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Evolution and Resolution of Conflict

Félix M. Padilla

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Evolution and Resolution of Conflict

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RIOTS ON DIVISION STREET

...During the summer of 1966 the city of Chicago became the site of the first major urban Puerto Rican riot in the history of the United States. The outburst was one in a series of urban protest riots which raged in American society, primarily among blacks, from the end of World War II until the last years of the 1960s. Puerto Rican behavior in Chicago during the summer of 1966 mirrored the dilemma of exploited, non-white people in the United States: whether to withstand the rejection of the majority in the hope that ameliorative action would bring rewards within the system or to lash out and destroy the “hated environment”, thus abruptly focusing the attention of the majority and bringing release for oneself.
The Puerto Rican riot occurred almost at the same time that various national and local governmental agencies were taking precautionary measures to head off rioting in major American cities. The two preceding years had witnessed some of the largest and most intense black disturbances ever—Harlem, Watts, Detroit, Philadelphia, etc. In order to prevent future outbursts, the Justice Department instructed its Assistant United States Attorneys to report on conditions in a score of communities considered particularly "inflamma­ble". The Vice President's Task Force on Youth Opportunity authorized its field representatives to investigate potential trouble spots and offer short-term recommendations. These findings were to be made available to federal agencies involved in the black ghettos. Government officials throughout the country devised emergency programs to employ and entertain black youths and otherwise keep them off the streets, while local and state police departments aided by the F.B.I. prepared coordinated riot-control plans. (These measures were not designed to alleviate conditions in the ghettos but merely to prevent their manifestation ever—Harlem). Hence, it was with mounting apprehension that local and federal officials awaited the summer.

They did not have to wait long. The Puerto Rican riot erupted in June, and was followed by disturbances among blacks in battered cities previously stricken and cities hitherto spared, Omaha, Dayton, San Francisco, and Atlanta. The summer of 1966 was the most violent yet.

The Puerto Rican riot began June 12, 1966 when a white policeman shot and wounded a young Puerto Rican man, Arcelis Cruz, twenty years old, near the intersection of Division Street and Damen Avenue in the Westtown community. After the shooting, the situation at the Division-Damen intersection intensified when the police brought dogs into the fray and a Puerto Rican was bitten. For three days and nights, a Puerto Rican crowd demonstrated against police brutality. And each time the police tried to disperse the crowd, it only succeeded in arousing them.

From June 12 to June 14, Puerto Ricans not only defied the police, but also looted and burned neighborhood businesses, particularly those identified as white-owned. The city's Puerto Rican leaders pleaded with the rioters to return to their homes, but to little avail. The Chicago Sun-Times (June 14, 1966:1) reports that at one rally, organized during the second day of the riot and held at the intersection of Division Street and California Avenue, community organization leaders and clergymen urged the crowd of 3,000 to halt the violence. Immediately after the rally, however, rocks and bricks were thrown at policemen. Meanwhile the police department ordered all available personnel into the Division Street area to quell the rioting, and on June 15, order was finally restored. By this time, it was officially acknowledged that 16 persons were injured, 49 were arrested, over 50 buildings were destroyed, and millions of dollars accrued in damages.

...The state of police-Puerto Rican relations before the riot was a major source of Puerto Rican frustration and accounts for the presence of a generalized belief which, following Smelser's approach, became the necessary ingredient in producing this collective action. For many years Puerto Ricans attempted, without any success, to bring to light the ample evidence of discriminatory beatings and humiliations, as in the case of González-Burgos described in the preceding chapter. The numerous hostile and abrasive encounters between the police and barrio residents, particularly those incidents perceived by the Puerto Rican community as inflammatory and as acts of injustice or insults to the Puerto Rican community, were the triggering events of the 1966 riot. As psychologist Leonard Berkowitz points out in his discussion of civil violence among blacks: "[The police] are the 'head thumpers', the all too-often hostile enforcers of laws arbitrarily imposed upon [blacks] by an alien world" (1968:48).

The society's bases of legitimacy and authority had been attacked. Law and order had long been viewed by Puerto Ricans as the white man's law and order, but now this characteristic perspective of
Puerto Rican residents of the Division Street area shared a pervasive belief that policemen were physically brutal, harsh, and discourteous to them because they were Puerto Ricans...

...The testimonies of fifty-four witnesses at a public hearing held a month following the Division Street Riot (Friday and Saturday, July 15 and 16, 1966) provide further evidence of the negative appraisals of police behavior by barrio residents. According to the summary report of the hearings entitled “The Puerto Rican Residents of Chicago, a Report on an Open Hearing,” of six major problem areas identified by the witnesses, relations between Puerto Rican residents and the police was the most pressing and in most need of corrective action. In fact, one witness expressed the point that since the state of Puerto Rican-police relations was so incredibly poor, “a comprehensive community action program against social injustice” needed to be established in the community.

Yet the police became a main focal point for attack not only because of their attitude and behavior toward Puerto Ricans, but because they symbolized the despised invisible white power structure. Of the institutional contacts with which barrio residents had intimate contact schools, social welfare and employment agencies, medical facilities, and business owners the police embodied the most crushing authority. For many Puerto Ricans, the police had come to represent more than enforcement of law; they were viewed as members of an “occupying army” and as an oppressive force acting on behalf of those who ruled their environment.

Some city officials and other critics of the riots used what social scientists have called the “criminal riffraff” theory of rioting in explaining the outburst (e.g., Fogelson and Hill, 1968). According to this view, every large urban ghetto contains a disproportionate number of criminals, delinquents, unemployed, school dropouts, and other social misfits who on the slightest pretext are ready to riot, loot, and exploit an explosive social situation for their private gain and for satisfying their aggressive anti-social instincts. After meeting in City Hall with residents from the Division Street Area, Mayor Daley made a statement to the press appealing especially to the neighborhood parents to keep their children off the streets. “Such action should be taken,” stressed the Mayor, “in areas where unthinking and irresponsible individuals and gangs are seeking a climate of violence and uncertainty that threatens lives and property” (Chicago Sun-Times, June 15, 1966).

Thus, according to city officials and others, the basic source of the trouble was not to be found among long-standing and well-established residents of the Puerto Rican community, an otherwise tranquil and satisfied populace. Such a view contained important advantages for city officials who widely espoused it.

...Viewed from a different point, the Division Street Riot was the action of a people, poor and dispossessed and crushed in large numbers in el barrio, who rose up in wrath against a society committed to democratic ideals. Their outburst was an expression of powerlessness resentment against racial prejudice, anger at the unreachable affluence around them, and frustration at their sociopolitical powerlessness. Puerto Ricans had gradually developed an urban consciousness—a consciousness of an entrapped ethnic minority. The sense of entrapment stemmed from the inability of the Puerto Ricans to break out of the urban ghetto and become part of the burgeoning middle class. There were conditions of deprivation in the Puerto Rican community that since the 1966 riot have to come to be widely recognized as very real grievances. Frustration and alienation accentuated by feelings of relative deprivation must be regarded as psychological factors that create a readiness for individuals to give vent to what Smelser calls collective behavior.

It was during this time that some Puerto Ricans sensed the possibility of improvement; in fact, they had become quite dissatisfied with their situation and rebelled against it. And “with rebellion,” as Albert Camus (1967:247) puts it, “awareness is born,” and with awareness, an impatience “which can extend to everything that [people] had previously accepted, and which is almost always retroactive.” Puerto Ricans began to realize, perhaps for the first time in
their lives, that the signs advertising "American egalitarianism" did not include them. Puerto Ricans found themselves on the outside looking in. Since coming to Chicago they had remained on the metaphoric margin, apart from, not a part of, the important positions of America's institutional life they represented a population whose participation in the political and economic systems occurred at the lowest reaches of these structures. Thus, a population of Spanish-speaking people that used to see the proverbial glass as half full now saw it as half empty.

...Puerto Ricans began vowing to fight to change their conditions and their way to power. There was a difference in both the tone and the tempo of their protest: the tone was bitter and the tempo frenetic. There had been times when expressions of anger, hatred, and hostility had burst out in the Division Street Area in the form of small acts of aggression against representatives of the dominant group or against other minority group members. But it was the collective support given this expressed hostility, permitting the spread and intensification of it in reckless defiance of police power, that made the outburst an instance of collective behavior that was more than just another race riot.

In the Puerto Rican community a sense of betrayal of expectations brought about a focus on the grievances of the past and present. The visibility of an affluent, comfortable, middle-class life made possible by a powerful mass communications system was in itself enough to induce dual feelings of resentment and emulation. The failure of society to effectively raise the status of those trapped in el barrio contributed to the smoldering resentments. The urge to retaliate, to return the hurts and the injustices, played an integral part of the Division Street Riot. In short, the 1966 riot erupted as a new generation of Puerto Ricans sensed that persuasion was not going to bring an end to subordination and oppression. They saw that the Puerto Rican community was far more powerless than the earlier successes of Los Caballeros might suggest. The Puerto Rican community took to the streets in defiance of both the obdurate white community and the older Puerto Rican leadership who had tried to win the battle for equality without bloodshed. Tired of promises of things to come, bitterly frustrated by ghetto-living, and seething with a hatred born of denial, they sought action.

RISE OF A POLITICIZED ETHNIC CONSCIOUSNESS

The 1966 riot represents a major watershed in the history of Puerto Ricans in Chicago. For one thing, it demonstrated the depth of Puerto Rican discontent, the extent of Puerto Rican anger and hate, and the ease with which Puerto Rican anger and hate could flare into violence. More important, the riot raised the anger to a new pitch. When the police dogs were unleashed on the corner of Damen and Division Street, every Puerto Rican in the city felt their teeth in the marrow of his or her bones. The explosion of anger and hatred that resulted for a moment, at least, broke through the traditionally alleged apathy of the poor and created an almost universal desire to act. The Puerto Rican poor were able to overcome the shame bred by a society which blamed them for their plight; they were able to break the bonds of conformity enforced by their jobs and by every strand of institutional life; they were able to overcome the fears induced by the city's police force.

Of course not all Puerto Ricans took up the banner of militancy. Indeed, many, perhaps even the majority, were frightened at the turn of events. Yet there is little doubt that sympathy for the sentiment underlying the "new militancy" touched all Puerto Ricans in the city. One of the
more valuable group assets to emerge from the 1966 riot was an "awakening" among the masses of the Puerto Rican poor. This awakening led to an increased ethnic consciousness among Puerto Ricans: the partisan behavior and sense of group obligation that more and more Puerto Ricans began to exhibit in trying to overcome their conditions. Advocacy for Puerto Rican ethnic consciousness began to show up in various forms.

In addition to several peace rallies held at Humbolt Park, community leaders organized several major meetings during and after the riot to inform and interpret issues with residents of the community. The Latin American Boys Club, located on 1218 N. Washtenaw Street in the heart of the Division Street Area, became the leading site for these gatherings. At times, Puerto Rican leaders met there with police officials and human relations staff workers to devise ways to prevent future disturbances (Chicago Daily News, June 13, 1966). Several marches and demonstrations were also organized. On June 28, over 200 Puerto Rican residents of the Division Street Area marched five miles to City Hall to protest what they had come to interpret as police brutality and the failure of the city administration to recognize "Puerto Rican problems." The Puerto Rican community also rallied to show support for those arrested during the riot.

The Coordinating Commission of Puerto Rican Affairs was formed to help bail out those who had been imprisoned. Hundreds of barrio residents jammed into the courtroom where Puerto Ricans arrested during the riot were being tried. A Chicago Daily News' story, "Judge's Warning: Respect the Police," indicated that, conversing in Spanish, the spectators provided constant moral encouragement to the defendants (June 13, 1966).

...The post-riot period did witness a steady decline in the relative social status of some of the earlier Puerto Rican elite. Social standing and the legitimacy to speak on issues pertaining to the Puerto Rican community began to shift to a leadership not directly connected to Los Caballeros or community organizations of the early adjustment period.

The old establishment was also challenged by the increasing effectiveness of an emerging leadership comprised of few members of the old guard who had broken ranks and a large number of young, articulate, and brash new leaders. The leadership of the Puerto Rican community, no longer in the exclusive hands of first-generation Puerto Ricans, began to question the traditional goals of the programs led by the old guard. After 1966 the new leadership of Puerto Ricans increasingly gave voice to an ideology that challenged the assimilationist perspective of Los Caballeros and other early organizations. Like the old guard's approach, the new leaders assumed that the growing white hostility could be dealt with if Puerto Ricans developed and organized their own economic and civic institutions. On the other hand, this philosophy also called for counterattack; the new leadership emphasized protest against injustices. It began to mount broad and all-embracing attacks upon the forces of oppression of the larger American society. The lines between the two ideological camps were not always clearly drawn. At times, the issues were spelled out; at other times, they were only implicit. But regardless of the many variations and complexities, Chicago's emerging Puerto Rican leaders were engaged in a new and different approach directly related to the course of Puerto Rican development in the city.

The Young Lords represent one of the various activist, direct action, organizational efforts among Puerto Ricans in Chicago from the mid-1960s onward. Despite the Young Lords' political activism and a general increase of civic activities among barrio residents, in the main, the people of the Division Street Area were not in a position to establish action-oriented community institu-
tions and organizations that would adequately meet the needs of the growing Puerto Rican community. Most Puerto Rican businesses were undercapitalized and the existing cultural and social service organizations and agencies lacked the financial resources to develop satisfactory facilities and to hire adequate professional staffs to deal with the many problems operative in *el barrio*. It was the indirect result of the expansion into the Division Street Area of "Community Action Programs" (CAP), established throughout the country during the early 1960s as part of the federal government's War Against Poverty, which contributed to the development of some of these structures as well as toward the growth of a new leadership.

The outburst of racial violence on Division Street during the summer of 1966 produced a political response from city officials in the form of community action programs to address the complex social problems of *el barrio*. In turn, these programs were used to produce a politicized and activist agenda by some Puerto Ricans. Federally funded Community Action Programs, channeled through the city's political system, then, became the leading mechanism for the institutionalization of barrio-based politics or activist social action. Several of the Community Action Programs established in the Division Street Area during this period were transformed from community service agencies into local political structures; they were used to politicize inactive barrio residents, *i.e.*, welfare mothers, gangs, unemployed, school dropouts, and the like.

...The most important CAP established by the city public officials and used by some Puerto Ricans to politicize area residents was an urban progress center. The Division Street Urban Progress Center, put into place immediately following the riot on Division Street, represented the first program of this kind to service any of the city's Spanish-speaking populations. It began as an outpost of the Garfield Park Community Center, but shortly thereafter became a service agency of its own. The initial location, 2120 W. Division Street, was near the spot where the civil disturbances had occurred a month earlier. Like other urban progress centers in the city, the neighborhood center was a multi-service program established to coordinate the activities of governmental and, at times, private agencies servicing the Division Street Area. Further, a series of Title II Community Action Program agencies, as well as others funded outside this title, were housed in the Center.

Many other programs from the arsenal of weapons used in the poverty war were also established throughout the Division Street community and housed in the Center. To close the gap between barrio residents and the nonpoor, manpower training—both institutional and on-the-job—was required. Hence, the Job Corps, the Neighborhood Youth Corps (NYC), the Manpower Development and Training ACT (MDTA), JOBS, and Work Incentive Programs (WIN) were either established or scheduled for rapid expansion into this community during and after the summer of 1966. Head Start, Teacher Corps, and Title I of the Aid to Education Act were also launched to assist the children of that generation in preparing for school and in receiving better and more schooling. Further, a Neighborhood Health Center was set into place to subsidize the medical expenses of welfare recipients and the medically indigent.

In short, the Division Street Urban Progress Center was a catchall for projects to aid the poor—practically any effort aimed at reducing poverty could be found as part of the structural arrangement of the Center. Given this range, it was clear that the Center was not a program, but a strategy for combating poverty. When one examines the literature on the War on Poverty, it becomes very obvious that one of the prime goals was to give the lower classes, and particularly the ethnic minorities, a middle-class mentality rather than middle-class resources. Daniel P. Moynihan makes it clear in his report, *The Negro Family: The Case for National Action* (1965), that, in his view, the deterioration of the black family is at the root of their problems. In the 1960s, thousands of pages were devoted to the "culture of poverty" and how to break the "cycle of poverty." The argument ran: people can make their way out of poverty through changes in attitude, motivation, and willingness to make sacrifices. The policy, aimed more at changing the attitudes of mind than at offering material help, was a psychological assault to give the poor the motivation to work their own way out of poverty. As Charles Valentine (1968) has so ably shown, this was

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only a subtle way of blaming poverty on the poor.

The approach followed by social service agencies and social workers concentrated far too much on symptoms rather than on causes—and on symptoms seen and treated individually rather than in connection with other symptoms. This concern with symptoms has been a reflection of the preoccupation of the social work profession with case work and the study and treatment of individual maladjustment. The goal of the Division Street Urban Progress Center was to teach "maladjusted individuals" how to adapt themselves to society as it was, rather than to change those aspects of society that made the individuals what they were. In some instances, the services offered at the Center would simply substitute a new set of symptoms for the old.

It's little wonder that a larger number of social scientists as well as local residents of poor communities throughout the country acquired a growing sense of disenchantment with the War on Poverty programs. An abundance of evidence is found that speaks to the limited impact these programs had on poor people. After reviewing governmental actions in post-1967 in such important areas as poverty, education, and housing, an Urban America and Urban Coalition report entitled, "One Year Later," concluded that "most actions and programs to meet ghetto problems and grievances had been, depending on the area, too limited, under funded, or nonexistent" (1969:114-118). The Division Street Urban Progress Center represents a sample case of a policy which helped bring community residents to identify in an organized manner the physical and social problems of the community, to interpret these needs to city agencies, and work toward implementing some community-based programs" (A Proposal to Develop an Urban Service Training Center, submitted by the Spanish Action Committee of Chicago, not dated). During its early period, only a cadre of volunteers constituted the membership of SACC. Mr. Juan Diaz, a former member of Los Caballeros, was its Executive Director, and there was a board of directors composed of local residents. But because of the temper of the times, this nonsalaried hard core managed to bring out ever-increasing numbers of supporters for organizational activities. During this early stage, leaders of SACC concentrated on direct action, and the actions they led in the streets were generally more militant and disruptive than those of Los Caballeros and of earlier groups. They seized upon every grievance as an opportunity for inciting mass actions, and channeled their energy into extensive pamphleteering and agitation, which helped bring community res-

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idents together and raise the pitch of anger to defiance. SACC organized boycotts, picket lines, and demonstrations to attack discrimination in access to a wide range of services. A summary report, prepared by SACC, indicates the more notable involvement of the organization during the period of 1967-1969:

1. Relocation of Division Street Urban Progress Center to its present location from a storefront.

SACC received complaints from local residents pertaining to the limitations and service problems of the then storefront Urban Progress Center unit. SACC took action by informing Dr. Dayton Brooks, Director of Chicago Committee on Urban Opportunities, that unless something was done about these problems, direct action would be taken on the part of the community. Dr. Brooks came and personally inspected the facilities and ordered that the present location, 1940 W. Division St., was more suitable for the Center.

2. Creation of the Humboldt Park Recreation Committee.

In collaboration with more than twenty Puerto Rican community organizations and local residents, a series of meetings and pickets were organized against the Chicago Park District. Our demands called for the building of a large size swimming pool and improvement of Humboldt Park facilities and programs. Some improvements were made, however, the park district did not meet our demands of a new and large swimming pool.

3. Removal of Policemen from the 13th District.

SACC received various complaints about certain police officers who were using unlawful tactics and discriminatory actions against the Puerto Rican community. SACC’s legal committee circulated a petition, gathering over 2,000 signatures. The petition was taken to the Internal Investigation Division of the Chicago Police Department, and after much examination several of these officers were removed from this district.

4. Board of Education’s Program is Defeated by Community Parents.

After learning of a proposed boundary change and the potentially subsequent transfer of 300 students from Von Humboldt School, SACC arranged that the board’s agency in charge of these changes meet with the Puerto Rican community. A public meeting was arranged and held at the school, the parents opposed all proposed changes. New boundaries for Von Humboldt School were never drawn.

SACC gained a wide and approving audience by articulating feelings which most Puerto Ricans shared but feared to voice in public. The success of SACC in mobilizing the barrio poor and receiving support from other emerging community groups and organizations resulted, principally, from its close affiliation with the Division Street Urban Progress Center—several members of SACC were also members of the Center’s Advisory Council. This Council, comprised of members from local businesses and community service agencies, had a formal advisory role in program planning within the Division Street Area. From the beginning, members of SACC were represented in the Advisory Council’s membership. There were times when one SACC representative was a member of the council; at other times, two SACC members served as part of the council’s membership base.

Participation in the Center’s Advisory Council provided these members with an excellent opportu-
THE REPRESSION OF PROTEST

While dramatizing both the complex problems confronting Puerto Rican residents of the city and the urgent need for solutions to the problems, the 1966 riot also marked the beginning of a new wave of Puerto Rican protest, one which is still underway today. The Division Street Riot put direct action on the agenda of social change in the Puerto Rican community. It made Puerto Ricans realize that protest could be used as an effective power tool, stretching its influence into the political process. However, as quickly as protest was introduced into the Puerto Rican agenda, city officials moved in to repress it.

The grudging support that had been forthcoming to the Puerto Rican community in the post-riot years in the form of Community Action Programs was now joined by an increasingly repressive local response to activism in the Division Street Area. The emergence of a militant leadership represented a direct threat to the established order, and therefore, had to be suppressed by any means the authorities thought necessary. There were countless instances of intimidation, harassment, and surveillance directed at the Puerto Rican groups and individuals who were viewed as presenting a fundamental challenge to existing power relationships.

Typical of the wide ranging treatment accorded black and other activist groups in the late sixties and early seventies by the CIA, the FBI, the Defense Department, and local police departments throughout the country, the "policing of politics" expanded considerably into the Division Street Area following the aftermath of the 1966 riot as police intelligence units moved to gather information on activists and potential activists. Personal files were maintained on a large number of barrio residents. Equally revealing is the range of individuals who were surveilled either as primary targets or because of their alleged political activism. Any individual who attended a meeting in the community was listed as an activist or sympathizer. Even individuals who were considered only remotely subversive or whose personal and political activities were irrelevant to any legitimate governmental interests became targets of surveillance. A vivid illustration of the reasons for surveilling persons involved in community activities in the Puerto Rican barrio comes from the files of Obed López. Although Obed López is Mexican, he was initially classified as a Puerto Rican; and his personal life was the subject of a ten-day intensive surveillance by two intelligence agents. Their report for a sample day, records his going and comings, car and license number, when he parked his car and where, etc.:

SUBJECT (Obed López) drives a dark green Volkswagen, 11. Lic. # HK 5026 which he usually parks on the 1200-1300 blocks of California, the 2800 block of Division, or the 1200 block of Washtenaw while in the Division Street area.

SUBJECT (Obed López) is very difficult to keep under surveillance as he is very evasive. He will drive in circles, stop on occasion for periods ranging from 3-4 minutes, leave his auto and walk up a block on one side, and return on the other side to a point near his auto where he watches for anyone who might be following him, and just about any other tactic that might throw off a surveillance, moving or stationary. (Police Report, August 23, 1966).

The politics of Obed López were analyzed by secret service agents in this way:

Obed López is presently heading up a Communist front organization known as the Latin American Defense Committee... (Police Report, September 19, 1966). SUBJECT (Latin American Defense Organization), under the direction of Obed López, is currently conducting a boycott of the National Food Stores at 2650 & 2311 W. Division Street, and has picketed both stores on three occasions in groups of three. The purpose of the boycott and picketing is to protest what they consider

Richard Daley (circa 1970) participating in the Puerto Rican Parade down State Street
discriminatory hiring and personnel practices by the National TEA Company in relation to people of Latin American extraction. In general, SUBJECT is using the National TEA Company as a scapegoat for a "Pilot Program" they believe will give them considerable influence in the community, especially among the small businessmen who they feel will support them as they are supposedly encouraging Latins to buy from Latin owned businessmen or businesses. (Police Report, September 28, 1966).

Subversive files were also maintained on Puerto Rican community organizations and groups composed of individuals exercising their rights of association and political protest. Groups like the Young Lords, Aspira, Inc. of Illinois, Organization for Latin Americans in Chicago, Latin American Defense Organization, Northwest Spanish Community Committee, Latin Boy's Club, and others were investigated. The files of the Organization for Latin Americans (OLA) are illustrative. The organization was involved in working with issues pertaining to housing, employment, and civil rights. Although its methods were entirely peaceful, it was accused in the intelligence reports of being communist and aiming to become the official voice of Spanish-speaking people in Chicago (Police Report, July 11, 1966).

Perhaps the most celebrated surveilled group was SACC. SACC was subjected to a wide range of official control efforts by a unit of the Chicago Police Department's Intelligence Division also referred to as the Subversive Unit, the Security Section, or the Red Squad. The Subversive Unit used police officers as infiltrators to spy on the activities of SACC and at times to try to provoke organization members into foolish actions. There was an Intelligence Unit's police officer by the name of Thomas Braham who posed as a Spanish-speaking policeman; James Zorno was another surveillance agent who passed as a public relations person with expertise in the preparation of press releases. There were also four Spanish-speaking police officers: Victor Vega, Andrew Rodriguez, Alfredo Perales, and Edwin Olivieri. SACC was deemed worthy of infiltration primarily because, in the views of the Chicago Police Department's Intelligence Unit, its ranks were filled with communists and leftists. The role of the police agents was to encourage paranoia and internal dissent and to damage the public image of SACC.

The agents' entry into SACC was facilitated by the structure of the organization; it lacked resources and people willing to undertake the routine and time-consuming tasks required of activists. The agents brought badly needed skills and resources. It was assumed by SACC members that the agents' ties to institutions they claimed to represent would give the organization added strength of support. The entry of these informants into SACC was further facilitated by the fact that the organization was not comprised of a highly centralized, formally organized, tightly knit group of experienced activists, but was instead decentralized, with fluid task

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assignments and an emphasis on participation. Members were generally not carefully screened, and requirements for membership were minimal. This was all the more true in cases of social action demonstrations, meetings, and marches—in which anyone could participate. The emergent non-institutionalized, social movement character of the struggle, as advanced by SACC, meant constantly changing plans, shifting alliances, and spontaneous actions. SACC’s ideology stressed peaceful nonviolent means, reform, democracy, openness, an anti-bureaucratic orientation, optimistic faith in people, tolerance, community, and naivete about government surveillance. SACC had nothing to hide; the group saw little reason to be suspicious. Several “investigator’s reports”, prepared for the Intelligence Division of the Chicago Police Department by undercover police officers and filed during the summer of 1966, reveal the direct and active part played by these officers in the ultimate dissolution of SACC. In one of the earliest reports the investigating officer indicates very explicitly that the objective of his undertaking “was to destroy the SUBJECT [Spanish Action Committee of Chicago], its leaders and community influence” (June, 1966). In another report dated August 19, 1966, the reporting officer noted: “I launched an all out anti-Ted Vélez, anti-Juan Díaz campaign amongst the original committee members of subject organization, with emphasis on the subversive intonations.”

If the repressive actions directed at SACC were to be successful, the involvement of some of the organization’s members were required in the plot. The undercover Red Squad officers used intimidation tactics to gain the support of a few organization members. The police officers convinced these members that the organization’s involvement in communist-related activities would ultimately cause them a great deal of harm and pain. In particular, Ted and Myrta Ramirez were two SACC members identified by the infiltrators as prospective collaborators since, according to the police officers, both members were very dissatisfied with the way the organization was being run. One investigator’s report, which details the content of a meeting between one police officer and Mr. and Mrs. Ramirez, demonstrates the intimidating tactics used by the officers and, at the same time, the resis-
tance expressed by these two SACC members to the idea of aiding the police with the expulsion from the organization of its alleged communists and leftists:

[Police officer] then advised [Mrs. Ramirez] of the fact that communists are undisputed masters of deceit, and will seize on any popular or controversial issue for their own cause. [Mr. and Mrs. Ramirez] both seemed in agreement with this, but were slightly reluctant when the [police officer] said he would like their help in removing any communist influence from SACC. They feel that SACC has a lot of potential, and would never allow communists to take over, but would inform the [police officer] of the presence of any new or suspicious persons who might try to get into SACC. (August 19, 1966).

In an interview, Mr. Richard Gutman, the Attorney representing SACC, stated very clearly that those who defected from the organization were truly victims of the tactics used by the Red Squad. He pointed out, for instance, that the undercover police officer who passed as a Spanish-speaking policeman convinced these members that SACC was a communist organization and that its leaders had been convicted of possession of narcotics. In the words of Mr. Gutman: Ted and Myrta were victims too. They were used. The various police reports make it clear that Ted and Myrta did not necessarily want to quit SACC; this wasn't their idea. They were totally opposed to putting out the stuff about communism.

In any event, after several meetings, the police officers manipulated Mr. and Mrs. Ramirez into resigning from SACC and forming a competing organization. Shortly after the resignation of these persons, the American Spanish Speaking Peoples Association (ASSPA) was born. In another investigator's report, the role played by the surveillance officers in the formation of ASSPA is clearly stated:

The SUBJECT was secretly organized by members of the Intelligence Division and composed of former members of the Spanish Action Committee of Chicago. Although the members know nothing of the part played by the Intelligence Division, they have been directed to a point where they will publicly denounce SACC and its leader, Juan Diaz and his followers and associates for acts not to the best interest of the Spanish-speaking community, and for the Communist influence they believe exists there. (August 31, 1966).

The undercover officers then proceeded, successfully, to convince members of the newly created organization to prepare a press release announcing the establishment of ASSPA. After examining the text of the original press release prepared by members of ASSPA, the police officer assigned to this investigation concluded that it was insufficient for the desired goals of the police department: They did prepare a press release that said very little as to what their reasons were for resigning from SUBJECT organization, at which time I felt it necessary to ask for the assistance of a “friend of the family” by the name of “Dr. Baron”, an expert in the preparation of Press releases,... [but] who is in actuality Officer James Zarnow (Investigator's Report, August 19, 1966). The entire text of this release is printed below to provide insights into the course of direction former members of SACC were driven to follow:

We, the members of ASSPA are for the most part, former members of the Spanish Action Committee of Chicago, who have arrived at the realization that SACC does not represent the Puerto Rican community or any of the Spanish Speaking as a whole. It has done nothing more than keep the Spanish community apart from the society it should be becoming a part of.

SACC is being led by a man who is directed by individuals in New York who know nothing about Chicago, and only want to maintain discontent and anger among the Puerto Ricans who live in Chicago. It is influenced by some people who have Communist philosophies and who have been before the hearings of the House Committee on Un-American Activities and Fair Play for Cuban Investigations. When organized, our group was dedicated to helping the Latin American peoples in Chicago; we were staff members, but every time we suggested methods to help make citizens of the people of our...

...the “policing of politics” expanded considerably into the Division Street area following the aftermath of the 1966 riot as police intelligence units moved to gather information on activists and potential activists.
The undercover Red Squad officers used intimidation tactics to gain the support of a few organization members.
"...True, we are Puerto Ricans, Mexicans, Cubans and South Americans, but here, we are all Americans first. We should not be trying to set ourselves apart, but becoming part of the society we live in."

—Press release announcing ASSPA

People were very negative. They thought the information was real, and then nobody wanted to be associated with the Communist Party. I did not want to be associated with the organization, I stopped going to meetings. I did not want to be known as a communist.

There is little doubt that political repression, as manifested in surveillance and disruption activities, significantly disrupted and discredited SACC and thereby made the organization less attractive to members and sympathizers. A present-day member of SACC informed me in an interview: "We were set back an entire generation. The Chicago Police Department hampered our growth. We had a very good reputation in the community before the smears in the Tribune and El Puertoriqueño."

Similarly, Richard Gutman said: "The evidence clearly shows that SACC was the major group in the Puerto Rican community during the summer of 1966. But after the press publication, it never recovered its former position. It continued to function, it remained active, but it never regained its early form."

In addition, increased police repression significantly deterred some people from speaking out, demonstrating, or joining protest groups, and thereby weakened the capacity for political activism in the Division Street Area. Government and police officials demonstrated that open defiance by Puerto Ricans was extremely dangerous and often suicidal. Despite this, there is much evidence to suggest that political repression did not significantly deter protest activities in el barrio. Protest increased even as political repression increased, at least until 1975. Regardless of the various official repressive actions taken against members of barrio-based political activist organizations and groups, the organizer and mass-agitator types of leaders continued to represent a very important part of Chicago’s Puerto Rican community.