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Reparations Won: Thank You to All Who Contributed to the Struggle

ON May 6, 2015 the City of Chicago passed unprecedented legislation for Burge torture survivors and their family members becoming the first municipality in the history of the United States to provide reparations for racially motivated police violence. This legislation is the product of decades of activism, litigation and journalism culminating in a recent concerted six-month inspirational, intergenerational and interracial campaign for reparations.

Based on the Reparations Ordinance introduced in October of 2013 by Aldermen Proco Joe Moreno (1st Ward) and Howard Brookins (21st Ward), the legislation includes: a formal apology for the torture; specialized counseling services to the Burge torture survivors and their family members on the South Side; free enrollment and job training in City Colleges for survivors and family members (including grandchildren) as well as prioritized access to other City programs, including help with housing, transportation and senior care; a history lesson about the Burge torture cases taught in Chicago Public Schools to 8th and 10th graders; the construction of a permanent public memorial to the survivors; and \$5.5 million for a Reparations Fund for Burge torture survivors.

From 1972 to 1991, at least 125 African Americans were systematically tortured by former Commander Jon Burge and detectives under his command at police stations on the South Side of Chicago. Forty-four years after the first known instance of torture under Burge, the City of Chicago finally acknowledged its responsibility for gross human rights violations. Long overdue, these reparations are a necessary beginning to repair the harms inflicted on the torture survivors, their families and the communities they come from. The enactment of this legislation shows that organizing matters in the ongoing struggle for human rights and social justice.

This special edition book offers a glimpse into the campaign that succeeded in winning concrete redress for Burge torture survivors. **We offer our gratitude to all who contributed to the struggle for reparations.**



Amnesty International USA, Chicago Torture Justice Memorials, Project NIA and We Charge Genocide

We thank our partners who were absolutely critical in making this win a reality. It has been a privilege and profound pleasure to work with you.

Police Torture Survivors

We recognize and honor the torture survivors who have courageously spoken out and testified about the torture they suffered and sought justice for themselves and others for decades.

Family Members

We are indebted to the family members, particularly the mothers of the torture survivors, who steadfastly stood by their loved ones, supported one another, and made great sacrifices seeking justice for all Burge torture survivors.

Standish Willis and Black People Against Police Torture

We give deep thanks to Standish Willis for his vision to take the Burge torture cases to international fora and to Stan and Black People Against Police Torture for the original idea and call for reparations for Chicago police torture survivors.

Organizations

We thank the following organizations for endorsing the ordinance, some of which held their own actions in support of the ordinance, and whose members persistently and consistently came out to support our events: Amnesty International, Group 50; American Friends Service Committee, Chicago; Asian Americans Advancing Justice, Chicago; Black and Pink, Chicago; Black Youth Project 100, Chicago; Campaign to End Torture; Chicago Alliance Against Racism and Political Repression; Chicago Coalition to Shut Down Guantanamo; Chicago Committee to Defend the Bill of Rights; Chicago Lawyer's Committee for Civil Rights; Chicago Light Brigade; Chicago Religious Leadership Network on Latin America; Children and Family Justice Center at Bluhm Legal Clinic at Northwestern University; Center for Victims of Torture; Citizens Alert; Coalition of Black Trade Unionists, Chicago Chapter; Community Justice For Youth Institute; Connect Force; 8th Day Center for Justice; Edwin F. Mandel Legal Aid Clinic of the University of Chicago; Elephant Rebellion; First Defense Legal Aid; Gay Liberation Network; Grassroots Collaborative; Grassroots Curriculum Task Force; Heartland Alliance Marjorie Kovler Center; Illinois Coalition Against Torture; Illinois Institute of Community Law and Affairs; International Human Rights Institute, DePaul University College of Law; Kuumba Lynx; L.E.A.D.E.R.'s Network; #LetUsBreathe Collective; Lucky Pierre; MacArthur Justice Center; Midwest Coalition for Human Rights; National Alliance for the Empowerment of the Formerly Incarcerated; National Lawyers Guild, Chicago Chapter; National Police Accountability Project; John Howard Association; People's Law Office; Prison and Neighborhood Arts Project; Revolutionary Poets Brigade, Chicago; South Side Together Organizing for Power; Tamms Year Ten; Transformative Justice Law Project; UE Western Regional; United Auto Workers Local 551, Union Solidarity Committee; Uptown People's Law Center; Witness Against Torture.

Institutional Offerings of Space

We thank The Jane Addams Hull-House Museum, People's Law Office, Experimental Station, Mess Hall, In These Times, South Side Community Arts Center, Grace Place, Sullivan Galleries and the School of the Art Institute of Chicago, UIC Social Justice Initiative — Pop Up Just Art (PUJA), NEIU Carruthers Center for Inner City Studies, Poetry Foundation & Poetry Magazine, Chicago Temple and The Silver Room for providing space to host our events and art exhibits over the last four years.

Contributors of Art

We thank all the people who contributed their art and artistic labor — banners, flags, posters, photographs, videos, documentaries, spoken word, holiday cards, memes, songs, poetry, graphics, installation pieces, syllabi, blog posts, speculative memorials — to this cause both in visioning what a public memorial could be, creatively presenting our demands, documenting the campaign, and inspiring us to continue fighting on.

Movement Activists and All

We thank everyone who came to a rally, march, sing-in, demonstration, charrette, art exhibit, spoken word event, round table discussion, film showing, hosted or attended a #TeachBurge teach in; participated in a Twitter power hour; met with their alderperson; emailed, wrote, called, or tweeted at Mayor Emanuel or their alderperson (#RahmRepNow); signed a post card, holiday card or a petition; or donated funds to support the reparations campaign.

Funders

We thank Crossroads Fund, Propeller Fund, People's Law Office, and University of Chicago's Pozen Family Center for Human Rights and Center for the Study of Race Politics and Culture for awarding us grants, providing funds, or offering other in kind services that enabled us to mount this campaign.

Prior Activism

We want to recognize all of the decades of activism, litigation and investigative journalism that preceded the reparations campaign and was indispensable to making this reparations campaign a possibility, including: the campaign to get Burge fired from the CPD in the early 90s; the struggles for justice for the Death Row 10 and Aaron Patterson; the movement to abolish the death penalty in Illinois; the campaign seeking a special prosecutor to investigate the crimes committed by Burge and others; the coalition to raise these cases in international fora; the push for the U.S. Department of Justice and U.S. Attorney's Office to prosecute Burge and his men; the campaign that passed the Torture Inquiry Relief and Commission Act (TIRC); and those who continue to support the ongoing struggle to get evidentiary hearings for the torture survivors who remain behind bars.

The Struggle Continues

We recognize that our work is not over. Since the passage of reparations legislation, we have been hard at work to make sure it is properly implemented. We continue to ask for your involvement in supporting and creating a community center on the South Side of Chicago to provide specialized trauma services to the Burge torture survivors and their family members. Our hope is that its mission can expand to provide these necessary services to all who are harmed by law enforcement violence. We are also working to ensure that the Chicago Public School curriculum and permanent public memorial are designed and actualized in a manner that benefits survivors, their families, and all Chicagoans who are continuing the fight for justice in this city.

To this day there are at least 20 Burge torture survivors, and countless others, who continue to languish behind bars. All of them are entitled to evidentiary hearings to present newly discovered evidence that corroborates their stories of tortured confessions. If a court finds they were physically coerced, they are entitled to have their convictions vacated and be re-tried without the use of a physically coerced confession as evidence against them.

Further, we have always recognized that torture by law enforcement officials did not begin or end with Burge. Although these reparations are limited to the Burge torture survivors and family members, we hope that this legislation can serve as a precedent and can help support redress for others who have and continue to suffer from law enforcement violence.

Finally, we continue to see the ravages of racially motivated police violence affecting mostly young Black people today, whether it be the degrading but common practices of stop and frisk; the egregious use of tasers; sexual assaults committed by police officers; or senseless and repetitive police shootings. The work to end all forms of police violence continues, and CTJM stands in solidarity with our partners and other groups seeking to eradicate police violence.

**With gratitude and hope for justice,
Chicago Torture Justice Memorials**



“SORRY” NOT GOOD ENOUGH FOR POLICE TORTURE SURVIVORS

– Joey Mogul & Flint Taylor
In These Times
Jan 6, 2014



**IT IS NOW WELL PAST TIME FOR EMANUEL AND THE CITY COUNCIL
TO PUT WEIGHT BEHIND THEIR APOLOGIES AND TO MAKE AMENDS**

SING-IN AT CITY HALL ON JULY 5, 2010. PHOTO: SARAH JANE FREE

TIMELINE

1966	1967	1968	1969	1970	1971	1972	1973
<p>June 1966. Jon Graham Burge enlists in the army reserve and receives military training, including interrogation tactics, at Ft. Benning, Georgia.</p>		<p>June 1968. Jon Burge volunteers for duty in Vietnam and is assigned to the Ninth Military Police Company.</p>		<p>August 1969. Jon Burge is honorably discharged from the army.</p>	<p>March 1970. Jon Burge becomes a police officer in Chicago.</p>	<p>May 1972. Jon Burge is promoted to Chicago Police Detective and assigned to Area 2 on the South Side of Chicago.</p>	

In May of 1973, then-Chicago Police Detective Jon Burge allegedly suffocated and electric-shocked Anthony Holmes until Holmes confessed to a murder he says he didn't commit. Holmes then spent the next 30 years in prison. In 2010, after his release, he testified in the government's successful prosecution of Burge for perjury and obstruction of justice.

While Burge serves his 4 1/2-year sentence at the Federal Correctional Complex in Butner, N.C., he'll continue to collect a pension; by contrast, Holmes says his time in prison left him with no health insurance and no long-term means of survival. And Holmes wasn't the only person whose life was devastated by the former police commander's alleged tactics—Burge allegedly supervised the torture and wrongful imprisonment of as many as 120 people. Now, though, anti-torture advocates are pressing the city to make reparations that might go some way toward allowing survivors like Holmes to get back on their feet.

On Sept. 11, 2013, the Chicago City Council approved \$6.15 million settlements for each of the convicted police torture victims Ronald Kitchen and Marvin Reeves. After presiding over the Council meeting at which the settlements were approved, Mayor Rahm Emanuel called the city's sordid 40-year history of torture and cover-up a "dark chapter in the history of the city of Chicago," and a "stain on the city's reputation." When City Hall reporter Fran Spielman asked him whether this constituted the apology that Kitchen's lawyers had demanded, Emanuel said yes—that "all of us" are "sorry for what happened. Let us all now move on."

For years, the anti-torture movement—consisting of torture survivors, activists and their lawyers—had called for an apology from the city as part of a comprehensive set of remedies that would provide financial compensation, health care, educational opportunities and job training for torture survivors. And, they said, Emanuel's seemingly impromptu "sorry" was nowhere near sufficient.

Headed by the Chicago Torture Justice Memorials project (CTJM) and lawyers from the People's Law Office, activists seized the opportunity of Emanuel's response to present progressive 1st Ward Alderman Proco Joe Moreno with an ordinance that would encompass these remedies. Among other demands, the ordinance would require the city to administer financial reparations to all Burge torture survivors who are unable to sue for monetary damages because the statute of limitations for their claims has expired. The proposed ordinance would also provide all

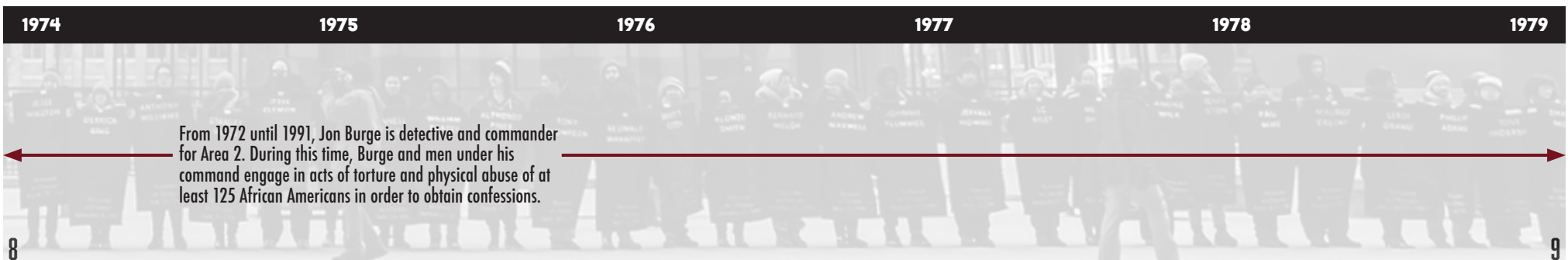
torture survivors and their families with tuition-free education at City Colleges; create a center on the South Side of Chicago that would provide psychological counseling, health care services and vocational training to those affected by law enforcement torture and abuse; require Chicago Public Schools to teach about these cases and sponsor the construction of public torture memorials. And it asks the city's leaders to issue a formal apology to those who were tortured and their communities—not just an impromptu statement made to a reporter at City Hall.

After garnering the support of Alderman Howard Brookins Jr. as a co-sponsor, Moreno introduced the ordinance to City Council on Oct. 16, 2013.

Growing support for survivors

In the past few decades, movements demanding redress for egregious human rights violations have taken hold across the globe. In Chile, for instance, the government has provided reparations to more than 28,000 survivors of torture and imprisonment under the Pinochet regime. These include a monthly stipend, free health care for victims and their families, free education and the construction of numerous memorials, including the Museo De La Memoria Y Los Derechos Humanos in Santiago. Meanwhile, in Argentina, more than \$3 billion dollars has been paid to the families of at least 15,000 men, women and children who were kidnapped, tortured and executed by the military junta in the 1970s. And in South Africa, a controversial reparations program has provided a small amount of financial compensation to a limited group of 18,000 apartheid victims (out of an estimated 100,000) who suffered physical, mental or emotional injury as a result of gross human rights violations and who had testified before or registered with South Africa's Truth and Reconciliation Commission.

Though the U.S. government has largely resisted acknowledging its human rights violations, such as the widespread genocide of Native Americans, there have been instances where grassroots campaigns have forced both national and state governmental entities to admit to and provide redress for extreme racial discrimination and violence. For example, the Civil Liberties Act of 1988 provided about \$20,000 each in financial compensation to the surviving Japanese Americans who were forced to evacuate their homes and live in "Relocation Camps" during World War II. The Act also included an official apology that condemned their internment as the product of racial prejudice, war hysteria and the failure of political leadership.



From 1972 until 1991, Jon Burge is detective and commander for Area 2. During this time, Burge and men under his command engage in acts of torture and physical abuse of at least 125 African Americans in order to obtain confessions.

In addition, the Florida state legislature approved a law in 1994 serving as an official apology for the violent race riot in 1923 that destroyed the Black community of Rosewood; the law provided financial remuneration of \$150,000 to each of the nine remaining African-American survivors. And in 2002, the state of North Carolina publicly apologized to the survivors of the forced sterilization program that victimized 7,600 men, women and girls, a disproportionate number of whom were African-American, from 1933 to 1974. Eleven years later, the state authorized compensation to the survivors from a fund of \$10 million.

Though the struggle for reparations for U.S. slavery has been unsuccessful to date, it is still alive. Every year since 1989, Rep. John Conyers Jr. (D-Mich.) has introduced reparations legislation in Congress that would both acknowledge the fundamental inhumanity of slavery and establish a commission to study and propose remedies for enslavement's impact on present day African Americans. This bill, named HR 40 after the unfulfilled Civil War promise of 40 acres and a mule for freed slaves, now has more than 40 co-sponsors.

Two decades of working for justice

Similar grassroots movements have also been a part of Chicago's activist history. Two generations of progressive aldermen and an active anti-torture community have repeatedly compelled the Chicago City Council to confront the question of Chicago police torture—with mixed results. On Christmas Eve in 1990, the Council's Finance Committee convened a hearing at which lawyers and community organizations presented newly uncovered evidence that established the systemic nature of police torture under Jon Burge's command. For much of the next fifteen years, the movement focused on seeking justice for the torture victims who had been sentenced to the death penalty and on pursuing the appointment of a Cook County Special Prosecutor to investigate the alleged crimes committed by Burge and his men. In 2007, after Special Prosecutors Edward Egan and Robert Boyle issued a report finding Burge tortured suspects "with impunity," the Council held a hearing at which numerous aldermen condemned the city's continuing defense of Burge and his confederates in the numerous pending civil suits that had been brought against them by exonerated torture survivors. (Burge himself was eventually sent to prison in 2011.)

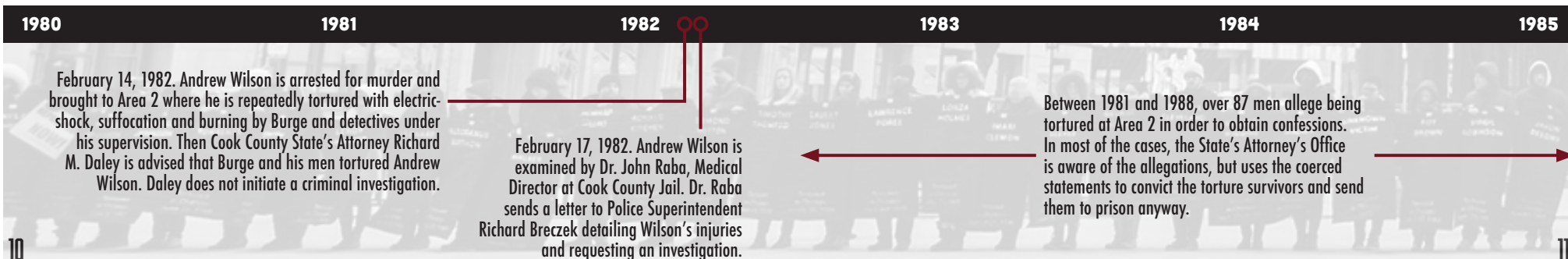
On a more general scale, in 2010, several aldermen introduced a resolution that called upon Illinois to pass legislation that would make police torture a crime without a statute of

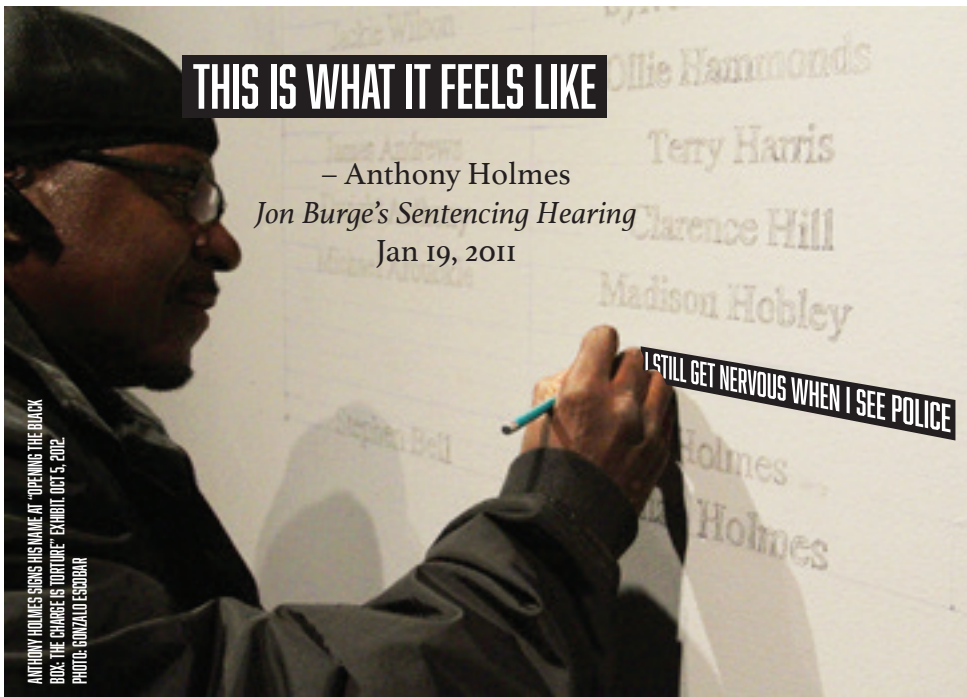
limitations. Though that law did not pass, in January 2012, in response to a public campaign that focused on the police torture scandal, the Council unanimously adopted a resolution that declared Chicago to be a "torture-free zone."

As far as the future of the movement is concerned, Chicago reparations activists have declared their intention to follow in the path of domestic and international human rights efforts by convincing the city's political leaders to provide eminently reasonable and fair redress to the Chicago police torture survivors and their family members. Aldermen Moreno and Brookins anticipate that a hearing on the anti-torture ordinance, which has been sent to the Finance Committee, will be convened this February. In the meantime, CTJM has launched a concentrated effort to persuade every alderman to support the bill, including an online petition campaign.

Through his City Council floor leader, Pat O'Connor, and his Corporation Counsel, attorney Steve Patton, Mayor Emanuel has already voiced his reluctance to compensate the survivors who are legally barred from suing the city by the statute of limitations. But in the face of the more than \$20 million Chicago has spent defending Burge, Emanuel's claim that the city is too cash-strapped to make reparations rings hollow. Without doubt, it is now well past time for Emanuel and the City Council to put weight behind their apologies and to make amends to the torture survivors, their families and their communities for the suffering they have been subjected to by the city and its agents during the past four decades.

PRESS CONFERENCE ANNOUNCING FILING OF REPARATIONS ORDINANCE, OCT. 16, 2013. PHOTO: BRONTE PRICE





THIS IS WHAT IT FEELS LIKE

– Anthony Holmes
Jon Burge's Sentencing Hearing
 Jan 19, 2011

ANTHONY HOLMES SIGNS HIS NAME AT "OPENING THE BLACK BOX: THE CHARGE IS TORTURE" EXHIBIT, OCT 15, 2012.
 PHOTO: GONZALO ESCOBAR

Anthony Holmes is one of the first known Burge torture survivors. On May 30, 1973, former Commander Jon Burge and Detective John Yucaitis repeatedly electroshocked Holmes and suffocated him with plastic bags while subjecting him to racial epithets and threats. Holmes courageously testified at Burge's perjury trial in June 2010. He also testified at Burge's sentencing hearing in January 2011. Here is his testimony from the sentencing hearing.

BURGE electric shocked me and suffocated me and he forced me to confess to a murder I did not do. And, I had to accept that I was in the penitentiary for almost thirty years for something I didn't do.

It has been hard on me and my family. It put them through a lot of changes. The fact that I did not do what they said I did hurt my family because they had to live with it. Everyone believed what the police said, so I had to deal with what people were saying and so did my family.

It caused us all stress. Being incarcerated prevented me from having a relationship with my children. Janice Connolly, my wife at the time, took the kids with her to Texas right after I was convicted and she divorced me while I did time on the murder. Burge also threatened her and said they were going to take our kids away from her when this happened. Eventually one of my sons, Anthony, Jr. visited me in 2002 or 2003 and he brought my grandchildren. He is the only one I was able to keep up with. I have eleven children.

The hardest part of being convicted and doing all the time was the effect it had on my family. They were left with no source of income from me and it was really hard on them. It was also really hard to lose family members while I was incarcerated. I lost my auntie, Juanita Sawyer, before I had the opportunity to get out. She stood by me through my sentencing hearing and my parole hearings. If I had been home it would have been easier for me and my family to deal with the death of my brother, three cousins, two nieces and a nephew.

I adjusted to my surroundings in the penitentiary, and then I had to worry about me. It was scary to go to prison for this. You can easily get killed if people think you are an informant or a stool pigeon. They tried to get me to say things about other people. That hurt. I tried to get some help throughout the years but no one listened to me because they thought the police were right. When my parole hearings occurred, that is when the parole board started to listen and believe me. It took years for someone to even listen to what I had to say. In the penitentiary and out of the penitentiary, there are no services available.

When I was released, I went to St. Leonard's House. I was never able to get any psychological counseling because none was provided to me. I just slipped through the cracks. I got no help. I have had to help myself. I have survived.

I only had a couple bruises on my arm and a busted lip. But the rest of the injuries were internal from the electricity shot through me with the black box and Burge choking me with the plastic bag. He tried to kill me. It leaves a gnawing, hurting feeling. I can't ever shake it. I still have nightmares, not as bad as they were, but I still have them. I wake up in a cold sweat. I still fear that I am going to go back to jail for this again. I see myself falling in a deep hole and no one helping me to get out. That is what it feels like. I felt hopeless and helpless when it happened, and when I dream I feel like I am in that room again, screaming for help and no one comes to help me. I keep trying to turn the dream around but it keeps being the same. I can never



expect when I will have the dream. I just lay down at night, and then I wake up and the bed is soaked. I still think I shouldn't have let Burge do that to me, but there was nothing I could do. I keep thinking how I can get out of it, but there was nothing I could do. I remember looking around the room at the other officers and I thought one of them would say that was enough and they never did.

When I talk about it, it is heavy. When I testified at Burge's trial it was hard because I couldn't say what I wanted to say, I had to only answer the questions. They were trying to get me to lie, but they couldn't suffocate me, electric shock me. What I wanted to ask Burge was why did you do this? Why would you take a statement that you knew was not true. You were supposed to be the law. I don't understand it. I never will. Worse was Burge enjoyed it. He laughed while he was torturing me.

What really hurt me is that no one really listened to what I had to say. No one believed in me. At the parole board, I was asked why I didn't complain about it. I said I did and everyone told me to get on with it. Here I was telling the truth and then they told me I was liar. Sad part was all those years while I was hurting, Burge was out there having his fun doing the same thing. The sad part is that people still believe Burge did nothing. Finally, he was convicted. That takes a lot of pressure off of me, but I still have to live with what he did to me. I would try counseling, but I worry it won't help. It does help to talk about it, but I didn't for so long because people would always just accuse me of lying.

I still get nervous when I see police. I worry if this can happen again. There is always this inner fear that I will get tied into something I didn't do, and they will tie me up with something. You can never describe that first feeling when they call you or see you. There is nothing I can do. That is why I no longer live in the City. I always have the fear with police — oh boy here they come. I am just a little or a lot paranoid.

It [being tortured] hindered me from getting a decent job. It hindered me from going to school. It prevented me from taking care of my family. Let him suffer like we suffered. If it had been one of us, we would get the maximum without batting an eye. I am glad I got my chance to have my say and I thank the Court for that.

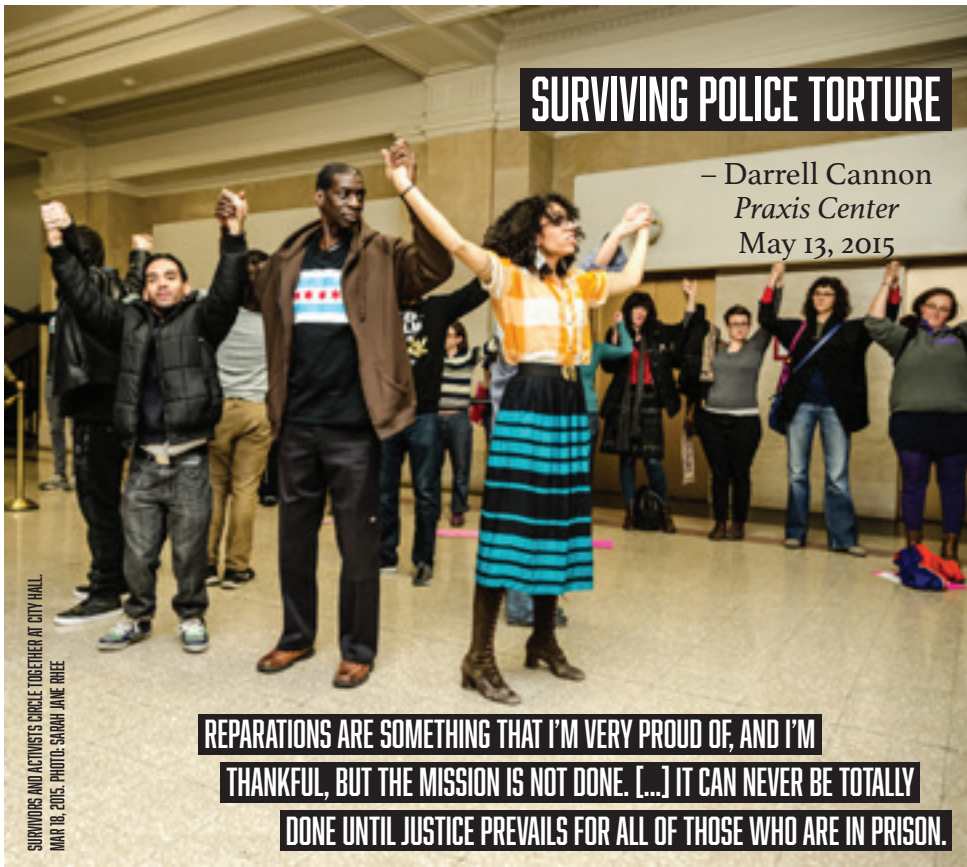


AMNESTY INTERNATIONAL. REPARATIONS MARCH TO DALEY PLAZA, APRIL 4, 2014. PHOTO: CTM

1991	JUNE	1992	1993	1994
<p>Jan. 28, 1991. Amnesty International issues a report calling for an inquiry into allegations of police torture in Chicago. Then Mayor Daley responds with "no comment whatsoever."</p>	<p>November 1991. Jon Burge is suspended from the Chicago Police Department after an internal investigation concludes he tortured Andrew Wilson 11 years earlier.</p>	<p>January 1992. During proceedings before the Police Board, City lawyers admit that the evidence of Area 2 torture established "an astounding pattern or plan ... to torture certain suspects ... into confessing to crimes."</p>	<p>Feb. 11, 1993. The Chicago Police Board fires Jon Burge and suspends Detective John Yucaitis for 15 months on charges of torturing and physically abusing Andrew Wilson.</p>	

SURVIVING POLICE TORTURE

- Darrell Cannon
Praxis Center
May 13, 2015



REPARATIONS ARE SOMETHING THAT I'M VERY PROUD OF, AND I'M THANKFUL, BUT THE MISSION IS NOT DONE. [...] IT CAN NEVER BE TOTALLY DONE UNTIL JUSTICE PREVAILS FOR ALL OF THOSE WHO ARE IN PRISON.

SURVIVORS AND ACTIVISTS CIRCLE TOGETHER AT CITY HALL. MAR 18, 2015. PHOTO: SARAH JANE RHIE

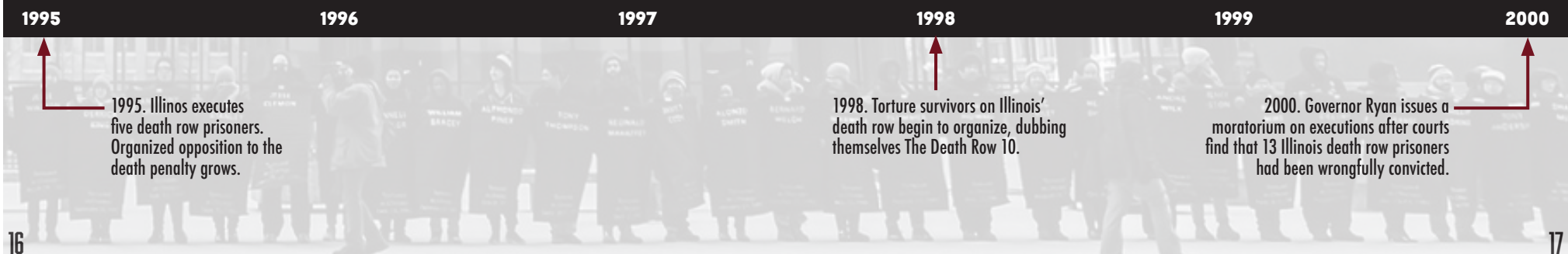
They had me handcuffed behind my back and they had me in an isolated area. And the first thing they did when they got me out of the detective car, they said "nigger", look around nobody's gonna see or hear anything we do. I just get mad. I don't have any pain. For me, it's pure anger. Because of the fact that you don't expect for so-called police officers to be as barbaric as these son of a guns were.



DARRELL CANNON'S DRAWINGS OF EVENTS ON THE DAY OF HIS ARREST, NOV 2, 1983

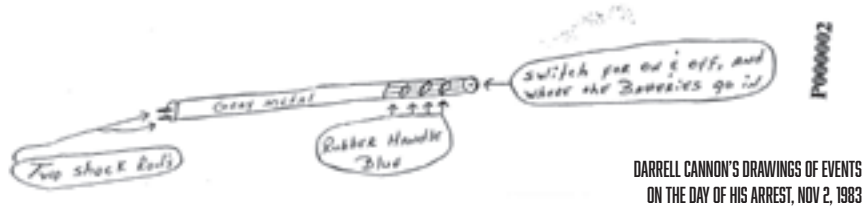
Peter Dignan, these two teeth here he chipped and he split my upper lip forcing the barrel of a shotgun in my mouth. And the way that they played Russian Roulette is that he showed me a shotgun shell. He said, "nigger", listen. And then he turned his back to me, and I heard what I thought was a shell being placed up in the chamber. Because when he turned around to face me I don't see a shotgun shell, so I got to assume it's in that chamber. And then he jacked the shotgun. He said, you gonna tell us what we want to hear. I said, I don't have anything to tell you. One of the partners said go ahead, blow that "nigger's" head off. That's when he jammed the shotgun in my mouth. He said, you gonna tell us? And I'm trying to tell them I ain't got nothing to say, and he pulled the trigger.

Then he took the shotgun barrel back out of my mouth and went in his vest pocket pulled a shotgun shell out. And they did that procedure three times. The third time they did it, to show you how the mind is, when I heard the click of that shotgun, in my mind my hair stood straight up on my head 'cause I thought he blew my brains out. I honestly did, my mind told me that. But he hadn't.



In trying to hang me by my cuffs, which was cuffed behind me, they wrenched both sides of my shoulders in doing so. I still wouldn't talk. They then took me around to the side of the detective car and made me sit sideways in the car with my feet on the ground. They redid my handcuffs. One detective got in the back seat and had me to raise my arms up then he pulled my arms back, which made me lay back. They pulled my pants and shorts down and they repeatedly stuck an electric cattle prod to my testicles. I mean they shocked me so bad - [crying] pardon me - I just get mad. I'm not hurting; I just get mad.

THE ELECTRIC CATTLE-PROD



I'm the baby of my family, and if I just could have had the opportunity to defend myself I would have felt better. But these sadistic son of a guns did not give me the chance to fight back or anything. And by the time they finished using that electric cattle prod on me I honestly was ready to say that my mother committed a crime. That's how they can break you down.

This man Peter Dignan told me that morning before they shocked me, I have a scientific way of interrogating "niggers" like you. And I did not understand what he meant until they continued to torture me that particular day. By the time I got to lock up that evening, I didn't even know my name. I didn't know nothing. All I knew was that my internal system was burning and I needed some water or something cold to drink.

The next day when I went to court I told my attorney what had happened, and a few days later, he came over to the jail, and he brought pen and paper. He said Darrell Cannon, I want you to draw everything that they did to you. I said I don't know how to draw. He said give me some stick figures, I just want to show the courts what they did to you.



DARRELL CANNON'S DRAWINGS OF EVENTS ON THE DAY OF HIS ARREST, NOV 2, 1983

Those drawings you saw, I did that. They were submitted. The state's attorney had their own psychiatrist examine the torture drawings. And their own psychiatrist said yeah, sorry to say that this happened. No man could be this detailed if it didn't happen. We had international psychiatrists that had been all over the world interviewing torture victims. They had two different specialists come and see me at separate times. Both of them said yes, Darrell Cannon was tortured. They diagnosed me with post-traumatic syndrome. And they say I still have it today because of the fact that I get so doggone mad every time I think about it. And these cowards, they were so afraid of Darrell Cannon that everything they did to me, they did while I was handcuffed behind my back at that.

The judicial system tortured me because they placed me in front of a judge that was an ex-state's attorney. So his allegiance was to the state's attorney's office. He turned me down on everything. He refused to allow my lawyers to cross-examine any of the cops on the witness stand about police brutality. He said it was insignificant and they didn't need to do it. So I was found guilty. I have never had a single witness, a single shred of evidence against me in this murder case, only my signature on a piece of paper that they later on filled out the way that they wanted to fill it out, and they called it a confession. It was my word against three detectives.

Again, Darrell Cannon is one stubborn son of a gun thanks to the ladies in my family, and that's why I always give all praises to my mother my grandmother and my sister. I was bent on getting my freedom. I didn't know when, but I was gonna fight.

2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	MAY
	2002. Survivors and family members join with the Campaign to End the Death Penalty, the Illinois Coalition to Abolish the Death Penalty and attorneys to mount a commutation campaign.	2003. Governor George Ryan commutes all death sentences and pardons four of The Death Row 10, having determined that their confessions were obtained under torture by Burge and his men.	2004. Fed up with local government officials' failure to hold Burge and others accountable, Black People Against Police Torture (BPAPT) organize a coalition of lawyers, activists and organizations to take the cases to the International Human Rights Arena.		May 19, 2006. The UN Committee Against Torture cites "the limited investigation and lack of prosecution" in the Burge torture cases and calls on the U.S. Government to "bring the perpetrators to justice."	

Now the reparations are something that I'm very proud of, and I'm thankful, but the mission is not done. Those that are coming back now for new hearings, we will pack the courtrooms to say to the judge and prosecutor that it will not be business as usual; we're here to see to that. And because of that I say that the mission is partially done but it can never be totally done until justice prevails for all of those who are in prison. And that's where all of you come in. By all of you getting the education about this, you will be more informed. And now you are the voters. You make the difference.

We got young people, middle-aged people, old people, a combination of people, Black and white, Hispanic. They've all come together in a rainbow and we made reparations happen. This is history. It's never been done in the U.S. But Chicago will get it. Why? Because of people like Darrell Cannon and others, and their spirits have allowed us to fight, fight, fight. We refused to give up.

While I was in prison, I became a certified paralegal. I utilized my time wisely. The reason why they sent me to Supermax [Tamms] was because they said I had too much influence over other "gangs." They said Darrell Cannon had too much education. I don't even curse. And that is detrimental to white folks, especially prison people 'cause they used to every prisoner calling them a bunch of MF's. But not Darrell Cannon. I never cursed. I've always maintained my peace. So they said this man is too doggone dangerous.

In Supermax, I've honestly seen people who were tough guys that came down there and tried to kill themselves because of the isolation and sleep deprivation. The whole nine years, they come in the evening time, they hit a main switch, the light come on in your cell. If that doesn't wake you up at nighttime, then when the officer leaves the wing, the door is designed to slam and that echo throughout your entire unit, so it's going to wake you up. And this is all by design.

But again, the picture is bigger than me. God played a significant role in Darrell Cannon being here today and Darrell Cannon being in his right frame of mind. Other guys who did less time than me is crazy. Some have bad habits. I don't drink coffee, I don't smoke.

When the news media asked me two weeks ago, what am I gonna do with my money. I say the first thing I'm gonna do is buy me a motorcycle and I'm gonna take a victory lap around City Hall. And the press all told me, when you do that please call us.

This is my mindset; this is how I think. I want it to be known, I'm grateful but I'm not content. I can never be content until justice prevails for all the people who are still in prison and have not been as blessed as I have. That is very important to me and that's the legacy that I will leave. And to have this taught in school, I mean, now that is exciting to me because nowhere in the United States have black people been represented in this manner where curriculum will now teach the ugly matter in the city of Chicago.

That's why I go around the country. It's been a blessing and an honor to be around such dedicated people, because of the support that they have given us continually. Sometimes I don't feel like talking about this but I have to. Normally, I have to drink a lot of Pepto because I get nauseous when I talk about this. But it's my duty to speak up, it's my duty to be an advocate for justice. And if I have to drink a case of Pepto each and every time, come on with it. Because if I'm silent then I'm a part of the problem, but if I speak I'm a part of the solution. And I'm gonna be part of the solution any day.



DARRELL CANNON AT "REPARATIONS ON MY SOUL" EXHIBIT AT ART IN THESE THINGS, OCT 11, 2013. PHOTO: ALICE KIM

DARRELL CANNON SHARED THESE WORDS AT LISA BROCK'S CLASS ON FERGUSON AT KALAMAZOO COLLEGE ON APRIL 28, 2015.



so he had a lot of power. 'Cause if you were bad, they told us we was going straight to hell. So we was praying to be good.

I was confused because there was "officer friendly" – he could come in our neighborhoods anytime, drag you out your house, kick the doors down, beat somebody and everybody would peep out the shades. They wouldn't even let him see you looking, because he was subject to get you too. This is the kind of internalized institutionalized racism that had been fed to us. I didn't realize it!

But the one man in my life that gave me the greatest love I could get was my father. His acceptance of me just made me feel like I was all this and a bag of chips. So I felt good about myself growing up, I never thought anyone was any better than me and I hadn't seen anybody that looked as good as my father, to me. That's love. I had that. And when I found out my father was really Santa Claus, *who, what a relief*, I said, *I don't have to be perfect, I just continue to be me because I'm gonna get something for Christmas anyway!*



MARY JOHNSON SPEAKS AT THE REPARATIONS EXHIBITION AND TEACH-IN AT CRYSTALL MAR 18, 2015. PHOTO: SARAH JANE BREE

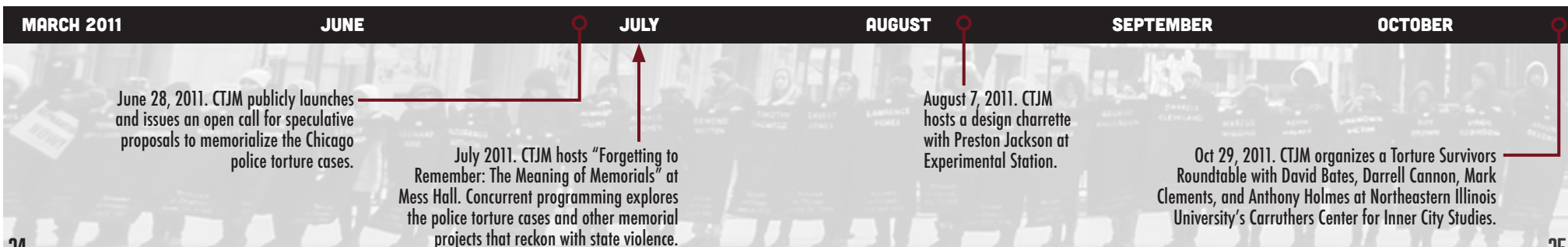
So you see these things can be given to you in a way where you don't even realize that you're being brainwashed. Everything good, even a lie, if it's white, is better than a black lie. All these little subliminal messages I was given as a child, but it didn't occur to me the damage that it really did to me. When Emmett Till was killed I had three babies by that time already. My husband was sending me an allotment and I felt good. I could go to the store and feed my children. They were never hungry because when I ran out of fresh foods, I just worked on the canned goods. They had plenty and if I saw food get low, I cut down, not them.

But the thing that got me, my son was beat up in the park. He came and told me about the police jumping on him and I saw his face scarred up. And I went and filed a complaint. I learned then that the police don't only get you when you're bad, the police can get you when you're good, and you better not say anything about it. So by me reporting to the police what they did to my son, they targeted him after that. See that's the lowdown way they can destroy him, and all of us.

So I was feeling very bad. I started disliking all them white folks that I liked so much. 'Cause everywhere I went I had to give my story to a white person. I saw all of them as being in charge. And I resented them so til' I rode the bus and I'd see a white person looking at me and I'd roll my eyes til' they'd turn their head. I said to myself, *Don't you even look at me, all the stuff you is*. But then I came to realize that if I was a person of color and I didn't realize what was going on why do I think they knew? They had been brainwashed also. They separated us so we wouldn't know what was happening to one another. I got a lot of white friends. They like me, but they don't live near me. They march with me and talk to me, but when we go home we part our ways. So that keeps us divided.

So I learned to speak up and talk about what was going on because I was really mad with white folks. Police, Santa Claus, and Jesus. All of them. Because they had hurt my son and it was constantly going on. They told him they was gonna jam him, that's what they say. And they put a case on him, put him in the penitentiary 17 years old. See, everybody in control is people that don't look like me.

So, I started feeling sorry for myself, but I was driven by my love for my son. I say, *I'm gonna expose these son of a guns*. If there's anybody out there with any kind of backbone they gon' have to learn, until you overcome your fear you're not even living.



It's not a good feeling when you can't help your young ones. You see the cats, how they go after their kittens? Well that's the way I was. I wasn't satisfied until all of them was at home. And I got one that's still in the penitentiary framed up for something that he didn't do.

As long as my son's doing life, I'm a lifer. The whole penitentiary knows he didn't do that. The guards know he didn't do it! But guess what? They target him, they thought they was gonna shut my mouth. They say, "We'll give her something. We'll send him to Tamms!" He didn't even have a ticket! He didn't go because of the fact he was such a bad inmate. They put him there because they knew how powerful he was and the kind of mind that he had. And then another reason they put him there, they knew his mother was still out here running her mouth about justice. Everywhere they ask me to come and speak I do it.

I got an invitation to go [visit] death row and I got in, in spite of the rules. I was walking up and down death row. And when they saw me, they said I reminded them of the mother they hadn't seen in years, I remind them of the sister they left behind. It was such a feeling for me 'til I couldn't miss going. I was going every month. I got addicted to it because I saw the good that I was doing for those guys.

I couldn't help my son, but I could help somebody else's. I went because I cared. I'm an only child. I don't have any brothers or sisters and my mother died when I was four. And when I saw those guys they needed me. And people say: "Well, where's the mother? Where are they parents?" You be they parents!

I realize all the time I was growing up, I was in basic training for what I do now. I'm a foot soldier. I'm the one that make the way for the others to come through. See we're in battle. We're in a battle to be fair. I don't want you feeling sorry for me because I am Black and strong. I want you to have empathy for me. Put yourself in my position. How would you feel if this was your son? How would you feel if they took your child? You know, just like they did during slavery. Take them right out of our arms.

They take our sons, they beat them, and what can we do about it? Tell them to stay in the house and don't go out. That's not fair. That's not right. Sympathy, no I don't need sympathy, but now *empathy*. When we work together we can do beautiful things.

See it's sad when our children are out there trying to make a living and the first thing they talking about is them wearing their pants down low. The first time I saw they pants pulled down like that, guess what they was doing? Standing being searched by the police. That's when I saw they pants down like that! And I lived on the North Side for about 14 years, I have never saw a police searching white kids like that. I have never saw them being humiliated. So how can you know it's happening to mine if I don't say something?

I'm still working on my son's case, but I'm not too busy to try to help other people. I got some news for y'all, y'all gon' make history with this case. I'm looking for my son to come out and he gonna get a chance to dance with his mother again.

MARY JOHNSON AND DOROTHY BURGE AT REPARATIONS WON CELEBRATION, MAY 6, 2015. PHOTO: SARAH JANE THREE



MARY JOHNSON SHARED THESE WORDS AT THE "REPARATIONS NOW" EXHIBIT AT URI-EICHEN GALLERY ON AUGUST 28, 2015. (HER TALK HAS BEEN EDITED FOR LENGTH)

NOVEMBER 2011

Nov 10, 2011. CTJM and BPAPT host "Creative Activism and the Chicago Police Torture Cases" at the South Side Community Art Center.

2012

MARCH

March 17, 2012. CTJM hosts an open house at Jane Addams Hull-House Museum.

JUNE

April 25, 2012. CTJM and BPAPT meet with UN Special Rapporteur Juan Mendez to discuss reparations in the Chicago police torture cases.

As JusticeAndPrisons.org explained, after an historic, generations-long expansion, U.S. prisons are now releasing more than 600,000 inmates each year. The punishment doesn't end at the prison gates. On the outside, ex-prisoners face broken connections to family and more closed doors when they try to remake their lives.

Most of the men tortured by Jon Burge and his subordinates came from the poorest communities in Chicago. Some had ties with street gangs, some were drug users and sellers, and many were considered petty criminals, frequently arrested by police for minor crimes. Many of the men tortured into confessions by Burge were innocent of the crime they were accused of. Others weren't, but none deserved to be tortured.

As I said in a speech at a protest outside the mayor's office, where petitions with thousands of people supporting reparations were delivered: "I was just sixteen years old when I was arrested. I served 28 years in prison under some of Illinois prisons' darkest conditions, where inmates were killed and staff were killed. Where is my psychological treatment? Where is my health care? I am sick to this day."

I was detained by police in June 1981 and brought in for questioning. I was handcuffed to a ring attached to the wall inside the interrogation room, and I was beaten, called racist names and had my genitals grabbed and squeezed until I confessed to four murders I didn't commit. This treatment leaves lifelong psychological scars. Plus, 28 years of my life was taken, and I cannot get it back.

I will never have the opportunity to enjoy a normal teenage life. My memory of youth involves maximum security prisons, chains, noisy visiting room and being told that I was someone who set fires and killed people.

Early on in my incarceration, conditions in prison were better. They included college education programs and rehabilitation opportunities. When a prisoner was released, part of the condition for parole was that they must work—and the system helped find them jobs.

That all changed when government stripped education from most U.S. prisons in 1993. Prisons became housing for the homeless and recovery centers for people who did nothing other than possess or sell small amounts of drugs. Inmates, including the Burge torture victims, had to endure violence by some prison staff and the mental abuse of being confined to a cell for weeks without end. Being tortured by Burge and his men was the start of each of these men's lives going haywire and being exposed to what it takes to survive behind prison walls.

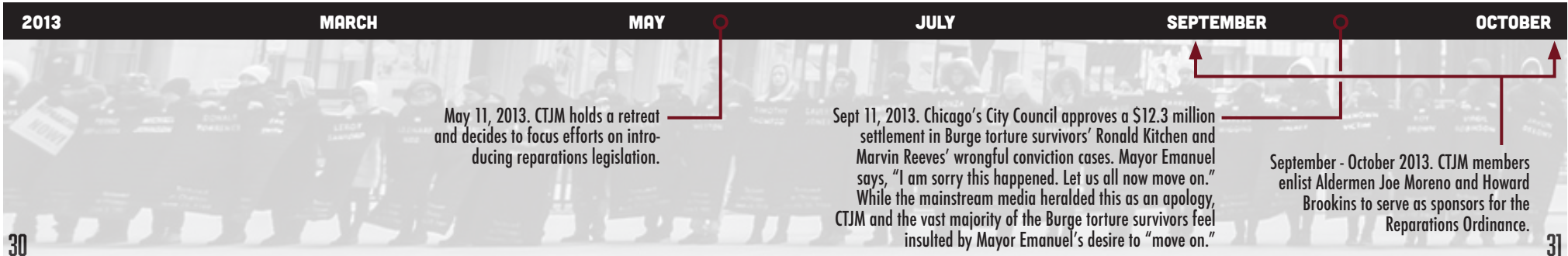
Plus, there are still men like Johnny Plummer, Gerald Reed, Javan Deloney, Virgil Robinson, Robert Allen, Tyrone Hood, Antonio Nicholas and others who were tortured into making confessions, but who still sit in prison, their appeals for hearings on their claims of torture denied.

In July 2006, a Cook County special prosecutor's report confirmed that torture took place in the Chicago Police Department under Burge's command. The report suggested there was credible evidence to indict Burge and some of his subordinates on criminal charges. But the statute of limitations had expired.

Burge walked free until it surfaced that he had lied in a federal document that he knew nothing about torture inflicted on suspects. Burge was tried for perjury and obstruction of justice in a federal court. In 2010, he was found guilty and was sentenced to four-and-a-half years in prison. In October of last year, he was released early.

Many in the African American community screamed about this injustice for more than 40 years, when torture first began to take place.

I know this injustice personally. In 1991, my nephew Javan was arrested, beaten and falsely accused of three drive-by shootings. Another nephew was released in connection with this same crime after telling the court that he had been tortured. His attorneys were competent and had dealt with this issue before, but Javan was found guilty on the same evidence used against his cousin.



Javan has been incarcerated for more than 23 years while evidence piles up of the torture that he and others faced from Burge and his subordinates. It's only fair that Javan and the other torture victims who remain incarcerated be granted a hearing on their claims, based on the newly discovered evidence of what happened at Area Two and Three Violent Crime Units.

Personally, I experienced Chicago's harsh and sad chapter of torture and the workings of the criminal justice system as a 16 year-old and then served 28 years in a torturous environment for a crime that I never committed. The City of Chicago is responsible.

A series of investigations have revealed that the victims of Burge's torture were met with skeptical responses from many officials over 20 years when they tried to say what happened. The city repeatedly denied the scope of what took place, even after the special prosecutor's report admitted what took place.

Forty-two years after the first documented case of torture by Burge, Rahm Emanuel apologized to the victims. Now it's only fair that the City of Chicago be held responsible, not only for the original crime, but for the [crimes] engaged in by officials throughout the system. This caused the City of Chicago to incarcerate innocent men. Some were exonerated and freed, but others had to agree to plea deals to be released from prison, without the city acknowledging that they were innocent.

As a torture victim—and, thank God, today a torture survivor—I believe that it is extremely important for the City of Chicago to get it right and make it right. City officials are responsible for terrible injustices, but at this point, most only talk about change when there is political gain to be had. They have done little to show any true regret for the tortures that Emanuel apologized for.

How can anyone be so cold-hearted to not recognize all the consequences of this epidemic of torture at the hands of Chicago police? No person running for political office should be seen as worthy to hold that office and represent the people if they don't have the heart to own up to the behavior of overzealous and violent police.

I believe that there is clear evidence for the City of Chicago to finally move forward and take responsibility for the Burge scandal—as well as set an example for criminal justice systems around the country to rethink how petitions claiming innocence are viewed in the courts.

Innocence must matter in the same way that guilt does when petitions are examined by the U.S. Supreme Court.

Burge torture victims have always been provided a different kind of justice. Courts in Illinois often deny claims of torture based on procedural mistakes or because some were unable to get investigators to obtain the documents needed to show systematic torture.

But keep in mind that the some of these cases have bounced around courthouses for years. How could these judges have not known that Burge was torturing criminal suspects when the allegations were being made so often, and all these defendants and prisoners were fingering Burge or the detectives who worked under his command.

The city has admitted that torture occurred under Burge. That by itself is reason enough to make it right for all torture survivors.



MARK CLEMENTS SPEAKS AT REPARATIONS EXHIBITION AND TEACH-IN AT CITY HALL. MAR 18, 2015. PHOTO: SARAH JANE RHEE



JUSTICE RADICALLY IMAGINED:

INTERVIEW WITH CTJM MEMBERS

– Interviewed by Rebecca Zorach
Art Against the Law
January 2015

WE'RE NOT GOING TO GET JUSTICE THROUGH THE COURTS.

BRENNAN COMLEY-FROND'S UNTITLED (HAR. GUEST) FROM THE "OPENING THE BLACK BOX: THE CHARGE IS TORTURE" EXHIBIT AT THE SULLIVAN GALLERIES, OCT 4-DEC 21, 2012. PHOTO: GONZALO ESCOBAR

This interview was conducted in July 2013 at the School of the Art Institute of Chicago.

Rebecca Zorach: CTJM, according to its mission statement, “aims to honor and to seek justice for the survivors of Chicago police torture, their family members, and the African American communities affected by the torture.” The exhibition, *Opening the Black Box: The Charge Is Torture*, held in fall 2012 at the School of the Art Institute of Chicago’s (SAIC) Sullivan Galleries, included speculative memorial proposals to an open international call for ways to memorialize these cases; video testimonies by torture survivors; a timeline displaying newspaper articles, legal documents, and activist propaganda; and a large wall drawing of more than one hundred names of people known to have been tortured by Chicago police officers under Commander Jon Burge.

Could you each speak about your participation in CTJM and when, how, and why you got involved?

Amy Partridge: The first time it came up as a project was in a conversation with Joey Mogul, Debbie Gould, and Laurie Palmer. Joey was expressing her desire to find some way other than the legal system to deal with the police torture cases that she’d been working on and to build public support around the cases; she had been looking at the reconciliation models and reparations models. Laurie Palmer’s earlier project, *3 Acres on the Lake*, came up. I remember the conversation moving from, “We should do a reparations campaign” to “What if we did this as a project where people submit proposals to think about what reparations would look like?”

The next phase—which Alice and Joey were really central to—was trying to recruit others to the project, to set up organizing and advisory committees. We hosted a series of introductory events where we tried to figure out how to describe the project, how to make sense of it to ourselves and to a general audience. At each event we issued a general call for speculative proposals for memorials, which culminated in an exhibition at the Sullivan Galleries. Now we’re trying to figure out how to make reparations the focus of the project. How do we realize some of the proposals? How do we make concrete demands around reparations?

Dorothy Burge: I first got involved at the design charrette that happened at University of Illinois at Chicago (UIC), where people came together and showed examples from different memorials that honored survivors of torture around the world. That’s when I first heard what was going on in this project. I’m representing a group called Black People Against Torture, and they have done a lot of work in terms of awareness and political grassroots organizing to let people know about Jon Burge, the Burge survivors, and the people who are still in prison who we need to be advocating for on an ongoing basis. This was a way for me to continue to get the message out to a different audience through the arts.

Marvin Reeves: I’m linked to the project through Alice and her ability to bring understanding to what happened. I was incarcerated for twenty-one years, wrongfully convicted. I’m a Jon Burge victim, a twenty-one-year survivor—and trying to make sense of what took place. Because after twenty-one years they throw you out of prison and there are no programs for exonerated guys. And I always asked the question, “Why? Why are there programs for guys who commit the most heinous crimes, but guys who are wrongfully convicted and sent to prison and exonerated, they’re just pushed out the door?”

JANUARY 2014

MARCH

APRIL

MAY

March 4, 2014. The Finance Committee hearing on the Reparations Ordinance is cancelled. CTJM attempts to reschedule the hearing but is unable to do so for over a year.

April 4, 2014. CTJM and AI partner on producing CTJM’s First Annual Participatory Memorial Action at Daley Plaza. 118 flags, each bearing the name of a known Burge torture survivor and the date they were tortured, fill the square as the names of all survivors are read aloud.

April 3 - 6, 2014. AI releases a 10 Point Human Rights Agenda for Chicago and Illinois on the first day of their annual conference in Chicago and calls for the passage of the Reparations Ordinance.

So that makes you want to be a part of something, to make sense of what's going on with us. This program is like an outreach for guys like myself and other exonerated guys who are trying to make the world understand these things happened, and let's take steps to make sure it doesn't happen again, because this Jon Burge cat was for real. He wasn't a cartoon character; he did this for real. I'm a victim of it.

This project helps me understand that there are people who care about us, even though the system didn't care about us. But as Americans, when you're thrown to the wolves, you don't understand how it can be that you're wrongfully convicted, that you're put in prison. And you walk the yard many days trying to figure out how I got here. This project brings light not to how you got there, but to how you try to get home.

To me, the exhibit means recognition. We all know in the world that recognition means a lot. If you accomplish something, you want to be recognized. And that's what that wall means. When I signed my name on that wall, that wall meant freedom.

Alice Kim: I had been involved in anti-torture work, anti-death penalty work since the mid-1990s. This project idea felt like a different way to approach the organizing work that a lot of us have been doing. I had had an interest in bridging the arts and social movements, and the way that that had expressed itself previously was that I curated a couple of death row art shows featuring the work of death row prisoners. This took it to another level by inviting people to submit speculative proposals. It captured what I think is important for contemporary movement building. Robin Kelley's book *Freedom Dreams* makes the case that activists, leftists, progressives, need to dream. He uses the term "unleash radical imagination," which is a great way to express what we need to do in this project.

Our first big discussion was what are we going to be called. That was an endless debate. It was weeks and weeks of having really strong positions about it. I guess when you look at different groups or forms of expression merging, the things that you end up spending time thinking about are not what you necessarily expect.

Marvin was describing the gallery wall. We came up with that as a group and we thought, "it'd be cool to have the guys sign their own names." The moment Darrell [Cannon], the first torture survivor, got up there to take his pencil to the wall, the feeling in the room was palpable; everything changed. There was this sense that this actually matters. Alongside all

of our discussion about inviting people to submit their memorials, the exhibit in and of itself was a memorial. And that became so crystal clear when the guys were signing the wall. The power of art is not tangible. But something about the submissions and the process took us to a different place. It was not just historical memory but also what a speculative memorial could look like: that imagination was opened wide. I'd like to see more of this kind of art practice and movement building. We're learning as we go along.

I remember Joey and I—you were all talking about charrettes—we turned to each other and asked, "What's a 'charrette'?" What does that even mean? How do you spell it?" But we became a collective and really utilized everybody's different knowledge, understandings, and talents.

Rebecca Zorach: I sense in your description of some of the discussions a sort of activist impatience with too much talk and not enough action. In those endless discussions about what should the name be, were there learning experiences that were important to the project? Was it more than just a discussion about the name?

Alice Kim: I think the discussion about the name really was about what is our identity and what are we doing? It centered on the name, but it was also us figuring out our identity. As an activist I am often impatient! At the same time I have a deep respect for process, and that's how you figure out just how this collective is going to relate to each other, and ultimately it's that process that helps you get to a different place. We did have deeper discussions, practical discussions, conceptual discussions. We wanted the kinds of values that we think are important to be expressed in how we unfolded this project.

Dorothy Burge: I think that was really important, because it made it very, very inclusive. We talked about different art forms, and how art is defined very loosely. So you could be a performance artist, quilter, painter, or writer and your art form would be welcomed. We had people who have done spoken word and who have done different types of art. It was all welcomed and appreciated and it was all a part of the process.

Ellen Rothenberg: I would like to add something sparked by Alice's remark. The project has redefined how we think about what a charrette can be. We had to be open to what the experience was like when people came together around the subject of torture. They weren't ready to pick up a piece of paper and a pencil and some scissors and start designing. They wanted to talk; they wanted to meet with the survivors; they wanted to discuss what this history



was and how we're part of it. It slowed everything down, and we were suddenly engaging less in a design framework and more in a conversational discussion framework. So it changed the terms as well.

Dorothy Burge: It also changed the impact. To me, one of the most impactful parts of this project was when we were at Northeastern Illinois University's Carruthers Center for Inner City Studies doing the panel, and the mothers came who had sons who were incarcerated. For them to be able to talk to these men (the Burge survivors) about their life, their survival, was to me something that was very, very important. A really important part of the project is awareness. In my opinion, that was one of the most powerful things this committee has done.

Darrell Cannon: You know, *déjà vu* comes to mind for me because I got involved with this particular organization through Joey and Alice. I got arrested in November 1983. The following month my lawyer had me make drawings of everything that had happened to me—how I was tortured, and by whom. Experts examined those drawings and said, "Yes, this happened. There's no way on God's green earth that Darrell Cannon could've conjured this up. It's too detailed." This project has been extremely detailed. Everyone has given their input. Some had drawings that they did to capture what they felt torture was all about; others showed pictures of people who had been tortured not only here in the United States, but also abroad.

In scoping out torture itself, you put a new face to it. Sometimes they say pictures capture more than words can, and in this case, the pictures and the manner in which they were displayed was awesome. For an illiterate person coming who couldn't read the words, they could follow the pictures and get a precise pattern and understanding of what had been going on here for far too long. It was fantastic. For those I brought here to see it, it was awesome to them. Now when you say "torture," the images come to mind.

I was asked not too long ago what I felt was fitting for a memorial to this experience. With all of the memorials they put up, I would say a building that people can come into, where they can stand and look, read, sit down, and have lively discussions in a building that belongs to us. Why not have our own building, a building that's open basically throughout the year, where any and everyone can come in, a comfortable environment where you can sit down, think, and contemplate—"This really went on where I lived"? That would be amazing.

Ellen Rothenberg: Many of the initial proposals were based on Marvin and Darrell's narratives and the supporting documents. A lot of the research came back to people's encounters with the experiences of the torture survivors. That's the most powerful aspect of the way that the project has evolved. It's an organic project. It's interactive. It's discursive. It's not possible to put the experience on one side—the history, the politics—and the art making on the other. They're in constant dialogue. The testimonies of the mothers, or when both Marvin and Darrell come to the microphone—those are the moments when there's absolute stillness and attention. It's transformative, certainly for me as a teacher at SAIC, to see our students here and from other schools come to the exhibition and the programs. Those moments are very important.

Marvin Reeves: America has a long list of things to be ashamed of and slavery is one of them. But if you want to know about slavery today, go to one of your museums. You've got museums of art, the Museum of Natural History. You want to know about the sea creatures? You've got the museum about that, too. Why not have a museum for what took place in Chicago? Why not let people understand this took place? Further along in the future, it'll make people understand that when that snake rears its head, if we've studied about it, we'll know what we're seeing, because a lot of people would be shocked and appalled if they knew about these cases. I go to different colleges and I talk and explain my situation, what took place with me, and they are appalled. You can't really make them understand the magnitude of what happened to us guys, because in America that's not supposed to happen.

Rebecca Zorach: I can imagine that a lot of people being confronted with this history that they didn't know about would find it a really upsetting experience, possibly so upsetting that they'd want to shut it off and not hear about it. I'm wondering whether that was talked about in the project. How do you communicate this experience to people in ways that allow them entry points into it to understand it without turning off emotionally and refusing to engage?

Darrell Cannon: These exhibits had something for everyone. If you couldn't relate to one thing, there was something else you could relate to—whether it was pictures, audio, a reading. You couldn't have conjured this up by yourself singly; it had to be a collaboration of people and groups, and it came out to be greatness. We should do it again, where it'll be up forever.

OCTOBER 2014

October 15, 2014. Mayor Emanuel appears before the *Chicago Sun Times* editorial board seeking their endorsement in the upcoming Mayoral election. In response to pointed questions by reporter Fran Spielman, Emanuel acknowledges for the first time that the torture survivors are entitled to financial restitution: "Because the law says the statute of limitations are over doesn't mean our obligations are over."

NOVEMBER

October 22, 2014. We Charge Genocide (WCG) releases its shadow report to the UN Committee Against Torture condemning the City of Chicago and the Chicago Police Department for systemic racist violence. The National Conference of Black Lawyers (NCBL), BPAPT, CTJM, and the Midwest Coalition for Human Rights submit shadow reports on the Chicago Police Torture cases condemning the City of Chicago for this history of police torture and lack of any redress for the torture survivors and family members.

October 24, 2014. CTJM and AI join forces with Project NIA and WCG to organize a Twitter power hour and launch the hashtag #RahmRepNow, calling on the public to tweet at Mayor Emanuel and demand his support for the Reparations Ordinance.

Kevin Kaempf: It's been an interesting challenge. I think the call for proposals was successful because we were doing it in so many different ways. I personally reached out to friends, colleagues, even international artists, people who I knew directly or in passing, people felt distanced from the specific history of torture in Chicago. Many people expressed the heaviness around trying to imagine a proposal. Still I felt confident, but it took many conversations with the people I was reaching out to for proposals. Before I was really involved with the group, I went to many of the events and took part in community conversations. This really helped me see that the burden extended to a larger community—the entire city and beyond should be talking about this.

The work that the group had done was very significant in terms of archiving the documents, the images, and the reports, and sharing that with artists who might then review that history and respond to it. It was powerful to be communicating with an artist in the Netherlands who was going through the nitty-gritty of this history in Chicago, and in a way, spreading the voices of the family members and the torture survivors. Then having those responses come in and be part of this visual display really connected global issues and instances of torture with what happened here in Chicago.

Dorothy Burge: One thing that I think is important as an African American woman is to bring African American youth to this kind of exhibit. These kinds of events are where we can discuss our experience with the police. Our experience is often so different from mainstream America and it is important to be able to say to them, "See, there's something we can do. We don't have to just take this. There's a way that we can organize, get our voices heard, make a difference, right some of the wrongs that have been done."

Alice Kim: One thing that crystallized for me is that the practice of art making gives you permission to imagine the impossible. And so in these speculative memorials, we weren't saying, "Do what's realistic." Anything is fair game. And so it gives you permission to imagine the impossible—and once it's imagined it's no longer entirely impossible! You can see how the practice of art making can actually inform the practice of organizing, activism, and movement building. If you start from a place of imagination, possibility is freed up. That's a much

different place than many of us usually feel like we have to start, because politics is so mired in compromise and what's "doable."

Ellen Rothenberg: Joey's call to action—"we're not going to get justice through the courts"—was galvanizing. The idea of a lawyer and activist who has spent fifteen years of her life fighting for justice turning to artists was a radical idea for me. I felt so empowered. That was the hook!

Amy Partridge: A concrete way to answer your question about how we present these cases that you "don't want to know about," is to mention the timeline, which offered another entry point because it included newspaper articles, legal documents, and activist propaganda generated in response to these cases from the 1980s to the present. One of the decisions we made early on was that it must include this activism on the streets, with Black People Against Torture, Citizens Alert, and ACT-UP/Chicago.

But then I think the art proposals did something different. One of the submissions I love talking about proposed adding another star to the Chicago flag. You'd never come up with that as an activist strategy, right? And yet it has this deep symbolic potential. I'm really interested in what it would take to push that through and to really find out why it won't work—or maybe it will.

But to me, it's *that* important to the history of this city to make that claim. The power of the proposal is its insistence that this history be recorded at the level of the Chicago flag—that the only way to ensure that nothing like this ever happens again is to incorporate it into the symbol of Chicago itself.

Rebecca Zorach: Ellen, how did you get involved in the project?

Ellen Rothenberg: Well, I was part of the second wave, and Joey reached out to me because I had experience with memorializations of trauma in relation to World War II genocide. She was interested in how that experience might contribute to the discussions we were having. There's activism in Latin America around the disappeared and military-instigated genocides. In Europe there are museums, there are archives, but a lot of it is in the form of public sculpture. The model of a speculative memorial, to ask the public to imagine what it could be was something new and very exciting.

November 12, 2014. The UN Committee Against Torture holds hearings with a U.S. Delegation to determine whether the U.S. Government has complied with the UN Convention Against Torture. WCG sends a delegation of Chicago youth of color to present WCG's report and findings. CTJM and the Transformative Justice Law Project of Chicago also send representatives to Geneva, Switzerland. The WCG youth delegation stages a historic protest during the hearings standing up in defiance of the U.S. Government's failure to take responsibility for racially motivated police violence garnering attention and respect worldwide.

November 28, 2014. The UN Committee Against Torture condemns the City of Chicago for failing to provide adequate redress to Burge torture survivors. In response to We Charge Genocide's (WCG) presentation and shadow report, the UN Committee also cites its concerns about police militarization, racial profiling, and excessive use of force by law enforcement officials against African American and Latino youth, immigrants and LGBTI individuals.

Darrell Cannon: We have noticed—and when I say “we,” I’m talking about us men—we’ve noticed that lately it’s been women who have stepped forward, and that’s been amazing. To have our own place where buses or schoolchildren can come tour—as long as we have the women on board with us, we can’t fail; we cannot fail. Because all these women are a voice to be reckoned with.

Rebecca Zorach: Kevin, could you talk about how you got involved?

Kevin Kaempf: I was at one of the very early meetings. Once things started getting underway, I was asked to be a part of the advisory group. And then as the exhibition opportunity became more concrete, I jumped on board to solicit and seek more proposals. I grew up in the western suburbs; I remember in high school reading the investigative reporting in the *Chicago Reader*. It was so strange to come back so many years later to be involved on this level. I think I was asked to be involved because my own art interest is in exploring public space and civic space, and how official voices decide to mark or not mark specific histories. I have a particular interest in ephemeral or citizen-based modes and forms that might make a fuller history of what actually transpires.

Dorothy Burge: I think it was really important that each time we had an event, a survivor was there. That was so, so important to this project. At each event we have actually had the authentic voice of a survivor.

Marvin Reeves: This project sets the tone to try to make guys like myself and others understand that there are people out here in the world who care, and everyone is not like Jon Burge. We all know for a fact that we’re not animals, but if they put you in the woods and you have to live like an animal, then you will become one. Prison is the same way: you’re not of the criminal mind when you go there, but you have to be of the criminal mind to survive. That doesn’t leave you when you come home.

But at the same time you’ve got people like Alice and Joey who come out and lay hands on us and let us know, “Hey, it’s going to be all right. You’re not there, man; you’re here, and that’s out there.” That makes so much difference, and it makes us feel like we’re a part of something. Nobody goes through life saying, “I don’t want to be a part of nothing.” Everybody goes through life saying, “I want to be a part of something.” And that’s why it’s so important.

Dorothy Burge: Years ago, I had the incredible opportunity to meet the human rights activist James Cameron. He survived a lynching attempt in Indiana in the 1930s. He was the founder of the Black Holocaust Museum in Milwaukee. He was eighty-nine years old when the US government finally apologized to him for the lynching attempt. To me that was incredible! It was something I never thought I would see in my lifetime. So we know it can happen and now we are going to make sure that it does happen for the Burge survivors.



MARIA GRACIA CANTON'S "ARABELLE" (JULIAN SUNG FOR JAM GLASS JARS) FROM THE "OPENING THE BLACK BOX: THE CHARGE IS TORTURE" EXHIBIT AT THE SULLIVAN GALLERIES, OCT 4-OCT 21, 2012. PHOTO: GONZALO ESCOBAR

DECEMBER 2014

December 11, 2014. WCG reports back to the Chicagoland community on the UN Committee Against Torture's findings to an audience of hundreds at Roosevelt University. Mariame Kaba, Executive Director of Project NIA, member of WCG, and advisory board member of CTJM, calls on those in attendance to join the newly formed coalition's fight for reparations for the Chicago Police torture survivors.

December 16, 2014. CTJM/Project NIA/WCG/AI organize a Holiday Action to Pass the Reparations Ordinance that begins with a march from Chicago Police Headquarters to City Hall and culminates in the delivery of a petition with 40,000+ signatures in support of the Ordinance where an ad hoc memorial is constructed in front of the Mayor's office. During the march, Alderman and Mayoral Candidate Bob Fioretti announces his support for the Ordinance.

December 27, 2014. Black Youth Project 100 organizes an action at Daley Plaza in support of the Reparations Ordinance as part of their #BlackHolidaze Kwanzaa week.

DECEMBER

MARCH FOR REPARATIONS

– Adam Green
Dec 16, 2014

WE'RE here to march to City Hall to call for a January hearing on the Reparations Ordinance for Chicago police torture survivors, pending before the Council with a majority of Alderman declared in favor. While there we will deliver a petition to the Mayor, circulated by Amnesty International and Chicago Torture Justice Memorials, containing over 38,000 signatures in support of the ordinance.

We do this today for three reasons. First we do this out of love and in solidarity with the survivors of this heinous wrong, and their family members, perpetrated under the uniform and badge of the city. For too long, their witness, truth, and human dignity was denied by a department and city that ignored facts and obstructed justice. The fight to raise up the truth of Chicago police torture, led by but not limited to Jon Burge, progressed over a quarter century, and involved survivors, their families, legal advocates, and groups ranging from Citizens Alert to The Task Force to Confront Police Violence, and Committee to Defend Mumia Abu-Jamal and Aaron Patterson, to Black People Against Torture. We stand, powerfully and gratefully, on their shoulders, even as we walk with them.

We do this also because of the astounding and inspiring example, today, of a new generation of activists who are taking this struggle to a whole new level, in wake of the killings of Rekia Boyd, Michael Brown and Eric Garner, and the lack of true accountability for the officers and system that perpetrated this violence. We Charge Genocide, whose members are part of this march today, have organized numerous actions for racial justice over the past month, traveled to testify before the UN Panel on Torture in Geneva, and advanced our thinking about communities and policing profoundly. So we march, and compel the city to act, because these young people have seized the attention of the nation and the world with their brilliance, audacity, and resolve to claim justice for themselves and for all others, by any means necessary.

And finally we do this because we have been called upon by 40,000 others to speak on their behalf, in favor of this ordinance. Movements are made up of those out on the streets, facing those who hold power. But movements must also count on multitudes who see in such actions a reflection of *their* will to challenge unchecked power, and *their* aspiration for a just, peaceful, fruitful world. This action, and every action like it, matters to more than those present. It speaks to generations past who have struggled, and it speaks to those now who share our vision and cause, and those in the future who will continue to carry these struggles forward. We march, and speak, and fight for a world yet to be achieved.



BLACK YOUTH PROJECT 100 HOLIDAY MARCH AND ACTION FOR REPARATIONS, DEC 29, 2014. PHOTO: SARAH JANE RHEE

ADAM GREEN SPOKE THESE WORDS TO KICK OFF THE HOLIDAY ACTION AND MARCH FOR REPARATIONS DECEMBER 14, 2014

JANUARY 2015

10

January 15, 2015. On the anniversary of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr.'s birthday, CTJM/Project NIA/WCG/AI organize a sing-in outside Chicago's City Council's Finance Committee meeting. This prompts journalists to ask Mayor Emanuel about the Reparations Ordinance and he goes on record saying he believes some form of redress is necessary.

15

January 15, 2015. WCG, BYP100, the Chicago Light Brigade, Project NIA, Palestinian Youth Collective of Chicago, Village Leadership Academy and others organize a march to the Cook County Juvenile Detention Center as part of a nationwide series of actions to #ReclaimMLKDay.

20

January 19, 2015. After intense lobbying, mayoral candidate Jesus Chuy Garcia publicly endorses the Reparations Ordinance.

AT RAHM EMANUEL'S DOORSTEP: ON REPARATIONS, POLICE TORTURE, AND MOVING ON

– Kelly Hayes
Transformative Spaces
Feb 7, 2015

CHICAGO LIGHT BRIGADE AT RAHM EMANUEL'S HOUSE,
FEB. 6, 2015. PHOTO: KELLY HAYES

REPARATIONS
NOW

IT WAS TIME TO BRING OUR MESSAGE TO EMANUEL'S HOUSE.

LAST night, members of The Chicago Light Brigade, Project NIA, and Chicago Torture Justice Memorials gathered with friends and allies outside Mayor Rahm Emanuel's house to demand reparations for acts of torture committed by former police Commander Jon Burge and his "midnight crew." An ordinance that would provide \$20 million in compensation to Burge's victims has the support of the majority of the city council, but as a matter of political convenience, the measure has been left to languish in the Finance Committee.

It is no secret to anyone involved in this fight, from victims to activists to politicians, that with the mayor's support, this ordinance would move forward.

The torture that occurred under Jon Burge did not happen on the current mayor's watch. Like many issues that arise before a mayor's time, it was left at his doorstep. And each day that he's been in office, Rahm Emanuel has stepped over this issue, apparently hoping that if he

simply ignored it long enough, the horrors of the Burge years would simply be forgotten. So, with his eyes averted, he has attended to his own priorities, and ignored the suffering of those affected. When Emanuel was finally cornered on the subject of reparations for these survivors in 2013, he said that Burge's crimes were a stain on the city's reputation, but that it was time to "move on."

It's the idea of moving on that I want to address here.

People of color who want some measure of justice for harms done are frequently told to "move on." Whether the wrongs being discussed are centuries old, decades old, or mere months old, the response remains the same: It happened. Move on. Whether you are talking about slavery, Ferguson, or justice for CPD torture survivors, white people in positions of power have their own priorities to attend to, and they would really rather you just moved on.

But for victims of police torture who were beaten and suffocated with plastic typewriter covers, and whose genitals were electrically shocked until they told police what they wanted to hear, there is no moving on without justice. I will not write a detailed list here of all of the acts of torture and terror perpetrated by the midnight crew. Those stories have been written. But I do want to address what it means to ask someone who has suffered a horrible wrong to simply "move on."

For individuals who cannot pursue financial redress in the courts, because the statute of limitations has run out, or because they were bullied into accepting a minor settlement while still in prison, some monetary compensation would be a good first step toward moving on. \$20 million dollars may sound like a lot of money, but considering the scope of the harms done, and the number of people affected, this number is beyond reasonable. It is also the amount that the city deigned to spend defending Jon Burge's reign of terror in the courts. It only seems reasonable that the city should invest as much in this ordinance as it did in defending a man who committed acts of torture on its behalf.

The proposed ordinance would also provide all torture survivors and their families with tuition-free education at City Colleges; create a center on the South Side of Chicago that would provide psychological counseling, health care services and vocational training to those affected by law enforcement torture and abuse; and require Chicago Public Schools to teach about these cases

JANUARY 2015

25

FEBRUARY

10

January 21, 2015. CTJM/AI/Project NIA/WCG organizes an action at the City Council meeting. When Alderman Brookins calls for an immediate hearing for the Reparations Ordinance, a 50-person contingent stands up to demonstrate their support while others stage a die-in outside of chambers.

January 24, 2015. Project NIA and WCG convene the "Watching the Watchers Conference: Strategies to End Police Violence" at Roosevelt University where many attending participate in CTJM's postcard campaign demanding Mayor Emanuel and Chicago alderpeople support the Reparations Ordinance. Within weeks, over 1,000 postcards are sent to Emanuel's office.

February 6, 2015. The Chicago Light Brigade and Project NIA stage a "Reparations Now" light installation outside Mayor Emanuel's house.

February 8, 2015. Project NIA introduces "Reparations Sundays" calling on religious organizations to support the Ordinance. Participants include Trinity United Church of Christ and New Mount Pilgrim Missionary Baptist Church, where torture survivor Darrell Cannon addresses the congregation.

and sponsor the construction of public torture memorials. It would also require the city's leaders to issue a formal apology to those who were tortured and their communities.

If you want a formula for truth, reconciliation, and moving on, Mr. Mayor, I believe you've been handed one.

Next week, we will be presented with another example of what moving on looks like. Jon Burge, who perpetrated and oversaw the torture of those now seeking justice, will begin his parole. For Jon Burge, moving on means freedom and a city pension. While many of his victims remain incarcerated, and while survivors of his torture continue to cry out for compensation and a broader acknowledgment of what was done to them, Burge will move on, at the taxpayer's expense.

Burge's parole begins on February 14, 2015. For Rahm Emanuel to allow that day to pass without having first delivered justice to Burge's victims is unthinkable, and he must be made to understand as much.

For that reason, we gathered last night outside Rahm's home. After the many meetings, petitions, and protests that have been organized behind this demand, we decided it was time to bring our message to Emanuel's house, to remind him that he cannot ignore what's been left at his doorstep. It is in his power to call on Alderman Ed Burke to give the ordinance a hearing, and to ask the city council to give the measure their full support. He has the power to see to it that victims are able to do what he insists the whole city must. He has the power to allow Burge's victims to move on. And until he does, this campaign for truth and justice will continue to escalate.



CHICAGO CLAYTON BRIGADE ACTION AT COOK COUNTY JUVENILE DETENTION CENTER FEB. 13, 2015 PHOTO: KATHLEEN SECIO

TORTURE

IN CHICAGO BY THE NUMBERS

CHICAGO POLICE
SYSTEMATICALLY TORTURED
OVER 100 PEOPLE
BETWEEN 1972 AND 1991

FORCED CONFESSIONS SENT
DOZENS
OF MEN TO JAIL

AT LEAST
19 POTENTIAL SURVIVORS
REMAIN INCARCERATED

100%
OF THE VICTIMS WERE
PEOPLE OF COLOR

ZERO
PEOPLE
HAVE BEEN PROSECUTED
OR CONVICTED
FOR THESE TORTURE CRIMES

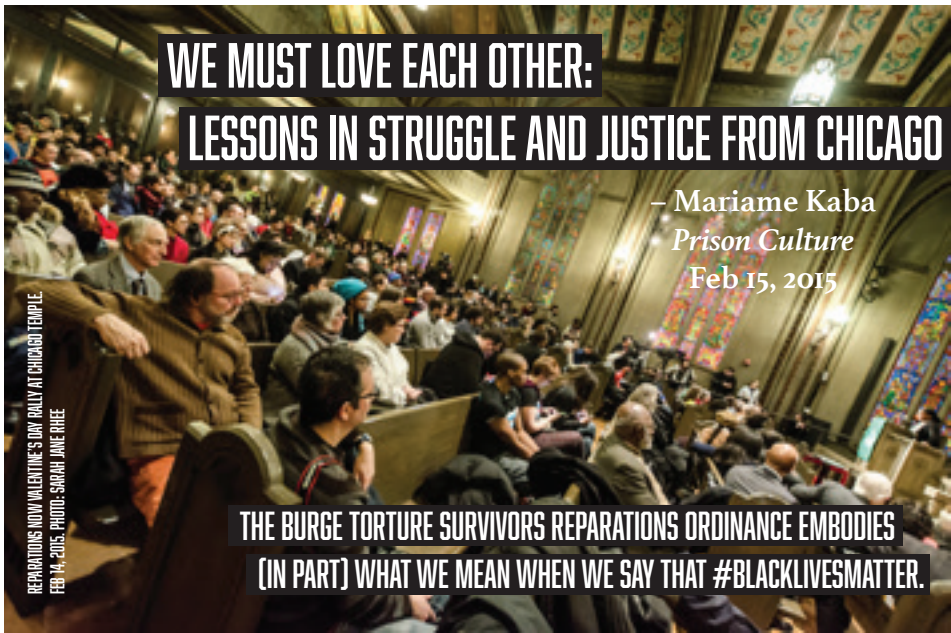
MAKE SURE JUSTICE DOESN'T HAVE AN EXPIRATION DATE!

AMNESTY INTERNATIONAL | AMNESTYUSA.ORG/CHICAGOTORTURE

GRAPHIC: AMNESTY INTERNATIONAL, HUMAN RIGHTS NOW BLOG

February 14, 2015. Over 250 people attend CTJM/Project NIA/WCG/AI's Rally for Reparations: A People's Hearing at the Chicago Temple. Speakers include torture survivors Darrell Cannon, Mark Clements, and Anthony Holmes; chief aldermanic sponsors Joe Moreno and Howard Brookins Jr.; mayoral candidate William Doc Walls; coalition members and other allies. Everyone attending the rally receives a "Who Is Right on Reparations?" voters' guide.

February 17, 2015. Corporation Counsel calls CTJM to set up a meeting to discuss the Reparations Ordinance. AI and CTJM representatives Martha Biondi, Dorothy Burge, Ernest Coverson, Jasmine Heiss, Joey Mogul and Flint Taylor serve as the negotiating team and meet with Mayor Emanuel's administration on February 23, March 12, and April 2. The coalition demands a public hearing on the Reparations Ordinance.



THE national protests catalyzed by the killing of Mike Brown in Ferguson last August continue even as many (including the mainstream media) have moved on. Some critics have suggested that the uprisings/rebellions are leaderless, lack concrete demands and/or are without clear strategy. Each of these critiques is easily refuted so I won't concern myself with them here.

In Chicago, many have used the energy and opening created by these ongoing protests to reanimate existing long-term anti-police violence campaigns. On Saturday afternoon, hundreds of people gathered at the Chicago Temple to show our love for police torture survivors on the day after Jon Burge was released from house arrest.

The gathering was billed as a people's hearing and rally in support of a reparations ordinance currently stalled in the Chicago City Council. Politicians, faith leaders, and community activists spoke at the event. Poets exhorted the crowd. But the most impactful, poignant and powerful words came from the Burge torture survivors themselves.



They spoke of the impact(s) of the police torture on their lives: the false confessions, the years of incarceration, the mental and physical trauma, the years away from loved ones, the feelings of anger and ultimately the triumph of still standing in spite of the brutal violence.

As I listened, I was struck again by the importance of language and of words that need to be spoken. Our best teachers including Audre Lorde among others have imparted this truth. In the last few months, weeks, and days, I have found myself saying #BlackLivesMatter out loud at various times. It's not that I don't already know that they do. I think that I am trying to speak the words into existence. These words should be taken for granted. They are not. I've revised my previous belief that the words should remain unspoken. "Who are they trying to convince?" I'd previously confided to a friend. It turns out that I owe a debt of gratitude to Opal, Patrisse and Alicia for reminding me of the power of language and the spoken word.

We are committed here in Chicago to "making" Black lives matter. The Reparations Ordinance is one concrete way that some of us have chosen to fight to make them matter. Through this

FEBRUARY 2015 **5**

25 **MARCH**

February 21, 2015. WCG and the Chicago Light Brigade organize a #TrainTakeOver for reparations on the eve of the Mayoral and Aldermanic election.

February 24, 2015. Mayor Emanuel fails to win 50% of the vote and is forced into a run-off against Cook County Commissioner Jesus Chuy Garcia.

March 2, 2015. WCG and the Chicago Light Brigade organize Reparations Not Black Sites: A Rally For the Run Off at Daley Plaza to call attention to the revelation of the Chicago Police Department's Homan Square "black site" where Chicagoans are subjected to torture, physical abuse and harassment.

decades long struggle, we are pre-figuring the world that we want to inhabit. Again, we have learned from Lorde (1977):

“...I mean that at the same time as we organize behind specific and urgent issues, we must also develop and maintain an ongoing vision, and the theory following upon that vision, of why we struggle – of the shape and taste and philosophy of what we wish to see.”

It's not that Black lives will matter to others within this country when we win the ordinance. Rather, it's that we who struggle together will have defined (in part) the vision of what we mean by Black lives mattering. Through the ordinance, we reject the torture of black people. We demand that black people's torture be included in public school curriculum. We demand a formal apology from the city for the harm. We demand resources to heal including mental health care, employment and free education for survivors and their families. We demand financial compensation for the harm done. The Burge torture survivors reparations ordinance embodies (in part) what we mean when we say that #BlackLivesMatter. It provides a template for demands that should be met for all Black people living in this country.

Every time that I travel to D.C. I try to visit the Vietnam War Memorial brilliantly designed by Maya Lin. I never want to forget the folly of nation and the tragedy of war. Seeing thousands upon thousands of names carved into that wall is profoundly jarring every time. With that imagery in mind, I wanted to create a living public memorial at the end of Saturday's rally. Using flags that were made and previously used by the Chicago Torture Justice Memorials, rally participants braved freezing temperatures to create a wall with their bodies at Daley Plaza.

It was our wall of names, the survivors of a war declared and prosecuted against Black people in a major American city. Everyone stood shoulder to shoulder holding a flag with the name of a Burge torture survivor. The line stretched the length of a block.

118 documented names. There are many others unknown to us. We honored those people too with our public memorial.

It is hard to look at torture. We want to avert our gaze. We want to keep it abstract and to speak euphemistically. But we must squarely face torture, we must see it. This is the only way that we'll have any chance of addressing the violence done in our name at home and abroad. It is abhorrent. We cannot allow ourselves to be complacent. We mustn't continue to tolerate the

intolerable. To do so is to forfeit the right to consider oneself to be a moral being. Burge and his fellow officers tortured people in our backyard. We have a collective responsibility to fight for justice for their victims.

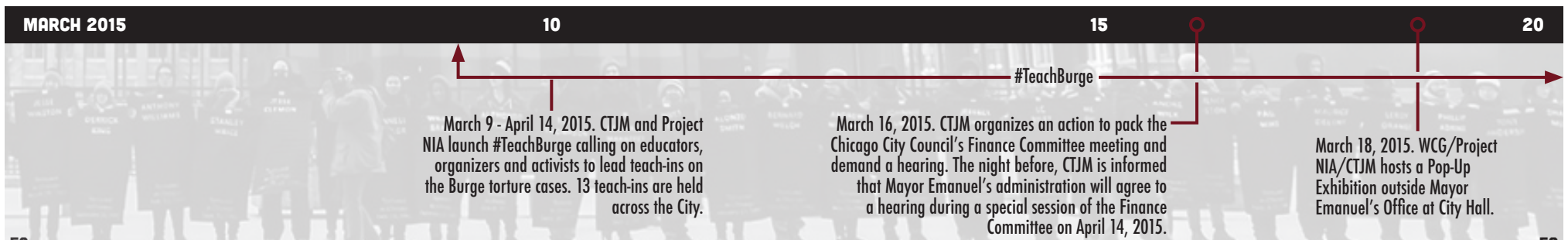
It was fitting that we gathered on Valentine's Day. After all, the struggle for justice for Burge torture survivors is a love story. On Saturday, Chicagoans demonstrated love through their presence and by committing to continued action. bell hooks has written that:

“It is essential to our struggle for self-determination that we speak of love. For love is the necessary foundation enabling us to survive the wars, the hardships, the sickness, and the dying with our spirits intact. It is love that allows us to survive whole.”

I am not sure that it is possible for Black people in this country to “survive whole” even as we center love in our lives and our movements for justice. I do know however that love offers the opportunity to build sustaining and affirming communities that can help buffer against the relentless forces of oppression seeking our daily destruction. To lead with love gives us a fighting chance at winning. The people who gathered at the Chicago Temple on Saturday were there to shape a future where we can all be free. Together, we insisted that the affront to the humanity of the torture survivors is a blow against all of us. There was no better message to deliver on Valentine's Day.



REPARATIONS NOW! VALENTINE'S DAY RALLY, FEB. 14, 2015. PHOTO: SORAH JANE HIRSE





**CONFRONTING POLICE TORTURE:
ON REPARATIONS AND THE RUN-OFF**

– Alice Kim
Dancing the Dialectic
Apr 3, 2015

**IF WE WANTED THE [MAYORAL] CANDIDATES TO ADDRESS
BURGE TORTURE, IT WOULD BE UP TO US TO MAKE IT SO**

GATHERING AT CHICAGO TEMPLE AFTER REPARATIONS PASSES IN CITY COUNCIL. MARCH 2015. PHOTO: SARAH JANE RHEE

EARLIER this week at the last mayoral debate in Chicago’s unprecedented run-off election, the scene outside WTTW Studio was a strange mix of about 75 Rahm supporters from Local 73, mostly middle-aged white men, some wearing hard hats, carrying their shiny blue “I’m for Rahm” placards, a larger group of residents from the northwest side of Chicago protesting airport noise, and then there was us.

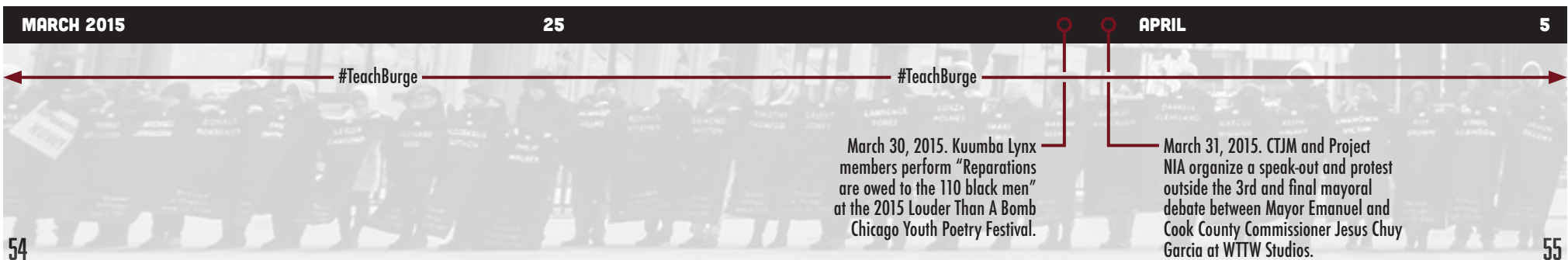
We were a small, some would say rag tag, group of about a dozen activists armed with a beautiful “Reparations Now” banner made by local artists and a sound system. Among us were queer activists, long-time prison abolitionists, torture survivors, and an NEIU student who learned about the protest from one of his teachers. Thanks to the power of amplification and to the chagrin of the pro-Rahm contingent, we were able to drown out their “Four More Years” chants with “Mr. Mayor if you care, we want reparations, fair and square” – a chant we had repurposed from our friends demanding noise-free air.

No fans of Rahm were in our group, but our purpose at the debate was not to support one candidate over another. Since attendance inside WTTW was by invitation only (and none of us had been invited), we gathered outside waiting for the candidates to arrive. Flanked by union Rahm guys and angry homeowners fed up with airport noise, we had a very specific message for the candidates: reparations for Chicago Police torture survivors.

The story of former Chicago Police Commander Jon Burge and his torture practices is chilling: Burge and his detectives tortured 119 African American men and women in their custody using torture tactics ranging from electric shock and suffocation with a typewriter bag to mock executions. These brutal interrogations elicited confessions that were often the primary evidence that was used to convict these defendants. For decades, activists have organized to expose these torture practices; hold the officers responsible accountable; and seek justice for the survivors of torture.

In 2010, 17 years after Burge was fired from the Chicago Police Department, he was found guilty of obstruction of justice and lying about the torture and subsequently sentenced to four and a half years in prison. Yet, justice remained elusive for Burge’s victims who continued to suffer from the trauma of the torture they endured. Over a year and a half ago, the Chicago Torture Justice Memorials worked with Aldermen Joe Moreno and Howard Brookins to introduce the Reparations Ordinance in City Council as a means of offering holistic redress to Burge torture survivors. With this ordinance, we tried to articulate a more meaningful vision of justice by not only seeking financial restitution for the survivors but also a trauma center on the South Side of Chicago that offers counseling and job training for all those who have faced police violence; curriculum in Chicago Public Schools that teaches about Burge torture; free education in the city colleges; a public memorial; and an official apology by the City.

To date, 29 Aldermen, more than half the City Council, have signed on in support of the ordinance. Yet, until recently, the ordinance remained stalled in the Finance Committee without a hearing despite growing support. Finally, in the wake of renewed activism by a coalition of activists, the ordinance was granted a hearing. Dozens of supporters were present at the Finance Committee’s meeting last month when the hearing was announced. Indeed, since last October, reparations supporters of the ordinance have been a regular presence at City Hall. We have staged sing-ins and die-ins in the lobby of City Council chambers, held press conferences



announcing developments in the Burge saga, delivered over 35,000 signed signatures on a petition supporting the ordinance to Mayor Rahm Emanuel, and set up pop-up memorials and exhibitions in front of the Mayor's office.



TRAIN TIMBERLIN ON EVE OF CHICAGO MAYORAL ELECTION, FEB 21, 2015. PHOTO: KELLY HAYES

The reverberations of the killing of Mike Brown in Ferguson were acutely felt here in Chicago where we have been confronting our city's own brutal history of police violence. As the mayoral election unfolded, the deafening silence of nearly all of the candidates on issues of police misconduct was not lost on those of us who had been fighting for reparations. If we wanted the candidates to address Burge torture, it would be up to us to make it so.

We called on all of the candidates to support the ordinance and invited them to publicly declare their support at a citywide rally for reparations held on Valentine's Day, the same day that Burge was released from his prison sentence. Former contender Dock Walls was the only candidate who showed; Chuy Garcia had previously issued a statement of support after multiple appeals by reparations activists; and Bob Fioretti acknowledged his support on the day of a rally at City Hall where activists were specifically calling out Council members who did not support the ordinance. We never heard back from Willie Wilson and only heard from Emanuel via media reports where he repeatedly made evasive and non-committal statements in response to reporters' questions about the ordinance.

Emboldened by the Black Lives Matter movement, the reparations campaign – with CTJM and our friends at Amnesty International, Project NIA, and We Charge Genocide at the helm – has taken on new life in the last few months. In addition to our visits to City Hall, we have held marches, rallies, and teach-ins in multiple neighborhoods and communities. We have used the power of social media to build public support and we have tweeted thousands of messages to the mayor. We have called, e-mailed and lobbied our City Council through good old-fashioned meetings to discuss the ordinance. We even took our message to the mayor's home one evening, spelling out "REPARATIONS NOW" in bright lights, a creative tactic organized by the Chicago Light Brigade.

From Mayor Emanuel's doorstep to the last runoff debate, we have insisted that the Reparations Ordinance is one tangible concrete way to show that Black Lives Matter. As we prepare for a public hearing on the ordinance, I am hopeful that we will win a measure of justice for Burge survivors who have already waited too long. Come April 7, I hope we will elect a mayor who is more receptive to the needs of torture survivors and all the people of Chicago. But I know that whoever is in office, reparations activists will continue to insist that the lives of torture survivors matter.



BLACK YOUTH PROJECT 100 HOLIDAY MARCH AND ACTION FOR REPARATIONS, DEC 29, 2014. PHOTO: SHARJANE WEE

APRIL 2015
10
15
20

April 7, 2015. Mayor Emanuel is re-elected.

April 9, 2015. Amnesty International takes out an advertisement in the *Red Eye* urging Mayor Emanuel to support the Reparations Ordinance.

April 14, 2015. Chicago's City Council's Finance Committee holds a hearing on the Reparations Ordinance. On the eve of the hearing, the negotiating committee and Mayor Emanuel and his administration agree to a reparations package. Hundreds pack the City Council's chambers. Chicago Police torture survivors Anthony Holmes, Darrell Cannon, Mark Clements, and Mary L. Johnson, whose son was tortured by Jon Burge, testify to their harrowing experiences of torture and describe the on-going pain and trauma that they and their families continue to suffer. Long-time advocates and CTJM members Dorothy Burge (also a member of BPAPT), Joey Mogul, Flint Taylor and Mario Venegas also testify at the hearing to explain why each part of the reparations legislation needs to be enacted.

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57

REPARATIONS: A BEGINNING OF A HEALING PROCESS

– Dorothy Burge
Chicago City Council
Finance Committee Hearing
Apr 14, 2015



THE WHOLE COMMUNITY HAS BEEN IMPACTED
BY THIS TORTURE THAT WAS ALLOWED TO GO ON FOR DECADES.

MY name is Dorothy Burge, and I am here representing the Chicago Torture Justice Memorials and also Black People Against Police Torture.

What I'd like to say today is this: We want the City Council of Chicago to pass the Reparations Ordinance as a way to help heal what happened in the African American community when African American men and women were tortured under the reign of Commander John Burge and officers who were under his command.

We want the City Council to pass the Reparations Ordinance as a way to heal all of the strain that has happened because we as the African American community were impacted by this

torture. It became similar to the process that happens in a lynching in the South where an act happens and then the whole community is impacted. It's a way to get a whole community in line, and because of that, you have to behave very differently as an African American in the City of Chicago when you're relating to the police.

So as an African-American mother, because of this torture and this police abuse, I have had to interact with my children in a way that other people would not have had to interact with their children. I don't know any African American mother, and I'm trying not to get emotional about this, who has not had to have this talk with their children about how to behave when you are encountered by the police.



STUDENTS FROM THE VILLAGE LEADERSHIP ACADEMY STAND IN PROTEST.
MAY 18, 2015. PHOTO: KELLY HAYES

APRIL 2015 25 MAY 5



May 6, 2015. Chicago City Council unanimously passes the reparations legislation and becomes the first municipality in the US to provide reparations for racially motivated law enforcement violence.

This Ordinance is a way to begin to heal. It is not the end-all. It is the beginning of a process to heal, to say the City of Chicago has recognized and takes responsibility for the actions that happened here in this city and that not only are we taking responsibility for that, we are moving to help heal and make whole those people who were impacted by this torture.

I am here to really talk about the fact that what we are asking for is a restorative justice process. We're asking for a process where people admit that harm has been done, that we ask for a process that not only have you admitted that harm has been done but you talk about who did the harm and then what should happen to make the people who were harmed whole. What should happen to make the community who were harmed whole are the things that we are asking for in this Reparations Ordinance.

We're asking for a formal apology. We're asking for education so that our children will understand why this was such an important issue and also understand the fight that we had to go through in order to get justice. It is my hope that the Chicago Public School system will develop a curriculum that will talk about the history of policing in this country and also in Chicago, and it will give insight into people like Jon Burge, not only Jon Burge but people like him, people who came under him, people who came after him. It will provide an overview of the torture cases, and it will examine what Chicago was like in 1972 when these tortures began to happen. It will also talk about how the torture continued over the years and how the struggle by people who were concerned about justice kept this issue in the forefront. Who was involved in the torture? Who was targeted by the torture? What was the process that led up to the firing of Jon Burge and who was on both sides of this issue, for and against Jon Burge? What was the trial? Who testified at the trial? Why was the trial important? Why was it that he only received a very minimum sentence? What was it about the statute of limitations? The whole fact that we had to go to another country in order to get them to believe us before we could get the City of Chicago to believe that torture happened in the city is something that I think young people and future generations should know. We want to talk about the sentencing. We also want to talk about the next steps to ensure that this kind of police torture doesn't happen again.

So in addition to this, we want an official apology. We want counseling because as you can see, people are still being impacted today because of what happened to them, and not only that, their family members are being impacted. Their grandchildren, their children are being impacted. The whole community has been impacted by this torture that was allowed to go on for decades. We want a memorial that says we recognize that this torture happened and that we are beginning this process of healing. We want financial compensation for the survivors and their families, and we want this to be done in a restorative justice process.

We have not come here talking in your traditional manner about justice. We are here talking about what is the harm that was done to our community. We're talking about who was involved in that harm and now what is needed to begin the healing process so that we can be made whole.



REPARATIONS NOT BLANK SITES RALLY AT DALEY PLAZA
MAR 2, 2016. PHOTO: SARAH JANE HREE



TORTURED: A DISEASE THAT HAS NO CURE

– Mario Venegas
Chicago City Council
Finance Committee Hearing
Apr 14, 2015

MARIO VENEGAS AT REPARATIONS NOW VALENTINE'S DAY RALLY, FEB 14, 2015. PHOTOS: SARAH JANE ARREE



THE HEALING PROCESS GOES ON FOREVER.

MY name is Mario Venegas, and I represent CTJM, Chicago Torture Justice Memorials. I am here and thankful for the opportunity given to me to talk. I'm a survivor of torture from the Pinochet regime in Chile in the '70s. Since I learned what has happened here in Chicago, that there were people that have been tortured by Chicago Police officers, I started right away working together with all the human rights organizations and social justice organizations in Chicago for justice for the torture survivors and their relatives.

We had a long struggle there in Chile to get reparations for torture survivors, and we got it, and I have to thank the people that worked together with the survivors, with their relatives, with the organizations in Chile and with the support of people from outside the country so we could be able to obtain reparations.

Since I learned that we were looking for reparations here in Chicago, I said this is the justice that we have to give to the people who suffered. I couldn't believe at one point that the Chicago City Council didn't hear our demands, didn't even accept the Reparations Ordinance that we have given to them. We have waited over one year and a half to be heard.

I'm so proud to be here today, which is an historical day for everyone. This is the only city in the United States that has been able to reach an agreement and hopefully the ordinance is going to be approved by the City Council when they meet.

I implore all the Aldermen and Alderwomen to approve this, to vote in favor of this. I know it's very difficult for people who have not been tortured to understand the journey we have to go through after the experience, the journey we have to go through to heal.

This is why it's so important that in the Reparations Ordinance we don't just have money, which is important, but we have all those other benefits that are important. One of them is the mental health center. It's not just the money. It's every single aspect of the Reparations Ordinance that is important.

As I was saying, it has been so important for me to have been helped, to have been treated by the mental health center we have here in Chicago. The Kovler Center for the Treatment of Torture Survivors has been mentioned many times here in this session. Treatment is not something that you can go to just for one day. I've been going there for 20 years trying to heal, to be able to live as a normal human being, and I've been able to do that.

I am strong enough to talk here today because of the help I have been receiving. We see the survivors who talked here today, how difficult it was for them to talk about the torture that was inflicted on them, because it's something that stays forever. In my case, they told me it's like a disease that has no cure. The healing process goes on forever. The nightmares we have are going to be there forever. We are normal human beings but we have been affected so much by this.

Reparations are well-known not just here in Chicago. Everywhere in the world people have their eyes on Chicago to see what is going to be approved or not. Because every city in the world probably has people who have been tortured either by the Army, by the police, by any kind of law enforcement agent.

SPECULATIVE CHICAGO TORTURE JUSTICE MEMORIALS



Laurie Palmer

Area 2

Drawing of the first Area 2 police headquarters where the Burge tortures began. Originally published in *New City's* "Impossible Monuments" issue, September 2011, to draw participants to the Chicago Torture Justice Memorials open call for speculative proposals.

Tirtza Even in collaboration with Mary Heinen-Glover & Ivan Martinez

Sentence Worn, A Segment

Video installation illustrating Mary Heinen-Glover's account of the impact of imprisonment on her body after spending close to 27 years locked in Michigan State prisons.



And today it is an historical moment that in Chicago we're at the point to approve this ordinance at the City Council, and that's the most important thing. The message I want to send is that in an economically poor country like Chile, we were able to get reparations, and the money that survivors here in Chicago could be receiving is ridiculous compared to the money that we get in a poor country like Chile. In Chile we are talking about \$54 million US dollars a year that the government is spending to help about 30,000 survivors. In Chicago, it's about 120 survivors, and we have to struggle so much to get a much smaller amount.

I think that here in Chicago, one of the richest cities in the world, they could provide whatever money we're asking for.

We appreciate that we are able to negotiate this with the Mayor's Office and now it is in your hands. All aldermen and alderwomen here should approve this Reparations Ordinance. I'm sure you will do it because this is not the kind of regular politics. This is something from your heart, and history will be a witness to whatever decision you make.

Thank you for all your support, and thank you on behalf of the survivors and their relatives because they are also affected after all the painful experiences they have been going through.



PRESS CONFERENCE AT CITY HALL ON THE DAY THAT REPARATIONS IS PASSED BY THE CHICAGO CITY COUNCIL, JUNE 6, 2015. PHOTO: SARAH JANE FREE

JON BURGE TORTURE INDEX

119	Number of people tortured by Burge and his men since 1972
12	Number of Chicago Police torture survivors sentenced to death
5	Number of Chicago Police torture survivors sentenced to death who were later exonerated
16	Number of Chicago Police torture survivors who have been exonerated
18	Number currently behind bars who were tortured into confessions by Burge and others under his command
22	Number of men who were electrically shocked with the electric shock box or cattle prods by police
25	Number of men who were suffocated with a plastic bag by police
33	Number of men who were attacked or had pain inflicted in their genitals by police
36	Number of men beaten with objects by police
16	Number of men beaten with flashlights
18	Number of men beaten with a phone book
4	Number of men beaten with a rubber hose or pipe
1	Number of men beaten with a bat
17	Number of men threatened with a gun
3	Number of men beaten with a gun
20	Number of men who were called racial slurs
68,254,500	Taxpayer dollars spent by the City to compensate 18 torture survivors in civil suits
21,191,334	Taxpayer dollars spent by the City to defend Jon Burge and his men against civil claims of police torture
7,002,567	Taxpayer dollars spent by the special prosecutors to investigate claims of torture by Burge and other officers
527,464	Taxpayer dollars spent to fire Burge from the Chicago Police Department
705,397	Taxpayer dollars spent for Burge's pension since he was terminated from the department for his acts of torture & abuse
102,105,007	Total taxpayer dollars spent on the legal cases related to the Burge torture scandal
0	Apologies from Burge
0	Number of times Burge has accepted responsibility for torturing people
0	Number of times Burge has accepted responsibility for lying about the torture
0	Number of times Burge has testified against other detectives who tortured
33	Number of police officers involved in the torture ring
32	Number of police officers allegedly involved in the torture ring who have never been prosecuted
1197	Combined time spent behind bars for the 5 exonerated death row torture survivors in months
54	Burge's prison sentence for his convictions for perjury and obstruction of justice in months
?	How long will it take City Council to pass the Ordinance for Reparations for the Chicago Police Torture Survivors

BURGE TORTURE INDEX, CREATED BY CDMJ, LAST UPDATED FEB 8, 2015.



Tarik Essalhi

Gisant 3

French for "recumbent," this effigy is a concrete sculpture based on the suffering of tortured people.

POLICE TORTURE, REPARATIONS AND ECHOES

FROM THE HOUSE OF SCREAMS

– Mariame Kaba
Prison Culture
May 7, 2015

HISTORIC REPARATIONS ORDINANCE IS PASSED BY CHICAGO CITY COUNCIL
MAY 6, 2015. PHOTO: SHARAH JANE RHEE

STRUGGLE AND ORGANIZING MATTER. CHANGE IS TOO OFTEN SLOW.
BUT SOMETIMES WE DO WIN.

YESTERDAY, the Chicago City Council passed historic legislation to provide reparations for Burge police torture survivors. The package that was approved includes:

“a formal apology for the torture; specialized counseling services to the Burge torture survivors and their family members on the South Side; free enrollment and job training in City Colleges for survivors and family members (including grandchildren) as well as prioritized access to other City programs, including help with housing, transportation and senior care; a history lesson about the Burge torture cases taught in Chicago Public schools to 8th and 10th graders; the construction of a permanent public memorial to the survivors; and it sets aside \$5.5 million for a Reparations Fund for Burge Torture Victims that will allow the survivors with us today to receive financial compensation for the torture they endured.”

Chicago is the first municipality in the U.S. to legislate reparations for survivors and victims of racist police violence. This victory was an improbable one. In his book “Unspeakable Acts, Ordinary People” published in 2000, journalist John Conroy offered a bleak assessment of the city’s response to allegations about Burge and his henchmen’s torture:

“The citizens of Chicago were unmoved. The clergy showed no leadership; with the exception of a few mostly low-ranking ministers, religious officials were silent. In the absence of any clamor, politicians showed no interest. Reporters, hearing no complaint, conducted no investigations, and editorial writers launched no crusades. State and federal prosecutors, feeling no pressure from the press or the public, hearing no moral commentary from the religious quarter, prosecuted no one. Judges, seeing no officer indicted and hearing no officer speak against his comrades, could therefore comfortably dismiss claims of torture, and with few exceptions, they did.

I found I did not have to journey far to learn that torture is something we abhor only when it is done to someone we like, preferably someone we like who lives in another country.”
(p. 240)

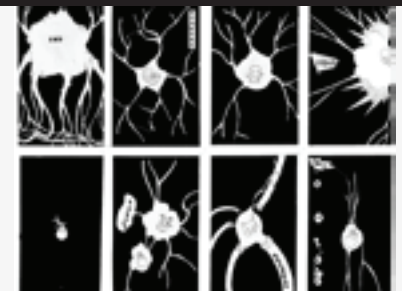
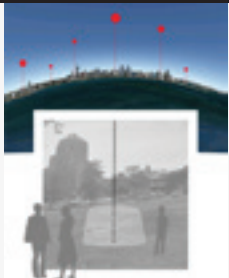
Fifteen years later, I listened from the third floor of City Hall as the Mayor and members of the City Council apologized for the torture endured by over 118 Black people at the hands of Burge and his henchmen. It was a miraculous moment.

What changed between Conroy’s description of an apathetic public response to allegations of Burge’s torture and yesterday’s Council vote on reparations? I actually think that Conroy was too dismissive of the organizing that took place in the 1990s. He thought that the protests were mostly insignificant and small. It’s a reminder, I think, that our perspectives on historical moments that we inhabit can sometimes be myopic. Conroy could not have known that the organizing in the 90s would serve as a foundation and a road map for efforts into the future. He was right that the political class, the 4th estate and most of the public were generally apathetic about the allegations of police torture. But I think that he also underestimated the importance of the sustained resistance led by groups like Citizens Alert, Black People Against Torture, the People’s Law Office and more. There were small victories along the way. Our historic achievement yesterday is owed to those hard-fought wins. The organizing and activism that

Robert MacNeil
Looking to the Sky

Giant red weather balloons are anchored to sites across the city holding significance for torture survivors and their families. The balloons may be raised to the height of the skyline into a symbol of invisible memories that can be seen for miles.

Christopher Yee
Memorial Zine









began in the late 80s took the form of protests, advocacy, litigation, and storytelling (including Conroy's powerful investigative journalism). Struggle and organizing matter. Change is too often slow. But sometimes we do win.

I became immersed in the Burge reparations campaign last Fall. Over the past six months, a coalition of individuals and groups organized tirelessly to pass this legislation. We held rallies, sing-ins, marches, light actions, train takeovers, exhibition-ins, and more. The price of being immersed in this struggle is to be a witness to unspeakable acts of cruelty committed against other human beings. Burge and his fellow police officers electrocuted, beat, suffocated and generally tortured dozens of people over two decades. The rooms where Commander Jon Burge and his fellow officers tortured and forced confessions from suspects were called the "House[s] of Screams." Those screams echoed in my head yesterday as I heard the Chicago City Council vote on the reparations legislation for survivors of Burge's torture. Slowly those screams became whispers: thank you for believing us and for refusing to forget, they seemed to say.

To focus on such harms is painful and can lead to despair. Yet by organizing for some justice for torture survivors, I've seen and experienced incredible kindness, selflessness and compassion. This is what sustains my hope. I'm convinced that injustice and oppression will not have the last word. Last night, I attended a gathering of friends and comrades who have in their own ways contributed to this struggle. Some have spent the better part of 3 decades fighting to bring some justice to the torture survivors. I was asked to say a few words and I had difficulty expressing my feelings and thoughts. As I reached for my words, I was overcome at seeing the now old Black men standing before me. A couple had been brutalized in the early 1970s. I wasn't eloquent last night but my words were heartfelt. I held it together but when I got home, I cried. They were tears of relief, gratitude, and most of all of love.

There will be time in the coming days and weeks to reflect and to find my words. But for today, let it be known that here in Chicago, we were determined not to forget the atrocities committed in our names by the police. We resisted the violence of fading memories and fought to preserve the knowledge of atrocities for which we all bear some responsibility. We struggled with survivors of torture and yesterday, we won.

WHAT REPARATIONS LOOK LIKE FOR BURGE POLICE TORTURE SURVIVORS

 EDUCATION ON POLICE TORTURE IN PUBLIC SCHOOLS	 FORMAL APOLOGY FROM CHICAGO CITY COUNCIL	 FREE COLLEGE EDUCATION FOR SURVIVORS & THEIR FAMILIES
 \$5.5 MILLION IN FINANCIAL COMPENSATION	 PUBLIC MEMORIAL TO TORTURE SURVIVORS	 A COUNSELING CENTER FOR BURGE TORTURE SURVIVORS

GRAPHIC BY PROJECT IVA,
APRIL 14, 2015.



Odile Compagnon

Less-Than-Lethal

Zoetrope depicting the universal pain assessment scale and riot police.

Josh MacPhee and collaborators

Graphics Fight Against Torture

Silkscreen created as part of a collaborative workshop.



LOVE AND STRUGGLE: PHOTOS FROM MAY 6

– Photographs by Sarah Jane Rhee
May 6, 2015



On May 6, 2015, torture survivors and their family members attended the Chicago City Council meeting to witness passage of historic legislation providing reparations for the torture they endured at the hands of former commander Jon Burge and officers under his supervision. Following the City Council's unanimous vote passing reparations legislation, they gathered with activists to speak to the press and, later that evening, to celebrate #ReparationsWON.



Renaldo Hudson

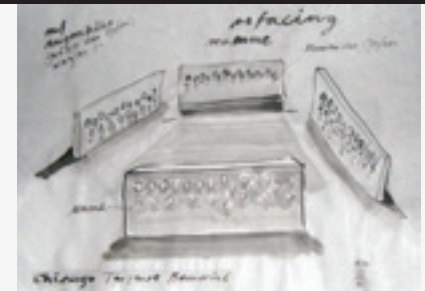
Freedom Cost

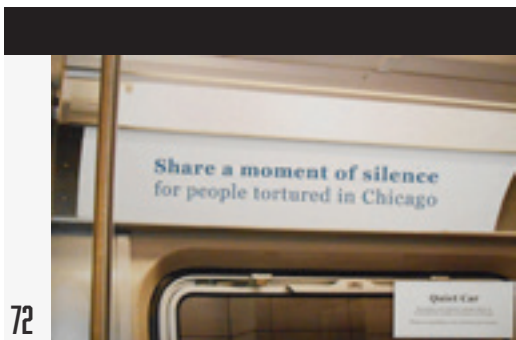
Painting dedicated to struggles for justice by a former Illinois death row prisoner whose sentence was commuted to life without the possibility of parole.

Curt Walter

Facing Torture

Design for bronze memorial against torture and terror. Casts of human faces mounted on walls that face each other and confront the viewer.





Monica Nicolai

Quiet Car

Passengers on a CTA train are asked to share a moment of silence in solidarity with victims of torture in Chicago.

Tran Le Manh

One-way Transparency

Inspired by the concept of transparency and its failure in this case, this vertical glass panel is reflective on one side while the other side has a list of the torture victims' names and the mark of a bloody handprint calling for help.



POWER IN NAMING: REPARATIONS, MEMORIALS, AND CHICAGO POLICE TORTURE

— Alice Kim & Vickie Casanova Willis
Discover Society
June 3, 2015

JIM DUCHAN'S SCULPTURE FROM "OPENING THE BLACK BOX: THE CHARGE IS TORTURE" EXHIBIT AT THE SULLIVAN GALLERIES, OCT 4-DEC 21, 2012. PHOTO: SARAH JANE FREE



THERE IS TRANSFORMATIVE POWER IN NAMING.

FERGUSON, New York, Florida, Baltimore, Chicago. Everywhere, it seems, Black life matters not, despite the desperate plea "I can't breathe!"; hands up do not halt the police bullets. A stark power imbalance pervades the culture of policing in the U.S. in urban communities of color. The daily headlines, trending tweets, and the latest video captured by someone's smartphone all illustrate the brutal, senseless violence perpetrated by the state against African American men and women. Under the guise of serving and protecting, the forces licensed to carry guns and military grade weapons hold the power of life and death in their hands.

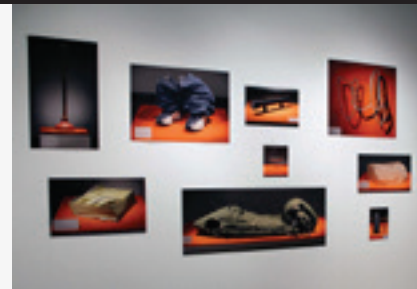
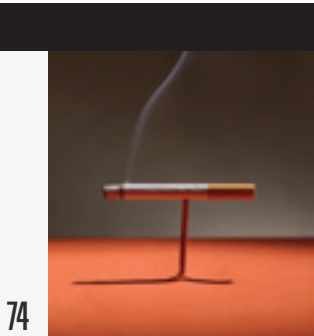
Far too many who encounter law enforcement in U.S. cities are left seriously injured or dead. This undeniable fact is played out before our very eyes and at every turn. Youth across the nation have taken to the streets, and even recently to the United Nations, to echo a prior generation's challenge: "We Charge Genocide." In Chicago, a decades long struggle to hold police accountable for torturing over 100 African American men is making headlines and history by winning concessions from the city that tortured.

In May 2015, Chicago became the first city in the history of the United States to provide reparations for racially motivated police violence, specifically a group of African American men and women who were tortured by former Commander Jon Burge and his detectives over a span of nearly two decades, from 1972 to 1991. This has only come about by empowering ordinary Chicagoans to organize, advocate, agitate, negotiate, and demand accountability from our city's elected officials.

First dozens, then hundreds, and even thousands, of conscious citizens responded to the call for reparations by the Chicago Torture Justice Memorials (CTJM) collective. Our work amplified the earlier international human rights initiative and call for reparations from Black People Against Police Torture (BPAPT), a grassroots organization rooted in the African American community. And we built on prior struggles to investigate the torture, remove Burge from the police force, and get justice for his victims. Including veteran activists from these previous struggles, CTJM fought tirelessly with our partners at Amnesty International, Project NIA and We Charge Genocide to ensure that the survivors, their families, and the community harmed by this grossly criminal police behaviour were no longer unheard, without acknowledgment or redress for their suffering.

Without question, this history would not be known to the public if it weren't for the courage of torture survivors who dared to keep speaking out, even as city officials and the courts refused to believe them. Their cries for justice too long denied remind us how crucial it is to name the issues, perpetrators, victims and survivors. For CTJM, the group that worked with Aldermen Joe Moreno and Howard Brookins to introduce the Reparations Ordinance to the City Council, the act of naming has been essential to building and sustaining our collective struggle for justice and police accountability.

That is why a public memorial is included in the historic reparations package for Burge torture survivors. Along with \$5.5 million in financial compensation, psychological and vocational counseling, free education in the City Colleges, a history lesson about Burge torture for 8th and 10th graders in Chicago Public Schools, and an official apology, the public memorial will represent the beginnings of a long awaited and overdue healing process.



T. W. Li

*Images from the Museum of Authority,
a Series of Photographs*

This work draws from specific cases of American torture in Chicago, Brooklyn, Detroit, and Abu Ghraib.

Tortured in 1973, Anthony Holmes was one of Burge's first victims. He was repeatedly electric shocked with a makeshift electrocution box and suffocated with a plastic bag. "Other police was in the room, but nobody helped me," Anthony said when he testified at the Finance Committee hearing on the reparations ordinance. "The sad part about it is," he said. "All them years I served in penitentiary, didn't no one believe what I was telling them."

Naming the survivors has become an act of memorializing that we have enacted at critical moments in our campaign. We have done this with the understanding that every single name signifies a person whose life was ravaged by torture. And we have done this to acknowledge the courage of the survivors, like Anthony, who refused to be erased.

In October 2012, a year before the Reparations Ordinance was introduced in the City Council, the CTJM collective designed a wall of names to memorialize each and every Burge torture case. Our wall of names was one of over 70 speculative memorials in an exhibition we curated entitled "Opening the Black Box: The Charge is Torture."

As Maya Lin said about the making of the Vietnam Memorial, "The use of names was a way to bring back everything someone could remember about a person." Our wall of names not only recalled the horrific torture that each survivor experienced, but also all the stories and experiences that comprised each of their lives. Listed collectively, their names were representative of a system that allowed the torture to take place.

Four torture survivors involved in the campaign for reparations — Darrell Cannon, Mark Clements, Anthony Holmes, and Marvin Reeves — joined us at various exhibit events to sign their own names on the wall. With dozens present to witness the act, each time one of the survivors signed his name to the wall, a hush of silence overwhelmed the room. There was power in each individual act of signing, a symbol of their own refusal to be erased.

The power of naming was once again acutely felt in a procession that CTJM and Amnesty International enacted on April 4, 2014, in commemoration of Martin Luther King Jr.'s assassination. Local artists built 119 black flags, each one brandished with the name of a torture survivor and the date they were tortured. Activists carried these flags on a march down the streets of downtown Chicago and gathered at Daley Plaza across from City Hall. At the rally, as the name of every survivor was announced, an activist holding the respective flag silently

walked over to stand in a line parallel to City Hall. With this procession, we bore witness to the individual and collective pain of the survivors and demanded that the city take responsibility for the brutal torture that had been inflicted on these men.

Later in 2014 on December 16, facing a heated mayoral election in the new year, reparations activists organized a 3-mile march from Chicago Police Headquarters to City Hall to kick off an intense campaign for reparations. After a spirited march, protesters poured into the entryway of Mayor Rahm Emanuel's office to deliver 35,000 signatures on petitions calling for reparations, and we created a pop-up memorial right in front of the Mayor's office. We laid flowers, cards, quilts, photographs down to honor the survivors, and organizers passed out 119 cards, each bearing the name of a torture survivor, to protesters. And then it began; each one, name one. As they called out the name on their respective card, one by one, individual protesters proceeded to add their card to the memorial, a prescient reminder to the Mayor that we would not allow these men to be forgotten.

On Valentine's Day, we enacted another living memorial following a rousing indoor rally for reparations. In the bitter cold at Daley Plaza, 119 Chicagoans stood outside holding the black flags with the torture survivors' names on them. Mariame Kaba, who initiated this Valentine's Day memorial describes it like this, "It was our wall of names, the survivors of a war declared and prosecuted against Black people in a major American city. Everyone stood shoulder to shoulder [...]. The line stretched the length of a block."

Kaba points out that it is hard to look directly at torture, but that facing that reality "is the only way that we'll have any chance of addressing the violence done in our name at home and abroad."

There is transformative power in naming. The survivors remind us of this, time and time again. Their courage to speak out and their refusal to be erased enlarges the human spirit in all of us.



Erik Wood

Architectural Proposal for a Memorial

Engaged rock wall symbolizes wrongfully accused victims and their imprisonment; gentle rising slope represents the empty passing of time; voids in the concrete stand for remaining memories; and victims names reflected onto a pool of water represent rebirth.



Richard Ross

Booking Bench and Interrogation Room, Photographs

REPARATIONS: A BLUEPRINT TO ADDRESS SYSTEMATIC POLICE VIOLENCE

– Joey Mogul
Time.com / PLO
May 12, 2015

CHICAGO'S APPROACH TO SYSTEMIC RACIAL HARM OFFERS A GLIMMER OF A POSSIBLE
FUTURE IN WHICH THE NATION AS A WHOLE MIGHT FINALLY GRAPPLE WITH REPARATIONS

THE City of Chicago made history on Wednesday May 6 when it passed legislation providing reparations to survivors of racially motivated police torture committed between 1972 and 1991. Once implemented, it will offer a measure of hope to survivors, their family members and African American communities devastated by the legacy of torture committed by infamous former Chicago Police Commander Jon Burge and detectives under his command.

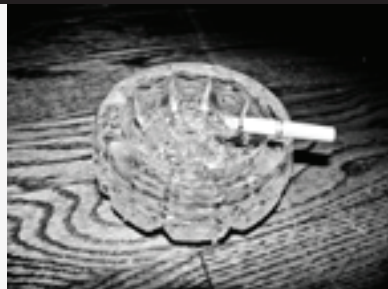
It represents a bold break with the status quo, representing the first time that a municipality in the United States – a nation with a long tradition of unanswered calls for redress for systemic race-based violence, including slavery and lynchings – will provide reparations to those harmed by law enforcement violence. It can serve as a blueprint for what reparations might look like for systemic police abuse plaguing cities across the nation.

Chicago's reparations package was driven by the inadequacy of traditional legal remedies to make individuals and communities whole for systemic harm. After decades of litigation, activism and investigative journalism, the truth about systemic torture of African Americans by white detectives to secure confessions, involving electric shock, suffocation, and mock execution, often accompanied by racialized abuse, was exposed. Yet full accountability proved elusive.

The statute of limitations precluded Burge and his men from being held criminally or civilly responsible for their crimes of torture (although Burge was ultimately convicted in 2010 for perjury and obstruction of justice for lying about the torture he and others committed). They enjoyed decades of torturing with impunity, courtesy of a cover up by the Chicago Police Department's chain of command and governmental officials, including former Mayor Richard M. Daley. Moreover, the limited remedies offered by civil litigation – financial settlements that were often meager and practically unavailable to the vast majority of survivors – were inadequate to address the trauma and material needs of the torture survivors, their family members and communities.

Burge's legacy of torture left festering wounds that remain open to this day. Many survivors continue to suffer from nightmares and flashbacks, grappling with post-traumatic stress disorder that has gone untreated for decades. They live under a shroud of shame, guilt, and anguish that undermines their ability to form relationships and share community with others. Survivors' family members were also left to contend with their secondary trauma in isolation, after their fathers, sons and partners were ripped from them. As whispers of the torture spread, entire communities lived in fear that they or their loved ones would be disappeared from street corners or homes into the bowels of police stations to be tortured and terrorized. The torture, like lynchings, served to terrorize entire African American communities.

Recognizing the lack of redress for these systemic harms, Standish Willis, founder of Black People Against Police Torture, made the initial call for reparations. Chicago Torture Justice Memorials (CTJM), a grassroots group of artists, activists, attorneys and survivors, amplified this call by asking police torture survivors and the larger community to imagine how they would publicly memorialize these cases recognizing the difficulty and immensity of depicting the harms perpetrated, while also recognizing the struggle waged by many for justice for



Caty Nordyke

*Everyday Objects as Torture Devices,
a Series of Photographs*

decades. Through art charrettes, teach-ins, creative outreach and community dialogue, CTJM sought to spark the collective imagination of communities to conceptualize what was necessary for the City to provide in order for individuals and communities to heal from torture. This call served to redirect everyone's attention beyond the usual cries for accountability for police brutality and to focus on holistic means of meeting the material needs of all members of impacted communities, and offering positive visions for healing and repair.

Given the glaring lack of precedent in the U.S., CTJM looked to the U.N. Convention Against Torture's principles of restitution, rehabilitation, compensation and public acknowledgment. CTJM also consulted with Juan Mendez, the U.N. Special Rapporteur on Torture, himself a survivor of torture in Argentina, and relied on the expansive scope of reparations provided for atrocities committed under the Pinochet regime in Chile when conceiving of the essential elements of the original legislation (a CTJM member is a Chilean torture survivor who fought for reparations in Chile as well).

Ultimately, the reparations package, brought to fruition by an inspiring multiracial and intergenerational campaign led by CTJM, Amnesty International, Project NIA and We Charge Genocide, within the larger context of the #BlackLivesMatter movement, achieved far more than any individual criminal prosecution or lawsuit could afford. In addition to financial compensation to all individual survivors, it includes a legislative admission and apology by the City of Chicago for the torture committed by city employees, settling the historical record and placing this systemic pattern and practice of torture beyond dispute. The reparations package also includes the creation of a center on Chicago's South Side where survivors can access specialized trauma counseling services. It extends benefits like job placement, and free tuition at City Colleges for the torture survivors and their families.

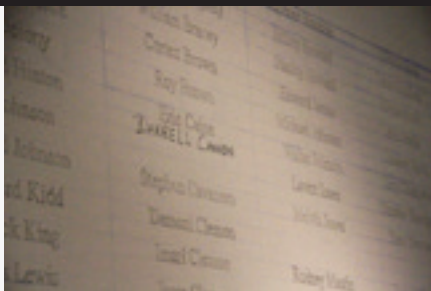
Reparations are also an exercise in collective grief, catharsis and healing. As part of this process of narrating and commemorating what Burge torture survivors endured, the City of Chicago will not only create a permanent public memorial, it will also create a living memorial through an 8th and 10th grade curriculum for Chicago Public Schools about the Burge torture cases. The hope is that by inscribing these cases both figuratively and literally into the collective memory, generations to come will ensure torture is never again committed in our name.

Like every reparations process, there have been fair critiques for being too narrowly focused and not ambitiously seeking redress for every case of police torture. However, while the reparations for Burge survivors focus on a finite set of particularly egregious cases, they can still serve as a model in other cities. Ultimately, each process will be unique and place specific. But Chicago's journey provides some guideposts for municipalities to consider beyond changes in police policies that have left both victims and communities affected by racist police violence unable to heal.

There is no question that excessive force, in many instances amounting to torture, causes physical injuries and leaves psychological scars. As noted by sociologists Amanda Geller and Jeffrey Fagan in their study of the impacts of the New York City Police Department's stop and frisk practices, even less egregious forms of discriminatory policing cause significant individual and collective emotional harm.

Municipalities need not shoulder this burden alone. There are approximately 40 federally funded centers throughout the U.S. offering psychological treatment to torture survivors – but unfortunately, they are only permitted to provide services to people who have been tortured outside the U.S. It is time for federal government to recognize that law enforcement officials torture people in the U.S. and that survivors need access to the same services we rightfully offer survivors of torture around the world.

Ultimately, Chicago's approach to systemic racial harm offers a glimmer of a possible future in which the nation as a whole might finally grapple with reparations for the legacy of slavery, Jim Crow and its direct descendant, mass incarceration, each of which echo through the Chicago Police Torture cases.



CTJM

Wall of Names

Wall bearing names of known Burge torture survivors.

Lucky Pierre

Action Plaque #11 of 100 Actions for Chicago Torture Justice

Potential actions addressing torture's structure, practice, and ramifications to be performed as symbolic gestures that generate discussion and movement around issues of torture.



A resolution

adopted by *The City Council*
of the *City of Chicago, Illinois*



Presented by MAYOR RAHM EMANUEL on MAY 6, 2015

Whereas . In a career spanning more than 20 years, Jon Burge rose to the rank of Commander in the Chicago Police Department before he was fired in 1993 for torturing a confession from a murder suspect. More than 100 African-Americans who were detained by the Chicago Police Department between 1972 and 1991 have accused Burge or police officers working under his command of engaging in acts of torture and physical abuse. In 2010, Burge was convicted on charges of perjury and obstruction of justice for falsely denying that he and detectives under his command had engaged in torture and abuse and that he was aware of this torture and physical abuse of suspects; and

WHEREAS, The City Council wishes to acknowledge this exceedingly sad and painful chapter in Chicago's history, and to formally express its profound regret for any and all shameful treatment of our fellow citizens that occurred; and

WHEREAS, The City Council recognizes that words alone cannot adequately convey the deep regret and remorse that we and our fellow citizens feel for any and all harm that was inflicted by Burge and the officers under his command. And yet, words do matter. For only words can end the silence about wrongs that were committed and injustices that were perpetrated, and enable us, as a City, to take the steps necessary to ensure that similar acts never again occur in Chicago; and

WHEREAS, The apology we make today is offered with the hope that it will open a new chapter in the history of our great City, a chapter marked by healing and an ongoing process of reconciliation; and

WHEREAS, Just as a wrongful act followed by an apology, forgiveness and redemption is part of the shared human experience, so too is the widely held belief that actions speak louder than words; and

WHEREAS, For this reason, the City of Chicago wishes, in some tangible way, to redress any and all harm that was suffered at the hands of Jon Burge or his subordinates by extending to those individuals who have a credible claim of torture or physical abuse ("Burge victims") and to the members of their immediate family, and, in some cases, to their grandchildren, a variety of benefits. These benefits will include, among other things, free tuition at the City Colleges of Chicago and free access to the specialized job training and certification programs offered there; specialized psychological, family, substance abuse and other counseling services at a convenient South Side location that will be based on the model of services provided by the Marjorie Kovler Center of the Heartland Alliance; job placement in programs offered by the City and its sister agencies for formerly incarcerated individuals; and prioritized access to applicable support services and programs currently offered by city departments. The City-provided services and programs to which Burge victims will receive prioritized access may include workplace re-entry support and job training and placement, counseling, assistance for food, housing and transportation, one-on-one case management at Community Re-Entry Support Centers and Community Service Centers, and access to senior care services and resources provided by the Department of Family and Support Services; health services programs coordinated by the Department of Public Health; and small business assistance programs administered by the Department of Business Affairs and Consumer Protection; and

WHEREAS, Because education about the transgressions of the past is essential to laying claim to a future that is free of racism, discrimination, inequality and cruelty, the City of Chicago plans to work with Chicago Torture Justice Memorials, an advocacy organization committed to honoring and seeking justice for survivors of Chicago police violence, to construct a permanent memorial to the Burge victims; and, beginning in the 2015 -- 2016 school year, the Chicago Public Schools will incorporate into its existing U.S. History curriculum for eighth-grade and tenth-grade students a lesson about the Burge case and its legacy; and

WHEREAS, It is the sincere hope of this great City that the process of repair, renewal and reconciliation that we affirm today will help to restore the trust of all Chicagoans in the decency and fairness of their municipal and county governments, including their law enforcement agencies; now, therefore,

BE IT RESOLVED, That we, the Mayor and members of the City Council of the City of Chicago, on behalf of all Chicagoans:

- (1) acknowledge and condemn, as evil and reprehensible, any and all acts of torture and abuse inflicted upon the Burge victims; and
- (2) apologize to the Burge victims for these horrific and inexcusable acts; and
- (3) express our most solemn regrets to the families of the Burge victims for any and all harm that they suffered as a consequence of the ordeal that their loved ones were subjected to; and
- (4) remember these past events, to ensure that this sad chapter in our City's history is never forgotten; and
- (5) reaffirm our City's commitment to righting the wrongs of the past, and in so doing, reassure Chicago's residents that such wrongs will not be repeated in the future; and

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED, That a suitable copy of this resolution be presented to Chicago Torture Justice Memorials, as a sign of our respect for their work and of our concern about this important matter.




Rahm Emanuel

MAYOR

Suzanne A. Mendez

CITY CLERK



This publication was produced by Chicago Torture Justice Memorials, designed and formatted by Iván Arenas, and co-edited by Alice Kim and Jennifer Scism Ash.

The following people and organizations contributed writing, statements, talks, memes, and photos: Dorothy Burge, Darrell Cannon, Vickie Casanova Willis, Mark Clements, Gonzalo Escobar, Kelly Hayes, Anthony Holmes, Mary L. Johnson, Mariame Kaba, Kevin Kaempf, Alice Kim, Carla Mayer, Joey Mogul, Laurie Palmer, Amy Partridge, Mary Patten, Bronte Price, Marvin Reeves, Sarah Jane Rhee, Ellen Rothenberg, Caroline Siede, Flint Taylor, Mario Venegas, Rebecca Zorach, Amnesty International USA, Chicago Light Brigade, CTJM, Project NIA.

Much of the work contained within this publication was previously published and CTJM would like to thank all contributors for their words, photos, and art. In some cases, the text has been edited for length. Requests to reprint should be directed to contributors or original sources.

The speculative memorials featured on pages 62 to 81 were submitted to CTJM in response to our open call for proposals and featured in the “Opening the Black Box: The Charge Is Torture” exhibition at The Sullivan Galleries, Oct 4- Dec 21, 2012.

Amy Partridge, Mary Patten, Laurie Palmer, and Martha Biondi lent their critical eyes to near final drafts.

Share with Love provided generous financial support in the printing of this publication.

Proceeds from this limited edition book will go to Chicago Torture Justice Memorials. Our work is focused on implementing reparations legislation. This includes supporting the creation of a community center for Burge torture survivors and their family members; constructing a public memorial; and developing curriculum about Burge torture for 8th and 10th graders in Chicago Public Schools. CTJM is also working to establish a torture survivors speakers bureau and to document the decades long struggles for justice in the Burge torture cases. We stand in solidarity with the ongoing struggles to end all police violence.

chicagotorture.org