pedagogical strategy throughout her writing (2013, 214–17). Linking the differing racial order to the relative power produced as a result of Spanish colonialism and U.S. imperialism, Martínez's text outlines potential points of transnational linkage while also demarcating the particular local circumstances.

As she identifies the differing social orders and historical-colonial contexts addressed by black Cubans and African Americans, Martínez deploys a representational strategy of highlighting Cubans' emotional and affective performances as indicators of potential solidarity. Characterizing *The Youngest Revolution* as an effort to understand "popular feeling and thinking," Martínez underscores a divergence between Cuban and African American approaches to antiblack racism through an analysis of everyday affect (1969, 14). Describing her encounters and interviews with black Cubans following former SNCC chairman and black power theorist Stokely Carmichael's visit to Cuba during July and August 1967, Martínez writes:

Blacks said they felt inspired by Stokely and sometimes torn, for he made them race-conscious and race-proud in a country where such attitudes were not encouraged. What he did not do, however, was bring to the surface any buried anger, bitterness, or desire for separation. Those emotions seemed to be absent from the Cuban climate. . . . Their voices and faces felt different. (1969, 155)

While her rhetorical style leaves open the possibility that readers may interpret her affective assessment as a confirmation of essentialist characterizations of blackness and Cubanness as excessively emotional, Martínez’s differentiation of Cuban and African American corporeal and emotional expressions complements her emphasis on the local historical specificity of antiblack racism. By outlining when black Cuban and African American affective expressions align and “felt different,” she models an affective analytic: a methodology of reading emotion and expressive performances as indicative of individual beliefs and social processes. She uses her feelings to assess and interpret her interlocutors’ political commitments. In her analysis of black Cubans’ responses to Carmichael, this affective analytic serves to highlight distinctions among experiences of racism and identify, for U.S. readers, linkages useful for building international alliances.

Martínez’s emphasis on the specificity of the social locale and emotion reflects her commitment to recognizing and valuing difference. Her method of affective analysis additionally illustrates the limits of understanding potential political partners. As she describes Cubans’ affective expression to assess the progress of revolutionary change, Martínez only periodically addresses her role as an affective interpreter and translator for her U.S. readers. I read the moments of self-reflexivity in her work as indicating a broader rhetorical strategy of using personal experience and feeling to encourage U.S. readers to see themselves in relation to everyday Cubans and the Cuban revolution. In a section clarifying her analysis of racial relations in Cuba, Martínez writes: “To say that black-white relationships in Cuba contained resentment, guilt, and fear but little hatred—for others or for oneself—is generalizing wildly yet seems to be confirmed by what people said and how they acted” (1969, 157). Rather than a conclusive statement on black and white relations in Cuba, Martínez signals that Cuban emotional expressions “seem” to cohere. Martínez’s delivery indicates that she holds responsibility for reading the affective register of black and white Cubans. She lends authority to her analysis while also signaling the limits of observation. Simultaneously, her self-reflexivity corresponds with her

representation of feeling as a resource for understanding revolutionary culture and subjects. In a narrative chapter about her experience on an agricultural youth brigade at La Isla de la Juventud, Martínez more directly addresses how her personal experience shaped her analyses:

I realized that had been my first real conversation with black girls at the camp. . . . In general it was *mulattas* who had sought me out and with whom I had become closest—girls of about my own color. I thought this might be just a case of like-gravitating-to-like; that seemed to be the pattern with other relationships in the camp. But right now, back at work in the field, there was no such grouping. Black, brown, beige, and white chattered and planted pines together in one easy rhythm. (1969, 255)

Martínez's discussion of the way racial difference limits the range of her interlocutors signals the contingency of the observations recorded in *The Youngest Revolution*. Her discussion of the influence of her racial self-identification and Cuban racial codes on her observations marks the limitations of her account. Yet she quickly reasserts her narrative authority by clarifying that communal labor resolves her perception of racial divisions. Martínez's self-reflexive rhetorical approach complements her portrayal of feeling as a measure of revolutionary change. Her methodology of affective analysis relies on her own experience to mediate the Cuban revolutionary project. Addressing the small everyday changes in Cuba, she notes that the free public telephone booths "shook up your idea that the exchange of money was basic to modern life, and thereby brought into question old ideas about human relations . . . the visitor, no matter how rich or poor, comes to share this feeling" (Martínez 1969, 134). By encouraging readers to identify with her experience through the use of the second person, "you," she invites her readers to share the collective understanding that "old ideas" can be replaced. The promise of a new mode of sociality, in Martínez's account, includes not only rethinking economic practice but also translating and participating in the physical and emotional expression of the potential of collectivity. Describing an evening where young women workers at La Isla de la Juventud dance to "The Internationale" and Elvis Presley records, Martínez explains:

Everything just happened: the rhythm, the pattern, the dazzle, the communal high. . . . The entire camp seemed to have burst free this night: not that all problems were solved forever, but that some kind of limita-

tion had been transcended, a unity made visible, a balance struck. One could speak of “the collectivity” as a hero in a new kind of non-Western drama, as a living being, a whole yet with its individual parts intact. (1969, 264–65)

Martínez’s characterization of “collectivity” as a sensibility and a “living being” arising out of the “energy of the moment” casts revolutionary change as both ephemeral and concrete. For Martínez, the women’s unscripted collective performance generates a brief shared feeling that recognizes “individual parts” rather than projecting a homogenous collectivity. In this description of “unity,” she constructs revolutionary change as a process of becoming that arises from a momentary affective and material alignment among individuals. Moreover, Martínez’s discussion of Cuban emotion and corporeal performance as indicators of revolutionary sociality illustrates how feelings and performance serve as a medium for theorizing and evaluating social change.

Martínez’s methodological interpretation of emotion and representation of feeling as intrinsic to revolutionary change parallels the exploration of feeling and emotion as components of feminist analysis among other women of color engaged in racial and national liberation struggles in the United States during the late sixties and early seventies. Black feminist theorists of U.S. third world feminism, such as former SNCC member Frances Beal, members of the Third World Women’s Alliance, Toni Cade Bambara, and, particularly, Audre Lorde, identified the senses, feeling, and the erotic as resources for both social critique and transformative politics (Ferguson 2012, 295–300). Similarly exploring the radical potential of affect and feeling, Martínez’s self-reflexive interpretative praxis and her attention to the everyday affective experiences of Cubans exemplifies a feminist methodology grounded in lived everyday experience. It is Martínez’s articulation of affect and interpersonal bonds as resources for the work of building international anti-imperialist revolutionary struggle that makes her writing a particularly useful case study of the radical implications of the emergent love-politics voiced by a wide range of third world feminism during the 1970s. As Angela Davis explains, Martínez’s ability to “translat[e] her anti-imperialist perspective” into “lucid and easy to understand language” helped clarify the implications of the Cuban Revolution and international revolutionary struggle for Davis and other U.S. feminist activists during the late sixties and seventies (2013, 98). In her writing, Martínez does not

reproduce from conventional left discourse, rendering revolutionary love primarily as an ideological commitment to the proletariat and humanity more broadly. Through her focus on the everyday practice of revolution and moments of affective alignment in Cuba, Martínez articulates a feminist revolutionary love-politics grounded in communal and interpersonal bonds forged through an ongoing practice of testing revolutionary theory by assessing feeling and emotion among potential allies.

### **Chicana Feminist Love-Praxis in *El Grito del Norte***

*The Youngest Revolution* provides entry to the importance of everyday feeling and emotion within Martínez's broader exploration of bringing about revolutionary social change. Consistent with her careful emphasis on the local context of the people and events that she profiled in *The Youngest Revolution*, Martínez's book was published while she was engaged in a local project, coediting the Chicano newspaper *El Grito del Norte* in New Mexico. In addition to featuring stories on the local land-rights movement led by Reies López Tijerina and the organizing work of the Chicano Black Berets in Albuquerque, *El Grito del Norte* included bilingual coverage of the national Chicano movement. To provide coverage of U.S. militarism and imperialism, *El Grito del Norte* editors and correspondents such as Martínez, Enriqueta Vasquez, and Nita Luna published accounts of their travel to Vietnam, Laos, China, Cuba, Mexico, and North American locales such as the Pine Ridge Reservation in South Dakota. The newspaper also regularly included articles and reader correspondence about the Soledad brothers, Angela Davis, the Black Panthers, the Young Lords Party, the American Indian Movement, and Chicano and American Indian men imprisoned in California, New Mexico, and Texas.

As the circulation of the paper increased beyond New Mexico, contributors' articles were reprinted in Chicano movement publications, women's anthologies, and socialist newspapers across the United States. *El Grito del Norte* writers helped grow a Chicana counterpublic engaged in a national dialogue about Chicana feminist politics and the role of women within the Chicano movement (Blackwell 2011, 135; Espinoza 2006, 206). During the 1970s, Chicana activists based in Texas as well as Chicana feminist organizations based in Los Angeles, such as Hijas de Cuauhtémoc and Comisión Femenil Mexicana Nacional, engaged in national and transnational dialogues about Chicana feminism and women's liberation (Chávez

2010, 77–92). Although *El Grito del Norte* did not advertise itself as a feminist newspaper, Dionne Espinoza notes that influential Texas-based Chicana feminist Martha P. Cotera praised *El Grito del Norte*, particularly Martínez and Vasquez, for their “sophisticated and comprehensive” contribution to bringing attention to the national and international scope of women’s issues (Cotera 1976, 164; Espinoza 2006, 206). Cortera’s recognition of *El Grito del Norte* contributors’ attention to international issues while engaged in reporting on local, regional, and national movements foregrounds the newspaper’s important role in Chicana feminist politics. As Martínez clarifies in her reflections on the newspaper, the “combination of what could be called liberatory or revolutionary nationalism with internationalism made *El Grito* very unusual among the dozens of more nationalist Chicano movement newspapers that covered the Southwest and inspired activists” (2002, 82).

Across the five-year span of *El Grito del Norte*, the regular inclusion of international reportage and coverage of the Chicano antiwar movement alongside Chicana feminist columns and reports about local New Mexico movements reveals the contemporaneous articulation of internationalism, revolutionary nationalism, and Chicana feminism. International journalism by Martínez and Dolores Varela as well as Enriqueta Vasquez’s article discussing her participation in a third world women’s conference and Vasquez’s later collaboration with Martínez on *Viva La Raza! The Struggle of the Mexican-American People* (1974), a monograph integrating their work from *El Grito del Norte*, particularly exemplifies the intersection of all three frameworks. In their journalism, Martínez, Varela, and Vasquez develop a revolutionary love-praxis that incorporates their lived experiences of feeling and emotion to envision and build an international third world women’s movement that embraces interdependence and passionately defends national self-determination in order to dismantle racism and capitalism.

Martínez’s journalism about the impact of the Vietnam War and the Cultural Revolution in China exemplifies a love-praxis enacted through the combination of physical affection with a political commitment to building bonds to challenge capitalism and imperialism. Enacting her commitment to internationalism, Martínez joined a women’s peace delegation to Vietnam in 1970 and traveled to China with another delegation in 1972. In an article about her experience in Vietnam, Martínez relates that prior to the war “the peasants—campesinos—lost their lands to big, rich, powerful men” (1970, 4). Through linguistic code switching, Martínez’s addition

of “campesinos” following “peasants” encourages *El Grito del Norte* readers to understand Vietnamese rural life as analogous to the struggle for land rights in New Mexico. Like her reportage about Cuba, however, she also marks distinctions among locales and presents international alliance building as built on expressive practices. In an article describing her visit to China in 1972, she reports that upon arrival,

[representatives] of the 54 national minority groups in China [ . . . ] had come to welcome [the U.S. delegation] because our group of Chicanos, Blacks, Native Americans, Puerto Ricans came from the national minorities of the U.S.A. Like us, they were all very different looking—from a light young man with blue eyes who looked completely European to a small, dark-skinned woman who could have been a Mexican Indian. But they had one thing in common: they were country people who did not put on airs, who did not hesitate to touch us and put their arms around us and walk with us hand-in-hand. (Martínez 1972, 10)

Martínez sketches a vision of international alliance building that combines attention to difference, in this case ethno-racial heterogeneities within national formations, and points of translocal connection. For Martínez, the resemblances between the physical features and the class positions of Chinese minority representatives and U.S. delegation members resolve in affective expression. “Touch” and the act of walking “hand-in-hand” supplement comparable phenotypes and experiences of navigating economic and ethno-racial hierarchies within national formations. The work of bridging national difference, in Martínez’s account, takes place through a mutual affective recognition of resemblances and social experience, but not by erasing the specific heterogeneities of national cultures.

The political potential of mutual expressions of affection generated from mutual cross-cultural identification is reflected in other *El Grito del Norte* coverage of international encounters. In the article “We Are People of the Land” in the special “La Chicana” insert in the June 1971 issue of *El Grito del Norte*, Dolores Varela describes her experience attending the Indochinese Women’s Conference in Vancouver with Washington State Native American tribal fishing rights activists Alison and Suzette Bridges. Recounting a meeting with women from North Vietnam, South Vietnam, and Cambodia, Varela writes that “everything we said [the Indochinese women] could relate to, and compare it with what was happening over

there” (1971, K). Like Martínez’s portrayal of her experience in Vietnam and China, Varela describes interpersonal encounters among U.S. women of color and Southeast Asian women as revealing the analogies between the colonial condition of Chicanos and American Indians within the United States. In Varela’s account, the foundation for alliances among U.S. women of color and Southeast Asian women extend beyond the parallels between “reservations [in the United States] and the enemy’s concentration camps in their countries.” After establishing that “everything [Varela and Bridges] said they could relate to,” Varela writes that the Southeast Asian women “touched Alison’s face and held up her hand next to theirs, and said she looked just like them and was the same color too.” At the end of the meeting, Varela recounts that “all the Indo-Chinese women hugged us and just hung on to us” and Suzette Bridges gave one of the North Vietnamese women part of her wedding ring because “she really felt like her sister” (1971, K). In Varela’s description, the practice of comparing histories of colonialism leads to an expression of solidarity through touch, physical expression, and sharing a symbol of lifelong commitment. Connectivity emerges not just from a shared analysis or comparable experiences but also grows from expressions of empathy and the visceral textures of interpersonal and loving commitments across national difference.

While Martínez and Varela portray affective connectivities as the basis for building transnational feminist bonds, fellow *El Grito del Norte* journalist Enriqueta Vasquez encouraged readers also to understand the project of building collective anticolonial struggles as requiring self-assessment. An activist in the Denver-based Chicano movement Crusade for Justice prior to joining the editorial staff at *El Grito del Norte*, Vasquez became a well-known champion of Chicana feminism through her weekly column “¡Despierten, Hermanos!” While recognized for her feminist analyses of the U.S. Chicano movement, her account of a national meeting of third world women in 1972 organized by the Division of Church and Race of the United Presbyterian Church in California illuminates how her articulation of Chicana feminism combined internationalism and revolutionary nationalism. In “Third World Women Meet,” Vasquez identifies self-awareness about power inequalities among colonized peoples as a necessary component of building collaborations across social and national borders. “One of the lessons we felt in blending with other peoples,” Vasquez recounts, “is to live a humanity under the skin.” While calling for a commitment to

humanism, Vasquez also encourages a shift in the self-definition of U.S. national liberation movements: “There is a need for those of us who live within the U.S., the most wealthy, powerful and expansionist country in the world, to identify ourselves as third world peoples in order to end this economic and political expansion” ([1972] 2006, 203). Cross identification, for Vasquez, will lead to much-needed “international cooperation” ([1972] 2006, 203). While encouraging U.S. national liberation movements to reframe their struggles as part of a broader internationalist challenge to “expansionism in the name of God and ‘free enterprise,’” Vasquez notes that the “third world is not an ideology unto itself.” She cautions that third world peoples “must realize that nations and people can be part of the third world and still be oppressors and exploiters. (Japan is an example of this, together with other nations run by puppets of neo-colonization such as Chiang Kai Shek, Mobutu, Governor Ferre, etc.)” Taking into account the relative distribution of power among third world peoples, for Vasquez, clarifies that the concept of third world describes “oppressed and exploited lands and peoples who suffer internal and external colonialism” ([1972] 2006, 203). Vasquez’s description of third world as a condition marked by “internal and external colonialism” aligns with Chicano national liberation frameworks and third world revolutionary nationalist discourse. Ramón A. Gutiérrez explains that Chicano activists, including New Mexican Alianza Federal members, and black power advocates during the 1970s increasingly adapted Latin American materialist theories of internal colonialism to characterize the economic and legal position of racialized minorities within the United States (2004, 288). While identifying the experiences of Chicanos and third world women as structured by the psychological and material components of colonialism, Vasquez posits that meeting with other third world women “makes one further aware of the meaning of the sufferings and turmoil of Vietnam, Angola, Puerto Rico, Latin America and the whole of Asia” ([1972] 2006, 202). She concludes that “third world people in the United States must identify our exploitative history in order to end this economic and political expansionism” ([1972] 2006, 204). Vasquez’s call to “refuse and repudiate one’s share of the guilt” and reassess history casts U.S. third world peoples as both experiencing and unintentionally complicit in U.S. imperialism ([1972] 2006, 202). For Vasquez, the relative position of U.S. third world peoples within the United States and the international sphere requires not only self-liberation

but also a global challenge to the capitalist system structuring U.S. third world experiences.

Vasquez’s call for a revolutionary international alliance that includes self-reflexivity and an ongoing negotiation of multiplicity foreshadows her subsequent collaboration with Martínez to outline a Chicana feminist vision of third world feminism in *Viva La Raza! The Struggle of the Mexican-American People* (1974). Combining political analyses of the Chicano movement with an account of the history of U.S. imperialism and Mexican cultural identity formation, *Viva La Raza!* provides a Chicana feminist history and theory of Chicana/o experience in the United States. Across the chapters, Martínez and Vasquez relate historical examples of Chicana and Mexican women’s activism in order to contextualize their argument that Chicanas are increasingly leading the Chicano fight for self-determination (1974, 329). Chicanas’ leadership and activism, in Martínez and Vasquez’s account, also extends to engaging other third world women. Integrating sections of Vasquez’s article “Third World Women Meet” from *El Grito del Norte*, Martínez and Vasquez explain that Chicanas’ participation in the Chicano movement catalyzed a “growing awareness of the limitless power of sisterhood and the possible achievement of world consciousness and a new humanity.” For Martínez and Vasquez, as Chicanas’ political vision expanded within the Chicano movement, engaging other women from “colonized and formerly colonized peoples of the world” provided an “affirmation” of the Chicana/o struggle rather than a “threat to our Chicanismo.” Recounting Chicanas’ participation in the third world women’s conference that Vasquez reported on in *El Grito del Norte*, Martínez and Vasquez emphasize that sharing the “mestizo history as the Chicano nation of Aztlán” and hearing from African American, Asian American, American Indian, and East Asian women affirmed the importance of creating awareness of the “links between the struggles within the United States and world struggles” (1974, 333).

As Martínez and Vasquez argue for a global alliance that recognizes the specificities and affinities among women’s experiences of racism and colonialism, they also cast the revolutionary potential of third world unity as grounded in feeling and the body. Reprinting a poem originally published by Vasquez in her article “Third World Women Meet” in *El Grito del Norte*, Martínez and Vasquez clarify that the “feeling of the third world was expressed as follows”:

To see and speak with these women of the third world was  
to see oneself.

There were blacks who looked like me,  
There were Indians who looked like me,  
There were Asians with traces of me.

All were pieces of struggles;  
pieces of reality;  
pieces of flesh  
All were pieces of me

(1974, 333)

The speaker's identification of embodied resemblances between herself and the black, American Indian, Asian American, and East Asian women who attended the conference implies that historical genealogies of colonial violence and capitalism serve as a common reference point for third world women. Moreover, following Martínez and Vasquez's directive to read the poem as an expression of the "feeling of the third world," the speaker's account of self-recognition extends beyond identifying intersecting genealogies (1974, 333). The speaker's description of the women as "pieces of struggles," "reality," and "flesh" suggests that lived and material experiences of resistance further strengthen the feelings of affinity. As the speaker relays that she embodies the unification of the heterogeneous "pieces," the third world names not only a feeling of connection but also a visceral sensibility linking women with distinct histories and experiences.

Vasquez's poem and the discussions grounded in the everyday feminism of Chicana and third world women in *Viva la Raza!* parallel a mode of analysis that Chicana feminist Cherríe Moraga characterized as "theory in the flesh" seven years later in *This Bridge Called My Back: Writings by Radical Women of Color* (1981). Moraga explains that "a theory in the flesh means one where the physical realities of our lives—our skin color, the land or concrete where we grew up on, our sexual longings—all fuse to create a politic born of necessity" (23). The resonances between Vasquez's poem and Moraga's later theorization demonstrate a shared vision of third world feminism as a practice grounded in and motivated by daily struggle. In her poem, Vasquez, like Moraga and subsequent Chicana and U.S. third world feminists, outlines what Chela Sandoval has theorized as a U.S. third world feminist "hermeneutics of love": an interpretative and lived practice of disrupting conventions and rupturing norms to bring about a collec-

tive vision of radical social change (2000, 140). Vasquez’s poem allows readers to join the speaker in discovering a new sense of connectivity built through the recovery of historical linkages and identification of contemporary affinities among third world women’s struggles.

Reflecting on the history of U.S. women of color feminism, Cherríe Moraga has explained that women of color feminists in the 1980s inherited the vision of third world feminists in the 1970s who published essays analyzing “Racism, Imperialism and Sexism” and subsequently sought to realize the “pending promise inscribed by all of us who believe that revolution—physical and metaphysical at once—is possible” (quoted in Moraga 2015, xxi; Moraga 2015, xxi). Martínez and her collaborators’ portrayal of the mechanics of alliance building among third world women makes their work particularly useful for understanding how third world feminists put into practice their commitment to simultaneously bring about material and spiritual change. In their work, feeling and everyday expressions of care are equally as valuable as materialist structural critique, a practice often more highly valued within radical left politics, for building a global, collective struggle for liberation from capitalism, imperialism, racism, and sexism. Their work reveals the radical potential of love not only as a revolutionary politics but also as an ongoing effort “to live a humanity under the skin.”

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## Notes

1. Martínez was active in the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee from 1962 to 1967. Martínez also edited and helped shape numerous movement books, including *Black Power* (1967) by Stokely Carmichael and Charles Hamilton and *The Making of Black Revolutionaries* (1972) by James Forman. During the 1970s, she was active in women’s-liberation movement networks and published widely in socialist magazines and Chicano publications.
2. Throughout this essay, I use “U.S. third world left” to distinguish the political network of U.S.-based leftist radical organizations deploying third world

political frameworks. I use “third world” to refer to the political project and discourses emerging from Latin American, Asian, and African anticolonial and revolutionary movements.

3. During the 1950s to 1960s, Martínez used her mother’s maiden name, Sutherland, as a surname. After 1967, she published under Elizabeth Sutherland Martínez and Elizabeth Martínez. Throughout this essay, I use Martínez to provide consistency across periods.

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