REPARATIONS WON:

A CASE STUDY IN POLICE TORTURE, RACISM, AND THE MOVEMENT FOR JUSTICE IN CHICAGO

High School United States History Curriculum
Acknowledgements

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Finally, we thank the survivors, activists and civic leaders who worked tirelessly to bring this story to light and ensure that all students in our city learn about this important moment in Chicago’s history. As former President Barack Obama said at the opening of the National Museum of African American History: “The best history helps us recognize the mistakes that we’ve made, and the dark corners of the human spirit that we need to guard against. And yes, a clear-eyed view of history can make us uncomfortable. It will shake us out of familiar narratives. But it is precisely because of that discomfort that we learn, and grow, and harness our collective power to make this nation more perfect.”

Chicago Public Schools is the third largest school district in the United States with more than 600 schools providing education to almost 400,000 children. At Chicago Public Schools, our mission is to provide a high-quality public education for every child in every neighborhood that prepares them for success in college, career, and community.

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Unit Overview

The torture and other abuse committed by Burge and officers under his command are a disgrace to the City and to the hard-working men and women of the Chicago Police Department. To remind the City of the injustices that occurred and to ensure that they are not repeated, the City will acknowledge and educate the public about this dark chapter in Chicago’s history.

“Reparations for Burge Torture Victims” Memorandum of Understanding

This tenth-grade unit is one of two educational units developed for teachers and students in Chicago Public Schools in response to the reparations package passed by the City of Chicago in 2015. It focuses on an abuse of government power and violation of the public trust. Beginning in the 1970s and continuing until the early 1990s, Commander Jon Burge and other officers of the Chicago Police Department systematically tortured persons in police custody on the city’s Southeast Side. Burge and almost all the officers involved were white. Almost all those who were tortured in police custody were African American. Evidence and stories about these abuses, however, were ignored or discounted for many years outside the African American community. Activists in Chicago’s black community worked for many years to uncover the scandal, to curtail the torture program, to seek justice for survivors, and to gain public acknowledgment of the systemic nature of these abuses, eventually winning an unprecedented series of state and local government responses.

Because this unit deals with topics that are deeply troubling and may elicit emotional responses from students—indeed, some students’ families and friends may have been personally affected by the police torture scandal—Part 1 uses a Talking Circle strategy to begin building the classroom environment necessary to deal with difficult issues. Part 2 introduces students to basic facts about the torture scandal; students examine primary and secondary sources to identify what information the sources provide and what questions they raise. In Part 3, students read testimonies from torture survivors and use words from the testimonies to create found poetry that helps convey the impact of torture on the survivors and their families.

In Part 4, students consider the question of what factors allowed the torture scandal to occur and to persist for nearly two decades; they use primary source documents to investigate how systemic racism, individual racism, concerns about crime, tension between the Chicago Police Department and the African American community, and the role of political leaders contributed to the scandal. Students then, in Part 5, turn their attention to the community response to the torture scandal—how people and organizations, with leadership from the African American community, used a variety of tactics to seek justice in the case. The final part of the unit looks specifically at the reparations agreement with the City of Chicago and allows students space to reflect on what they have learned and felt as they studied the torture scandal.

The unit’s assessment task is linked with its subject matter: students are asked to develop a plan for a memorial that will educate the public about the torture of Chicagoans by members of the Chicago Police Department. The assessment of student work will focus on the extent to which students address the unit’s Essential Questions and use evidence to support their plans.

The Appendix provides extensions that teachers can use to go deeper with selected topics, as well as resources. A set of Teacher Background Essays is also provided at the end of the unit.

Essential Questions:

- What factors allowed the police torture of Chicago’s citizens to occur?
- How did people and organizations use the legal system and community action to seek justice for torture survivors, their families, and the community?
What can we learn about racism, both systemic and individual, by studying and discussing difficult episodes in history?

**Enduring Understandings**

- The program of torture conducted by Jon Burge and other officers of the Chicago Police Department must be understood in the context of racial, institutional, historical, and economic factors.
- Using the legal system and community action to achieve their goals, individuals and groups, with leadership from the African American community, worked for decades to stop torture and gain reparations for those who suffered at the hands of Chicago police officers.
- Because difficult historic episodes often represent enduring issues or conflicts, studying and discussing them can help us understand contemporary controversies.

**ISBE Standards**

- SS.IS.4.9-12: Gather and evaluate information from multiple sources while considering the origin, credibility, point of view, authority, structure, context, and corroborative value of the sources.
- SS.IS.6.9-12: Construct and evaluate explanations and arguments using multiple sources, and relevant, verified information.
- SS.CV.5.9-12: Analyze the impact of personal interest and diverse perspectives on the application of civic dispositions, democratic principles, constitutional rights, and human rights.
- SS.CV.6.9-12: Describe how political parties, the media, and public interest groups both influence and reflect social and political interests.
- SS.CV.8.9-12: Analyze how individuals use and challenge laws to address a variety of public issues.
- SS.H.1.9-12: Evaluate how historical developments were shaped by time and place as well as broader historical contexts.
- SS.H.7.9-12: Identify the role of individuals, groups, and institutions in people’s struggle for safety, freedom, equality and justice.
- SS.H.8.9-12: Analyze key historical events and contributions of individuals through a variety of perspectives, including those of historically underrepresented groups.

**Common Core State Standards**

- CCSS.WHST.9-10.4: Produce clear and coherent writing in which the development, organization, and style are appropriate to task, purpose, and audience.
- CCSS.WHST.9-10.7: Conduct short as well as more sustained research projects to answer a question (including a self-generated question) or solve a problem; narrow or broaden the inquiry when appropriate; synthesize multiple sources on the subject, demonstrating understanding of the subject under investigation.
- CCSS.RH.9-10.1: Cite specific textual evidence to support analysis of primary and secondary sources, attending to such features as the date and origin of the information.
- CCSS.RH.9-10.2: Determine the central ideas or information of a primary or secondary source; provide an accurate summary of how key events or ideas develop over the course of the text.
- CCSS.SL.9-10.1: Initiate and participate effectively in a range of collaborative discussions (one-on-one, in groups, and teacher-led) with diverse partners on grades 9-10 topics, texts, and issues, building on others’ ideas and expressing their own clearly and persuasively.
ISBE Social Emotional Learning Standards

- 1A. Identify and manage one’s emotions and behavior.
  - 4a. Analyze how thoughts and emotions affect decision-making and responsible behavior.
  - 5a. Evaluate how expressing one’s emotions in different situations affects others.
- 2A. Recognize the feelings and perspectives of others.
  - 4a. Analyze similarities and differences between one’s own and others perspectives.
  - 5a. Demonstrate how to express understanding of those who hold different opinions.
  - 5b. Demonstrate ways to express empathy for others.
- 2B. Recognize individual and group similarities and differences.
  - 4a. Analyze the origins and negative effects of stereotyping and prejudice.
  - 5a. Evaluate strategies for being respectful of others and opposing stereotypes and prejudice.
  - 5b. Evaluate how advocacy for the rights of others contributes to the common good.
- 2C. Use communication and social skills to interact effectively.
  - 4b. Evaluate one’s contribution in groups as a member and leader.
- 3A. Consider ethical, safety, and societal factors in making decisions.
  - 5a. Apply ethical reasoning to evaluate societal practices.
  - 5b. Examine how the norms of different societies and cultures influence their members’ decisions and behaviors.
- 3C. Contribute to the well-being of one’s school and community.
  - 4b. Plan, implement, and evaluate one’s participation in a group effort to contribute to one’s local community.

Best Practices

This unit incorporates teaching methods identified as best practices in restorative justice and civic learning. A useful resource on best practices when teaching topics related to restorative justice is Restorative Practices Guide and Toolkit from Chicago Public Schools, Office of Social and Emotional Learning; the guide is available at https://sites.google.com/a/cps.edu/kc/curriculum/climate-culture-college-readiness/the-cps-restorative-practices-toolkit. The guide provides directions for a variety of methods useful in engaging students in conversations about difficult and emotional topics. Best practices in civic learning are described in Guardian of Democracy, a report from the Campaign for the Civic Mission of Schools; the report is available at http://www.civicmissionofschools.org/the-campaign/guardian-of-democracy-report.
Part 1: Unit Launch

Introduction:

Police-community relations and contemporary or historic occasions when those relationships devolve into violence are emotionally challenging for people to discuss, no matter the race, age, or life circumstances of those involved in the conversation. This lesson is designed to set standards for classroom discussion of such events and begin building a safe environment for student discussion of the Chicago Police Department torture scandal involving Jon Burge and officers under his command. It may be helpful to have a counselor or other personnel with expertise in social-emotional learning in the classroom for this first difficult discussion.

The lesson uses the talking circles strategy, which is adapted from consensus-building traditions of some Native American nations. When used in the classroom, the talking circle is designed to provide a safe place for connection and dialogue; it is different from other classroom discussions because it does not involve persuasion or lead to a predetermined outcome but instead values personal experiences and stories and the opportunity to learn from one another.

As the teacher, your role will be twofold—(1) to facilitate the talking circle and ensure that the environment is safe for students and (2) to participate in the circle, demonstrating that your story shapes your ideas and views and that you can learn from students’ stories. If you have not used the talking circles strategy before, you may want to do some reading about the technique and/or attend a Talking Circles training. To find out when these trainings occur, check out the OSEL calendar on the Knowledge Center. An excellent and practical tool is the CPS Restorative Practices Guide and Toolkit, which features information on how to integrate restorative practices into the classroom (p. 30-34) and instructions on talking circles (pg. 63-73). Links to pdfs of these two sections can be found at https://drive.google.com/file/d/0B1oQpdmVJg3Fb2ZPlJjTHM/view. If you and your students are unfamiliar with this approach, you may find it useful to practice the talking circle with less sensitive topics so students become familiar with the routine.

Essential Question:

- What can we learn about racism, both systemic and individual, by studying and discussing difficult episodes in history?

Enduring Understandings:

- Because difficult historic episodes often represent enduring issues or conflicts, studying and discussing them can help us understand contemporary controversies.

ISBE Social Science Standards:

- SS.CV.5.9-12: Analyze the impact of personal interest and diverse perspectives on the application of civic dispositions, democratic principles, constitutional rights, and human rights.

Common Core Standards:

- CCSS.SL.9-10.1: Initiate and participate effectively in a range of collaborative discussions (one-on-one, in groups, and teacher-led) with diverse partners on grades 9-10 topics, texts, and issues, building on others’ ideas and expressing their own clearly and persuasively.
ISBE Social Emotional Learning Standards:

- 2A.5a. Demonstrate how to express understanding of those who hold different opinions.
- 2A.5b. Demonstrate ways to express empathy for others.
- 2A.4a. Analyze similarities and differences between one’s own and others’ perspectives.

Learning Outcomes:

Students will know:

- Factors that contribute to their own and others’ views on the police.

Students will be able to:

- Participate in a talking circle, sharing their own stories and learning from others.

Vocabulary: talking circle, torture

Time: 1 class period

Materials and Preparation:

- to project or a copy of the guidelines written on the board
- Student journals
- Arrange the classroom so that students can sit in a circle that will allow them to make eye contact with all of their classmates.
- Choose an item to serve as your talking piece. It should be small enough to easily pass from person to person—a small ball or stress-relief toy (i.e., one that is squeezable) can work.
- Clear a substantial area of the classroom wall and cover it with sheets of flip-chart paper. Divide the area in half, labeling one part “Silent Discussion” and the other “Graffiti Wall.”

Procedure:

1. Tell students that they are going to be learning about a series of events in Chicago history that may be difficult to understand and to talk about. These events involve the police, racism, torture, and a process of seeking justice that took many years. As students learn about these events, they may find themselves angry, confused, sad, disbelieving . . . in short, they may experience a range of emotions. Their reactions will be shaped, in part, by the experiences and ideas they bring to the study. For students to learn about and from events such as these, everyone in the class must feel safe in discussing their reactions and must be open to hearing other people’s perspectives.

2. Explain that you are going to be using a strategy called a Talking Circle. It is different from discussions or debates when you are trying to persuade people to agree with your position; its purpose is to connect with each other, share stories, and learn from one another. In a Talking Circle, the person who is holding the talking piece is the only one who speaks; there are different ways of using the talking piece, but your class will begin by passing the piece around the circle clockwise, giving everyone a chance to speak. Ask if students have any questions about the talking piece.

3. Draw students’ attention to the Talking Circle Guidelines and go over them to make sure students understand. Allow time for students to suggest and discuss possible revisions or additional guidelines.
Tell students you are going to break the ice by asking them to describe something about their neighborhood that they especially like or dislike. Start describing what you like or dislike about your own neighborhood, modeling honesty and brevity in your answer. Allow time for all students to respond as the talking piece circulates; students are free to pass if they wish to.

Distribute the Streams and Rivers: Influences on Your Views handout, explaining that it presents a way of graphically representing the factors that have influenced an individual’s views on a particular topic. Because this unit has to do with police and the torture of citizens, students’ attitudes toward the police will affect how they respond to the unit. So today they are going to use the handout to identify factors that influenced their views on the police. Go over the directions on the handout and allow time for students to work on their individual graphics.

Draw students’ attention back to the circle and explain that each student is going to have a chance to share part of their story, the factor that has most influenced their views about the police. As students share and listen, they should remember that their goal is to connect with and learn from one another, to get a broader perspective on how people’s views are shaped through different experiences. Start the circle with a different person this time, and ask students to share their story when the talking piece comes to them. Again, students should have the opportunity to pass.

Thank students for contributing to the class understanding of how perspectives on the police are shaped and for speaking and listening from the heart. Let students know that they will have the opportunity to participate in additional Talking Circles and should feel free to request a Talking Circle when they are feeling

SEL Focus: If you have never used the Talking Circle strategy with your class before, you may want to consider trying it out a few times as a class before this lesson. Students may need to strengthen skills in listening, perspective taking, and communicating their thoughts to the group. Before your first circle, explain to your students that the purpose is to get to know each other, share experiences and ideas, take care of each other, and support each other. For more ideas about what to do during a Talking Circle, see pages 30-34 and 63-73 in the CPS Restorative Practices Toolkit, which can be accessed at: https://drive.google.com/file/d/0B1oQpdmVJg3Fb2ZPLWlJSTJjTHM/view

SEL Focus: During a Talking Circle, you want students to share authentically, and for all students to respect what is said even if they disagree. Model for your students by validating and acknowledging all feelings and opinions expressed in the circle, even if you don’t agree with what is expressed. When a student shares something difficult, don’t try to give an answer or wrap up neatly—instead, approach the student at an appropriate time after the circle and ask what they need.

Before you begin the circle, you may want to set expectations as to what type of sharing is appropriate. A good rule of thumb is that students should not share a story that another person would consider private or would be uncomfortable sharing, whether that person is in the room or not. To manage the impulse to respond aloud after someone shares, choose a silent signal as a class that anyone can use to express support or agreement.
the need to process their response to what they are learning. Point out the area of the classroom wall that you have set aside for student commentary, explaining that on the “Silent Discussion” side, they can post comments or questions that they want classmates to respond to, also in writing. Students can use the “Graffiti Wall” to more creatively process their responses, posting words, drawings, photographs, poems, etc., within the bounds of acceptable classroom language. You may decide to include an activity where you model and then allow students to interact with these areas so that they are comfortable with them moving forward.

Closure: Distribute the student journals and explain that students will be writing in their journals throughout the unit. Give the following assignment for the first journal entry: What did you learn from taking part in the Talking Circle today? Explain one similarity and one difference you have discovered between yourself and others in the class.

Assessment:

Because the lesson is designed as preparation for discussing the Burge case, assessment should be formative, focusing on determining where students might have difficulties in learning and talking about the Burge case. To address any concerns you have, you may want to plan an additional talking circle on a specific question that you think will bring out issues that students need to reflect on at this point in the unit.
Talking Circle Guidelines

1. Only the person with the talking piece speaks. Everyone else listens actively without interrupting, arguing, or offering advice.
2. Everyone has an equal voice in the circle.
3. Everyone gets a chance to speak, but no one is forced to speak.
4. Everything said in the circle is confidential, unless what is said reveals a risk of harm to self or others.

Are there any other guidelines that would help you feel safe in this circle? Can we all agree to uphold these guidelines?

Agree as a class on how to respond respectfully if any of these guidelines is not followed.
Handout: Streams and Rivers: Influences on Your Views

Like the streams and small rivers that come together to form a larger river, your views are made up of many factors. Some may have a large influence on your thinking on a specific issue, some a small influence. You may not even be aware of all the influences.

Here are some kinds of factors that may influence your views:

- Your personal experiences
- Your personal values—what you believe is right and wrong
- Your self-interest—what you think will be helpful or harmful to you
- The experiences and ideas of family, friends, and other people you respect
- The news media

You may think of other kinds of factors that have influenced you.

Think about your views on the police. What factors contribute to those views? Put the things that have the largest influence on your views in the larger “streams” running into the river. Be specific. For example, don’t just write “my values,” write “I believe in fairness and I do/don’t think the police are fair.” You can have two streams that are the same kind of factor—for example, two streams could be two different personal experiences. You can also add more streams/influences than are shown in the drawing.

Based on the drawing, what would you say influences your views on police? Did completing this graphic provide any insights into how your views have been shaped?
Part 2: What Is the Burge Torture Scandal?

Introduction:

This lesson introduces students to basic facts of the Burge torture scandal and engages them in examining primary and secondary sources that provide more information about the torture, the perpetrators, and the survivors. They work in small groups to analyze sources, focusing on what information the sources provide and what questions they raise.

Essential Questions:

- What factors allowed the police torture of Chicago’s citizens to occur?
- What can we learn about racism, both systemic and individual, by studying and discussing difficult episodes in history?

Enduring Understandings:

- The program of torture conducted by Jon Burge and other officers of the Chicago Police Department must be understood in the context of racial, institutional, historical, and economic factors.
- Because difficult historic episodes often represent enduring issues or conflicts, studying and discussing them can help us understand contemporary controversies.

ISBE Social Science Standards:

- SS.IS.4.9-12: Gather and evaluate information from multiple sources while considering the origin, credibility, point of view, authority, structure, context, and corroborative value of the sources.
- SS.H.1.9-12: Evaluate how historical developments were shaped by time and place as well as broader historical contexts.

Common Core Standards:

- CCSS.RH.9-10.1: Cite specific textual evidence to support analysis of primary and secondary sources, attending to such features as the date and origin of the information.
- CCSS.RH.9-10.2: Determine the central ideas or information of a primary or secondary source; provide an accurate summary of how key events or ideas develop over the course of the text.

ISBE Social Emotional Learning Standards:

- 2C.5b. Plan, implement, and evaluate participation in a group project.
- 2A.5a. Demonstrate how to express understanding of those who hold different opinions.
- 3A.5a. Apply ethical reasoning to evaluate societal practices.

Learning Outcomes:

Students will know:

- The basic outline of events in the Chicago police torture scandal.
- Aspects of the historical context in which the scandal occurred.
Students will be able to:

- Analyze and summarize a primary or secondary source.
- Pose questions about the Chicago police torture scandal.

**Vocabulary:** torture, scandal, source, criminal appeal, civil suit, compensation, confession, pro bono, activism

**Time:** 2 class periods

**Materials and Preparation:**

- Handout: The Chicago Police Torture Scandal
- Police Torture in Chicago – Burge Story (up to 11:15), video from Chicago Torture Justice Memorials, [https://vimeo.com/38694557](https://vimeo.com/38694557) (Optional; note that the video includes cursing and racial slurs and does not cover the reparations agreement)
- Handout: Analyzing Sources on the Burge Torture Scandal
- Sources 1-5 placed at stations around the classroom. You may want to post Sources 1-4 on posting paper hung on the wall or make multiple copies available at the station; for Source 5, you will need a computer with internet access on which students can view the video clips

**Procedure:**

1. Remind students that you talked in the last lesson about difficult historic events that they were going to be studying. Today, they are going to learn about the general outlines of the events and frame some questions to which they would like to find answers. The events they are going to be studying involve the torture of more than 100 Chicagoans, mostly African American, by a group of police officers headed by a man named Jon Burge. These events took place between 1972 and 1991. Beginning in that period and continuing to the present, many Chicagoans, with leadership from the African American community, worked hard to find justice in the case, including reparations for people harmed by Burge and his officers. One provision of the reparation package approved by the City Council was that students in classrooms across the city would learn about what happened.

2. If you wish to use the video, introduce it and show it to the entire class, having students make notes about the most significant information in the video. After the video showing, point out that the video does not cover the reparations. Pass out the reading, The Chicago Police Torture Scandal and tell students it will fill in some gaps from the video. You may have students read the text as a group, individually, or in small groups. Whichever method you use, have students highlight or make notes about the most significant information.

**SEL Focus:** Parts of this reading may be upsetting for students. Before passing out the reading, emphasize the enduring understanding that studying difficult historic events can help us understand contemporary controversies. Nonetheless, we must be trauma-sensitive in our approach to this reading and recognize that some students may be emotionally triggered by what they read. Do let students know that they may read details and words that are upsetting. Set up a reflection space in your classroom with writing paper and another quiet activity or two, and welcome students to excuse themselves to this space if they feel like they need to for any reason – they can free-write or give you a signal that they’d like to speak with you. Check in privately with students who choose this option.
3. Conduct a class discussion using questions such as the following:
   - What is torture? Would you revise the legal definition in any way?
   - What, in your view, are the most significant events and dates in this narrative of torture?
   - Can you identify any factors that might have allowed the torture to happen and to continue for an extended period of time?
   - How would you describe the work of individuals and groups who tried for years to bring justice in this scandal?

   SEL Focus: In this discussion, it will be important to ask a question about the efforts of individuals and groups to bring justice that highlights their ultimate success. Potentially traumatic events generally have less of a lasting effect on those who feel they have some agency or control over what is happening. By highlighting that those working against the torture were ultimately successful in their efforts, students may feel less of an emotional impact after reviewing these documents.

4. Tell students that they are going to have an opportunity to look at several sources about the torture scandal. Their job will be to analyze the sources using the Analyzing Sources on the Burge Torture Scandal handout to guide their work. They will have five minutes to look at each source, so they will need to use their time efficiently.

5. When students have looked at all of the sources, they should choose one source that they find particularly interesting or informative and return to it, forming a group with other students who chose that source; if a large number of students choose a source, they can divide into two groups. In their groups, students should discuss why they chose that source and develop questions that the source suggests to them. Each group should choose one question of particular interest and talk about what kind of evidence they would need to answer that question.

6. Have each group report out on their chosen source, why they chose that source, and the most interesting question the group generated.

   SEL Focus: In this discussion, it will be important to ask a question about the efforts of individuals and groups to bring justice that highlights their ultimate success. Potentially traumatic events generally have less of a lasting effect on those who feel they have some agency or control over what is happening. By highlighting that those working against the torture were ultimately successful in their efforts, students may feel less of an emotional impact after reviewing these documents.

Closure: Spend some time focusing on students’ emotional reactions to the information in this lesson. To encourage use of the graffiti wall and silent discussion areas, invite students to add comments to the wall or identify one factor on a self-adhesive note and share on the silent discussion wall.

Ask students to also indicate in their journals how they are feeling on a scale of 5-1 (5 is OK, 4 is pretty good, 3 is not sure, 2 is having trouble, 1 is I don’t want to talk about this anymore). Review student journals to see how they responded to this prompt, and privately check in with students who wrote a 2 or 1 to learn more about how they are feeling and what they might need to continue the unit.
Close this activity with an empathetic statement such as, “Thank you for sharing your thoughts about what can be a difficult topic. Be sure to keep checking in with yourself throughout the day today and even tomorrow to see how you are feeling and if at any time you are finding yourself at a 1, 2, or 3, don’t hesitate to talk to me or anyone else you feel comfortable with.”

Assessment:

Ask students to document their developing understanding of the story of the scandal. Use the following prompt: Write a summary of the main idea of the reading and the sources, considering what factors allowed the police torture of Chicago’s citizens to occur. Cite evidence from at least one of the primary sources.
Handout: The Chicago Police Torture Scandal

Between 1971 and 1993, Chicago Police Commander Jon Burge and officers under his command tortured more than 100 people. The people were tortured while in custody on Chicago’s Southeast and West Sides. Burge and most of his officers were white. Nearly all of the people they tortured were African American men. A few were Latino men.

Torture is illegal in the United States. Persons who are suspected or charged with a crime cannot be tortured to give evidence. Yet this terrible scandal occurred. What happened?

Defining Torture

Under U.S. law, torture is an act committed by someone in authority that causes “severe physical or mental pain” to a person in his/her control. People found guilty of torture can be sentenced to up to 20 years in jail. If someone dies as a result of torture, the torturer can be sentenced to life in prison. A person who plans torture, even though they do not take part in it, is subject to the same penalties.

Torture violates several rights protected by the Constitution. These include right to due process, right to any attorney, right to be free from being forced to testify against oneself, and protection against cruel and unusual punishment. Torture also violates international law. The United States has signed the United Nations Convention Against Torture (1984), which defines and prohibits torture.

Jon Burge and His Times

Jon Burge was born and raised on the Southeast Side of Chicago. He graduated from Bowen High School in 1965. He was drafted into the U.S. Army in 1966 and served at a prisoner of war camp in Vietnam. He joined the Chicago Police Department in 1969. In 1972 Burge was promoted to the rank of detective in Area 2. Later that year, the first documented cases of police torture took place. Burge became Commander of Chicago Police Area 3 on the city’s west side in 1986. More than 100 cases of torture would be documented between 1972 and 1993, when Burge was fired.

What was happening in Chicago during Burge’s police career? Chicago reflected what was happening in the United States. The nation was fighting an unpopular war that created great controversy among Americans. Many older Americans thought young people had lost their respect for all authority. Like other cities, Chicago was segregated by race and class. Inflation and increasing gas prices ate away at people’s incomes and savings. By the first part of the 1980s, many industries were faltering. Chicago’s great steel production industry, which had powered the nation’s economy for decades, collapsed in the face of foreign competition. Manufacturers closed their plants, leaving thousands of Chicagoans out of work. Many people in Chicago and across the country felt the American dream was out of reach.

The 1970s and 1980s also saw a surge in crime. The murder rate in Chicago and across the country climbed to twice what it was in the early 1960s. In Chicago, the rate of major crimes rose from 3,000 per 100,000 people in 1970 to 6,000 in 1980 and over 10,000 in 1990. People did not feel safe. They responded to leaders who promised to be “tough on crime” and criminals.

Chicago and its police department reflected these trends. Two incidents brought attention to the city:

- In August 1968, the Democratic National Convention was held in Chicago. Police clubbed antiwar demonstrators, beat reporters, and even attacked ordinary citizens who were nearby. Images of police attacking demonstrators were televised around the world.
• In December 1969, Black Panther Party leaders Fred Hampton and Mark Clark were killed by officers working for the state’s attorney. An investigation disproved police claims that Hampton and Clark were heavily armed. Their relatives won a multimillion-dollar payment from the City.

In this context of rapid economic and social change, Jon Burge and his subordinates violated the rights of many residents of the city’s black communities.

**Police Torture in Chicago**

Commander Jon Burge and at least 26 Chicago police officers under his command tortured people suspected of crimes. These people were shocked with electricity. They were burned with a cigarette lighter, beaten, and tied up. They were held for days without food or access to a bathroom and without contact with anyone else. They were denied sleep and left naked. They were hooded, threatened with death, and forced to participate in mock executions. They were verbally abused.

Some of the people tortured by Chicago police officers had committed terrible crimes. In 1982, Andrew Wilson and his brother were pulled over by Chicago police officers William Fahey and Richard O’Brien. Both Wilson brothers were wanted for violating the terms of their bail. Andrew Wilson took Fahey’s gun and shot Fahey in the head. Then Wilson shot O’Brien five times. Both officers died. Wilson was captured and tortured by Jon Burge. Wilson was tried and sentenced to death for the murders. Upon appeal, his conviction was overturned because his confession was coerced, or forced. He was convicted at his second trial, in which the confession was not used. He filed the first civil lawsuit against the city alleging torture. After many years, his suit was successful. Most importantly, it brought attention to the issue of police torture. Wilson himself died in prison in 2007.

Burge and his officers also tortured innocent people falsely accused of crimes. Some of these people were tried, convicted, and sent to prison. Several ended up on Death Row. Others were tortured and released. For example, in 1991, thirteen-year-old Marcus Wiggins was brought to Area 3 police headquarters, beaten, and given electric shocks but never charged with a crime.

**Using the Courts: Defending Civil Rights and Exposing Corruption**

The majority of torture survivors were convicted of crimes and sentenced to jail. Key evidence against them were the confessions they gave under torture. Lawyers who worked with survivors helped them with criminal appeals. In an appeal, the attorney tries to show that the trial court made a legal error and that the verdict was incorrect. A confession given under torture is not legally admissible in court. Thus, lawyers tried first to show that the confessions were gained under torture. Second they tried to win new trials or freedom for their clients.

Lawyers also filed civil suits. The goal was to show that the government violated survivors’ civil rights. A civil suit allows a person to claim and win compensation—usually money—for a wrong committed against them. Lawyers for the survivors gained testimony, reports, photographs, and other valuable evidence. Gradually, the attorneys were able to show a systemic pattern of torture.

Some attorneys representing torture survivors served pro bono. This means they worked without pay. Some were affiliated with major law schools in Chicago. Others practiced law privately. The People’s Law Office represented many survivors of police torture. The cases built on one another.

**Community Activism: Black People Against Police Torture**

Evidence of the torture was available as early as 1982. Yet no government or law enforcement leaders paid much attention. In response to organized pressure, the Chicago Police Department’s Office of Professional
Standish Willis, an attorney, founded Black People Against Police Torture (BPAPT). He believed that it was essential that “the movement to seek legal recourse for torture reflect the faces of the police’s victims.” BPAPT was first to redefine police torture as a violation of human rights. He saw torture in Chicago as violating international torture agreements. Willis organized attorneys, educators, activists, and survivors to testify before international organizations. The United Nations Committee on Torture cited the Burge torture allegations in a report detailing concerns relating to the United States.

Willis and BPAPT also drafted legislation to create a state commission with power to hear the torture cases, to free survivors, or to grant them new trials. In 2009, the Illinois Torture Inquiry and Relief Commission Act (TIRC) was signed into law. This commission is unique. Nowhere else in the United States is there such a structure to support survivors of police torture.

At different times over the past three decades, grassroots organizations organized critical campaigns for justice for Burge Survivors. These organizations included the Chicago Task Force to Confront Police Torture, Amnesty International (AI), Aaron Patterson Defense Committee, African American Committee to Free Mumia Abu Jamal and Aaron Paterson, Death Row 10 and the Campaign to End the Death Penalty, Illinois Coalition to Abolish the Death Penalty, Campaign to Prosecute Police Torture, and Chicago Torture Justice Memorials (CTJM). Mothers and other family members of Burge survivors tenaciously advocated for their loved ones and worked with many of these organizations. In 2014, CTJM collaborated with AI, Project NIA, and We Charge Genocide to spearhead a grassroots campaign to build support for the Reparations Ordinance for Burge torture survivors. Many anti-police violence organizations actively supported the reparations campaign including Black Youth Project 100, Black Lives Matter, and Chicago Alliance Against Racism and Political Repression.

In May 2015, Chicago became the first city in the United States to provide reparations for survivors of police torture. This package included a $5.5 million fund that was disbursed to 57 torture survivors at the beginning of 2016. It also required that a curriculum about the Burge torture cases be developed for use in the eighth and tenth grades in Chicago Public Schools (this unit is the result of that requirement). Other parts of the reparations package included a community center on the South Side providing specialized trauma counseling and other services for Burge torture survivors and their family members; free tuition at Chicago City Colleges for survivors and their family members including grandchildren; the creation of a public memorial; and an official apology from the city.
Handout: Analyzing Sources on the Burge Torture Scandal

For each source, do the following:

**Observe:** What is this source? Who created it? What information does it present?

**Reflect:** Did the person who created the source have a particular bias? How does that affect the information it presents? What conclusions would you draw based on the information presented?

**Question:** What questions does the source raise?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Observe</th>
<th>Reflect</th>
<th>Question</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Source 1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Source 2</td>
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<tr>
<td>Source 3</td>
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<tr>
<td>Source 4</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Source 5</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Source 1: Maps

Area 2, Chicago Police Department, 1980

Ethnicity of Chicago Neighborhoods, 1980

### Source 2: Jon Burge Torture Index

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>110</td>
<td>Number of people tortured by Burge and his men since 1972</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>Number of Chicago Police torture survivors sentenced to death</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Number of Chicago Police torture survivors sentenced to death who were later exonerated</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>Number of Chicago Police torture survivors who have been exonerated</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24</td>
<td>Number currently behind bars who were tortured into confessions by Burge and others under his command</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22</td>
<td>Number of men who were electrically shocked with the electric shock box or cattle prods by police</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23</td>
<td>Number of men who were suffocated with a plastic bag by police</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>32</td>
<td>Number of men who were attacked or had pain inflicted in their genitals by police</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>36</td>
<td>Number of men beaten with objects by police</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>Number of men beaten with flashlights</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>Number of men beaten with a phone book</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Number of men beaten with a rubber hose or pipe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Number of men beaten with a bat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>Number of men threatened with a gun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Number of men beaten with a gun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>Number of men who were called racial slurs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21,179,000</td>
<td>Taxpayer dollars spent by the City to compensate torture survivors in civil suits</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10,528,582</td>
<td>Taxpayer dollars spent by the city to defend Jon Burge against claims of police torture</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7,000,000</td>
<td>Taxpayer dollars spent by the special prosecutors to investigate claims of torture by Burge and other officers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>527,464</td>
<td>Taxpayer dollars spent to fire Burge from the Chicago Police Department</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>468,000</td>
<td>Taxpayer dollars spent for Burge’s pension since he was terminated from the department for his acts of torture and abuse*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40,610,204</td>
<td>Total taxpayer dollars spent on the legal cases related to the Burge torture scandal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0</td>
<td>Apologies from Burge</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0</td>
<td>Number of times Burge has accepted responsibility for torturing people</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0</td>
<td>Number of times Burge has accepted responsibility for lying about the torture</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0</td>
<td>Number of times Burge has testified against other detectives who tortured</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26</td>
<td>Number of detectives allegedly involved in the torture ring</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25</td>
<td>Number of police officers allegedly involved in the torture ring who have never been prosecuted</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1197</td>
<td>Combined time spent behind bars for the five exonerated death row torture survivors in months</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15 to 21</td>
<td>U.S. Probation Department’s recommended sentence for Jon Burge in months</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>?</td>
<td>Prison sentence Jon Burge will receive at his sentencing hearing on January 20, 2011*</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Jon Burge received a sentence of 4-1/2 years. Since this table was prepared in 2011, he has also continued to receive his CPD pension, raising that number significantly.  

**Source:** Illinois Coalition Against Torture (ICAT), [https://illinoiscat.org/2011/01/13/jon-burge-torture-index/](https://illinoiscat.org/2011/01/13/jon-burge-torture-index/). Complete list of sources for the data is available at the link. The Illinois Coalition Against Torture (ICAT) describes itself as an association of individuals and community-based organizations whose goal is to end U.S. torture by state actors at all levels of government at home and abroad.
## Source 3: Timeline of the Chicago Police Torture Scandal

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Events within the Chicago Police Department</th>
<th>Events outside the Chicago Police Department</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| 1970s | 1972 Jon Burge started work as a detective in Area 2.  
1972 Torture of African Americans began in Area 2. Electric shock and suffocation were both used. | 1970s Throughout the decade, crime rates rose nationally.  
1971 President Richard Nixon declared a “War on Drugs.” |
| 1980s | 1982 Andrew Wilson arrested for murder. He was repeatedly tortured with shock, suffocation, and burning by Burge and his officers.  
1982 Police superintendent received a letter from Doctor John M. Raba with documentation of injuries to Andrew Wilson.  
1982 State’s Attorney Richard M. Daley is advised of the allegations of the torture of Wilson.  
1986 Andrew Wilson filed first civil lawsuit related to torture in CPD.  
1981-1988 More than 87 men claimed they were tortured in Area 2. The State’s Attorney’s Office was aware of many allegations of torture. However, the coerced statements were used in prosecution against the tortured men.  
1989 Wilson’s lawsuit dismissed. | 1980s Crime rates continued to rise.  
1980s Throughout the decade, numerous groups demonstrated, asking the city to take action against Burge and others involved in torture.  
1984-1994 Congress passed several major anti-crime bills. Aggressive policing had public support.  
1989 People’s Law Office received an anonymous letter containing allegations of torture in Area 2. |
1991 Video of Rodney King being beaten by police officers in Los Angeles drew attention to the issue of police violence against African Americans.  
1993 Jon Burge fired. |
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Event</th>
<th>Relevance</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1998</td>
<td>Survivors of CPD torture on Death Row called themselves &quot;The Death Row 10&quot; and became active in movement to abolish the death penalty.</td>
<td>Mid-1990s Crime rates peaked and began to decline nationally.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2000s</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2002</td>
<td>Survivors and family members joined with attorneys, the Center on Wrongful Convictions, Illinois Coalition to Abolish the Death Penalty, and Campaign to End the Death Penalty to mount a campaign to urge Governor George Ryan to commute all of the state's death sentences.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2003</td>
<td>Governor George Ryan commuted sentences of 167 people on death row and pardoned four whose confessions were coerced by torture.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2004</td>
<td>Photos of American military men and women torturing Iraqis at the Abu Ghraib prison released.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2004</td>
<td>Black People Against Police Torture organized to take cases to the international human rights arena.</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>2006</td>
<td>The United Nations Committee against Torture said Burge cases violated the international torture convention. Called for those responsible to be brought to justice.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2008</td>
<td>Jon Burge arrested and charged with perjury and obstruction of justice.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2010s</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2010</td>
<td>Jon Burge convicted.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2011</td>
<td>Jon Burge sentenced to 4-1/2 years in jail.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2013</td>
<td>CTJM and Aldermen Joe Moreno and Howard Brookins introduced the Reparations Ordinance for Chicago Police Torture Survivors in City Council.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2015</td>
<td>Jon Burge released from jail.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2011</td>
<td>The group Chicago Torture Justice Memorials formed to honor and seek justice for the survivors of Burge torture, their family members, and the African American communities affected by the torture.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2014</td>
<td>The group We Charge Genocide brought their report to the UN Committee Against Torture, condemning the City of Chicago and the Chicago Police Department for systemic racist violence.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2015</td>
<td>City Council passes ordinance provide reparations to living survivors and family members.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Compiled by Chicago Public Schools from the following sources:


Source 4: Photos and Flyers: Community Response

These sources include flyers, posters, and photographs that provide evidence of the decades-long community response to the torture scandal.

A flyer for a rally at city hall in 1990.

Poster for a film about the Burge trial.


The costs of the torture scandal to Chicago tax-payers.

Survivor Mark Clements speaks out on how reparations would help those who suffered torture.


Activists at an Amnesty International protest in Chicago.

Source 5: Burge and His Men

Records from the Special Prosecutor appointed to investigate the torture allegations indicate that as many as 67 police officers were named in at least one case. Nearly all were white; three officers were African American and one Hispanic.

Watch the video clips listed below, which present two key police officers in the case under questioning:
Detective Michael Kill: [https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=A0sJXxPkJLg](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=A0sJXxPkJLg), 19:31 to 21:38
Commander Jon Burge: [https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=A0sJXxPkJLg](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=A0sJXxPkJLg), 31:40 to 34:02
Part 3: How Did the Burge Torture Scandal Affect Survivors and Their Families?

Introduction:

This lesson focuses on the stories of survivors of the torture perpetrated by Jon Burge and the men under his command. Students consider the meaning of the word testimony, learning that the stories of survivors of abuse, mistreatment, and loss have sparked many social movements. They watch and discuss a video of one person’s testimony. They then read several testimonies of survivors of police torture and create found poetry using excerpts from these stories. The lesson ends with a Talking Circle in which students reflect on how reading about the impact of torture on survivors and their families affected them.

Essential Questions:

• How did people and organizations use the legal system and community action to seek justice for torture survivors, their families, and the community?
• What can we learn about racism, both systemic and individual, by studying and discussing difficult episodes in history?

Enduring Understandings:

• Using the legal system and community action to achieve their goals, individuals and groups, with leadership from the African American community, worked for decades to stop torture and gain reparations for those who suffered at the hands of Jon Burge and other Chicago police officers.
• Because difficult historic episodes often represent enduring issues or conflicts, studying and discussing them can help us understand contemporary controversies.

ISBE Social Science Standards:

• SS.H.7.9-12: Identify the role of individuals, groups, and institutions in people’s struggle for safety, freedom, equality and justice.
• SS.H.8.9-12: Analyze key historical events and contributions of individuals through a variety of perspectives, including those of historically underrepresented groups.

Common Core Standards:

• CCSS.WHST.9-10.4: Produce clear and coherent writing in which the development, organization, and style are appropriate to task, purpose, and audience.
• CCSS.SL.9-10.1: Initiate and participate effectively in a range of collaborative discussions (one-on-one, in groups, and teacher-led) with diverse partners on grades 9-10 topics, texts, and issues, building on others’ ideas and expressing their own clearly and persuasively.

ISBE Social Emotional Learning Standards:

• 1A. Identify and manage one’s emotions and behavior.
• 2A.5b. Demonstrate ways to express empathy for others.
• 2B.5b. Evaluate how advocacy for the rights of others contributes to the common good.
• 2B.4a. Analyze the origins and negative effects of stereotyping and prejudice.
Learning Outcomes:

Students will know:

- The range of effects torture had on survivors and their families.
- The importance of testifying to mistreatment and injustice.

Students will be able to:

- Analyze survivors’ testimony.
- Create a “found” poem using words from survivors’ testimony.

Vocabulary: testimony, survivor, found poetry

Time: 2-3 class periods

Materials and Preparation:

- Decide whether you will show Part II or Parts I and II of Ronald Kitchen: Tortured, Framed, Then Sentenced to Death (https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=A0sJXxPkJLg). Part I (from the beginning to 11:52) describes the torture, Part II (11:52 to 19:25) the long-term effects of the torture and subsequent imprisonment.
- Handout: Testimony of Darrell Cannon, Anthony Holmes, and Mary Johnson (Note: The testimonies are extensive, so be sure to preview them and decide what, based on length and content, will be appropriate for your students.)
- Handout: Creating Found Poetry
- Handout: Poem by Survivors
- Handout: Analysis Questions for Poem by Survivors
- Computer with internet access and projector to show video

Procedure:

1. Write the word testimony on the board. Ask students what this word means to them. (Accept all answers.) Point out that while the word is often used to describe statements in court or in a religious setting, the word also has a more general meaning of a written or oral statement providing evidence of an experience. Explain that, throughout history, the testimony of people who experienced mistreatment or injustice has been powerful in motivating social movements and creating change. For example, testimonies written by slaves and former slaves helped to motivate the abolitionist movement before the Civil War. Testimonies about losses due to drunk driving or driving while texting have, in recent years, helped turn attention to the need for solutions to these problems. Personal testimonies were also very important in the Chicago Police torture scandal. Today, students will see and read several testimonies related to the torture and its effects.

SEL Focus: Just as in Lesson 2, let students know that they may be upset by some of what they see and hear in today’s lesson. Set up a reflection space in your classroom with writing paper and another quiet activity or two, and welcome students to excuse themselves to this space if they feel like they need to for any reason—they can free-write or give you a signal that they’d like to speak with you. Check in privately with students who choose this option.
2. Show students the parts of the Ronald Kitchen video you have selected. Following the video, conduct a discussion, using questions such as the following:

- How did being tortured and imprisoned affect Ronald Kitchens over the long term? Based on his testimony, who else do you think was affected by what happened to him?
- What was the role of racism in the torture scandal?
- Imagine that you were there when Ronald Kitchens gave his testimony. How do you think hearing his story would affect you? What emotions would you feel? Would you be moved to take action?

3. Organize students into small groups and give each group the Testimony handout; depending on the time available, you may want to have groups read all of the testimonies or assign one testimony to each group. Ask students to read the testimony, identify the effects of torture on the person, and highlight parts of the testimony that were particularly effective in conveying the impact of the torture to the reader.

4. Discuss as a whole class what students learned from the testimony about the effects of torture on the survivors and their families and the role of racism in the torture scandal. Let students express their emotional response as well.

5. Tell students they are going to use the words of the survivors to create found poetry. Found poetry is poetry created by using words and phrases from other sources, rearranging them (changing spacing, line breaks, and even the order of words) to heighten meaning (or, in some cases, to change meaning). Some people say that a found poem is similar to an artistic collage—it’s put together from other pieces but has an impact of its own.

6. To give students a quick idea of how a found poem works, ask each student to pick four powerful words, phrases, or sentences from the testimony. Next, randomly select ten students (every third student or all the students wearing green) to share one of their powerful pieces. Compile the words and phrases on the board, leaving some space between them. Ask other students to suggest additional words or phrases that can fill in empty spaces or ways to rearrange the words to create an effective poem. When students run out of suggestions, end the activity by having a student read the class found poem aloud.

7. Distribute the Found Poetry handout and allow time for students to work, individually or in small groups, to create found poems using the testimonies they have read or seen on video.

8. Have students share their found poems as a class or in small groups.

SEL Focus: This is an important place in the lesson to practice empathy—an SEL skill students will be able to use throughout the rest of the lesson. Help students to anticipate that different people with different life experiences will have different reactions to what they have learned today. Everyone in the group has the right to speak what is true to them. If students do not agree with the responses of their classmates, that’s okay—they should focus on listening actively, understanding the speaker’s point of view, and showing that person that they care about what they have to say. Ask students what that might look like and sound like during this activity.

After the sharing is complete, reflect aloud with your class about how you observed empathy in action during this activity (the listening posture, students did not interrupt each other, group members showed with their body language that they respected different reactions, etc.)
9 Distribute the Poem by Survivors and Analysis Questions for Poem by Survivors; have students read the poem, annotating it as directed and answering the questions provided. This could be done as homework.

10 Discuss with students their responses to the Poem by Survivors. How does this poem compare with their found poems? Did they learn anything new about the effects of torture on survivors and their families? Does using quotes from testimony enhance or detract from the power of the testimony itself?

Closure: Conduct a Talking Circle focusing on students’ responses to the material in this lesson. Remind students of the guidelines for a Talking Circle and how the talking piece is used. Then pose a question to start the sharing. The question should allow students to draw on what they learned in the lesson, as well as their own experiences. Possible questions include:

- In your experience, what is the power of testimony?
- How does knowing that racism played a major role in the scandal affect your response to the events you have learned about?

Assessment:

Ask students to complete an exit ticket in which they prepare notes for a student who missed the lesson; they should use the following outline for their notes:

1 Effects of torture on survivors and their families
2 Importance of testifying to mistreatment and injustice
3 Reflections on writing found poems

Students should be able to describe multiple impacts of torture, citing the statements from survivors. The responses in the other two categories can be more personal but should reflect understanding that speaking out can bring about change in society and be personally healing.
Testimony of Darrell Cannon

On November 2, 1983, Darrell Cannon was a member of the El Rukn street gang when he was arrested on suspicion of murder by detectives under the command of Jon Burge. The detectives drove him to a desolate place on the Southeast Side and tortured him by forcing a shotgun into his mouth and pulling the trigger three times (the shotgun was empty). Eventually, Cannon confessed to a murder that officials today say he never committed. He spent more than 20 years in maximum security prison, which he refers to in his testimony as Supermax. He was finally exonerated and released in 2004. He made these remarks in April 2015 at a class at Kalamazoo College that was studying the killing of Michael Brown in Ferguson, Missouri.

During that particular day on November 2nd, 1983, during the entire time that these white detectives tortured me, my name was never Darrell Cannon, my name was always “nigger” this, “nigger” that. . . .

[Cannon then described the torture in detail.] 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.

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.
Those drawings . . . 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. . . .

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. . . .

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. . . .

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.

. . . Other guys who did less time than me is crazy. Some have bad habits. I don’t drink coffee, I don’t smoke. . . .

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 . . .

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.

Testimony of Anthony Holmes

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 testified at the 2010 trial of Jon Burge; Burge was convicted of perjury (lying under oath). Below are excerpts from Holmes’ testimony in January 2011 at Burge’s 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. . . . 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. . . .

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 . . . 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....

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. . . . 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.

Testimony of Mary L. Johnson

Mary Johnson is the mother of a survivor of violence at the hands of the Chicago Police. She worked tirelessly in the effort to resist police torture. She described her early life, growing up in Chicago and being taught to love all people. But her life changed when her son was beaten up by the police.

. . . 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 Clause, 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 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 sons 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. . . .

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. . . .

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.

Handout: Creating Found Poetry

Found poetry is created using words and phrases from other sources. Those words are rearranged, and additional words may be added. For example, you might change the spacing or break lines to create rhythm. The way you arrange the words will heighten their meaning or give them new meaning.

You are going to create a found poem using words from the survivor testimonies you have read or heard. You can work on your own or with a partner or small group. Follow these steps to create your poem:

1. **Plan:** Think about the purpose of your poem. Do you want to create empathy for the survivors? Spur people to action? Make people think about the relationship between the torture scandal and current events? Keep this purpose in mind as you work on your poem.

2. **Annotate:** Reread the sources, highlighting or underlining words, phrases, or sentences that you think are powerful. Also look for words that bring vivid images to mind. See if you can find any words that contain poetic effects, such as alliteration (words that start with the same sound) or rhyme. Look for 50 to 100 words or phrases that stand out.

3. **Organize:** On a separate piece of paper, list the words, phrases, and sentences you highlighted. You may keep them in the order in which they appear in the source or organize them by topic, emotion, sound, or another characteristic.

4. **Edit:** Look over your list and cut out anything that is dull, unneeded, or doesn’t fit your purpose. Try to cut your list by a third or a half.

5. **Assess:** Read the words you have. Do they support your purpose? Do they have the tone you want? If you notice that the words on your list taken don’t fit your purpose, you may need to rethink your purpose. Or find some different words and phrases!

6. **Select:** Choose the words and phrases you think will work. Circle them.

7. **Compose:** Combine, arrange, and rearrange the words. You can do this using paper and pencil or by cutting out the words and arranging them on paper. Think about the meaning you are creating, as well as the poem’s rhythm and line breaks. You may add some words of your own if you need to. You may also make small changes to make the words fit together. For example, you can make a word plural.

8. **Read:** Read your found poem aloud to yourself or to a classmate. If you don’t like the way it sounds, rework it until you are happy.

9. **Arrange:** Copy or word process your poem into final form. Arrange the words so the work looks like a poem. To create rhythm, you can space words out or run them together. You can put an important word on a line by itself. You can play with bold, italics, or different fonts or font sizes to create emphasis.

10. **Title:** Choose a title for your poem.

11. **Cite:** At the bottom of the poem, tell where you got the words for your poem.

Handout: Poem by Survivors

COLLAGE POEM – TORTURE SURVIVORS ROUNDTABLE, COMPiled BY CTJM
SATURDAY OCT. 29, 2011

I'm a stubborn son-of-a-gun
Just turned 60 in September
Still a thorn in Chicago's side

As long as they're silent
We're fighting a giant

I've been counting
There are 98 years
Of incarceration among us

What you can't ever get back:
My aunt died
I lost everything
Every day is a struggle

We understand how hard it is
How hard it is to tell your story
(The strength it takes to tell your story)

I have never confessed to being an angel

What happened to me in 1983:
Electric cattle prod
On my genitals, my mouth
Hands behind my back

Who you see before you
Is a very bitter man
I would never tell you
That I can forgive

In 24 years
Death took my father,
my mother, my son,
grandfather, nieces,
and nephews

Right now my stomach is in pain
I would endure this every day
to speak on behalf of the twenty-three
Still inside

A closet-sized interrogation room
I was 16
No one called my parents

Wouldn't learn
Wouldn't go to school
My downfall

I ditched school
But I went to museums

I'm over my head
A grown man grabbed my genitals
And squeezed

A DA in a JC Penney blue suit said
"I represent the people"

They came back and beat me again

If you grab somebody by the testicles,
they'll say anything

With a plastic bag over my head
I had a chance to see their faces

They loved to make us cry

I was prepared—
But they said,
"call us
when you get your innocence"

They beat my son
On the bottoms of his feet

I'm fighting for everyone's son
I want my child to come home
My son was 15
He is 35 now...

Don't let yourself go down
Your son has not gotten
A death certificate
He is being held hostage
And hostages DO get liberated

Your pain
Your trauma
Your future

A trilogy:
Abuse
Incarceration
Return

let this not be the end of this struggle.

Can tell you
About countless times
I interviewed for a job
Then the background check.

All words and phrases come from the testimonies of David Bates, Darrell Cannon, Mark Clements, and Anthony Holmes, with a few from moderator Dorothy Burge and Ms. Plummer, mother of a still-incarcerated survivor, who spoke from the floor.
Handout: Analysis Questions for Poem by Survivors

Read through the poem once to get a sense of its contents and structure; you may want to read it aloud.

Reread the poem, annotating it as follows:

- Circle powerful words and phrases.
- Underline words you don’t understand.
- Put a star next to new ideas or information.
- Mark an exclamation point next to anything that surprises you.
- Make comments in the margin; as part of your comments, you may want to make notes about how you are responding to the poem.

After your second reading of the poem, answer the following questions:

1. What is the text about?

2. Who is speaking in the text?

3. Who is the audience for the text?

4. Why do you think the text was written/compiled?

5. What is the mood or feeling of the text?

6. How does the text inform your understanding of the effects of torture on survivors and their families?
Part 4: How Did This Happen?

Introduction:

In this document-based multiple-day lesson, students look closely at the essential question: What factors allowed the police torture of Chicago’s citizens to occur? After a quick brainstorm of factors students have deduced from previous lessons, they are organized into four groups representing four large categories of factors—Jon Burge and individual racism, Chicago and institutional (or systemic) racism, crime and policing, and government response to violations of civil rights. Each group receives a packet of primary sources and, in small groups, analyzes the sources to find evidence to support their category. Groups share their findings, and the class discusses the complexity and interrelatedness of causes when looking at a historic event. Teachers can choose from two writing assignments focused on the essential question to conclude and assess the lesson.

One lesson or one unit cannot provide students with full understanding of the racial, institutional, historical, and economic context in which the police torture scandal occurred. This lesson provides a starting point for developing understanding, with the hope that students will deepen that understanding as they study Chicago, Illinois, and U.S. history. A possible extension activity designed for that purpose is provided in the Appendix.

Essential Question:

1. What factors allowed the police torture of Chicago’s citizens to occur?
2. What can we learn about racism, both systemic and individual, and ourselves by studying and discussing difficult episodes in history?

Enduring Understandings:

- The program of torture conducted by Jon Burge and other officers of the Chicago Police Department must be understood in the context of racial, institutional, historical, and economic factors.
- Because difficult historic episodes often represent enduring issues or conflicts, studying and discussing them can help us understand contemporary controversies.

ISBE Social Science Standards:

- SS.IS.4.9-12: Gather and evaluate information from multiple sources while considering the origin, credibility, point of view, authority, structure, context, and corroborative value of the sources.
- SS.IS.6.9-12: Construct and evaluate explanations and arguments using multiple sources, and relevant, verified information.

Common Core Standards:

- CCSS.RH.9-10.9: Compare and contrast treatments of the same topic in primary and secondary sources.
- CCSS.WHST.9-10.4: Produce clear and coherent writing in which the development, organization, and style are appropriate to task, purpose, and audience.

ISBE Social Emotional Learning Standards:

- 2B.4a. Analyze the origins and negative effects of stereotyping and prejudice.
- 3A.5a. Apply ethical reasoning to evaluate societal practices.
- 3A.5b. Examine how the norms of different societies and cultures influence their members’ decisions and behaviors.
- 2C4b. Evaluate one’s contribution in groups as a member and a leader.
Learning Outcomes:

Students will know:

- Factors that contributed to allowing the police torture to happen and to continue.
- How looking at evidence from different perspectives contributes to understanding.

Students will be able to:

- Analyze a primary source.
- Reach a conclusion based on primary sources.
- Work collaboratively in a group.

Vocabulary:  *primary source, institutional (or systemic) racism, segregation*

Time:  2-3 class periods

Materials and Preparation:

- Handout:  *Recording Your Findings*
- Handout:  *Putting the Pieces Together* (optional)
- Source Packets 1-4 (enough copies of each packet for one-fourth the class). Note:  As constructed, each source packet focuses on one factor: Jon Burge and individual racism, Chicago and institutional racism, crime and policing, or government response to violations of civil rights. Depending on your class, you may wish to put the packets together differently. For example, if you think five sources are too many for students, you can make abbreviated packets by eliminating a source (or even two) from each packet. If you want students to read about all the factors, you can construct packets with one source about each factor.
- Internet access for examining Source 6 in greater detail
- Visual:  *A Concept Map* for projecting or a copy written on the board
- Teachers may prepare for the lesson by reading the Teacher Background Essays to better understand the context in which the torture occurred. Teachers may also find it useful to check the definitions of terms related to racism from the Aspen Institute ([https://assets.aspeninstitute.org/content/uploads/files/content/docs/rcc/RCC-Structural-Racism-Glossary.pdf](https://assets.aspeninstitute.org/content/uploads/files/content/docs/rcc/RCC-Structural-Racism-Glossary.pdf)); students sometimes have difficulty differentiating between individual and institutional (or systemic) racism, so these definitions may be helpful in aiding their understanding.

Procedure:

1. Tell students that today they are going to focus on a question that has plagued officials and citizens alike: What factors allowed the police torture of Chicago’s citizens to occur and to persist? They will be forming groups to examine primary sources that will allow them to look more closely at this question. First, they are going to use what they have learned so far to brainstorm some factors that contributed to the torture scandal. Remind students that while it is beneficial to process difficult events in our city’s history, if they are upset by what they read today, they can choose to move to the reflection space and work silently on the activities there. Check in with students who choose this option.
2 Lead a class brainstorm of possible factors/causes, recording factors on the board. Students will undoubtedly mention racism as a factor; help them differentiate between individual racism on the part of Jon Burge and men under his command and institutional (or systemic) racism, the inequity built into government and other institutions. The two can be looked at as separate (but interrelated) factors/causes. Students may have difficulty differentiating between these two factors, so you may find it useful to provide examples. For instance, if a college admissions officer dislikes Latino students and chooses students of other ethnicities over Latino students as a result, that is an example of individual racism. If a college requires new students to have taken certain courses that are more likely to be offered at suburban high schools than urban schools attended by many Latino and African American students, that is an example of institutional or systemic racism. If students have difficulty coming up with factors, you may refer them to the handouts from Part 2, The Chicago Police Torture Scandal and/or Source 3: Timeline of the Chicago Police Torture Scandal.

3 Explain to students that people who have studied the torture scandal often think about these factors as falling into four categories:

- Jon Burge and Individual Racism: The men who participated in the torture were racists and abused African American men because of that racism.
- Chicago and Institutional Racism: Racist policies and practices built into institutions in Chicago, from the police department to real estate, made it possible for the torture to continue.
- Crime and Policing: Rising crime rates nationally led to more severe policing practices, which led to torture.
- Government Response to Violations of Civil Rights: Government agencies and officials failed to act when the torture was reported to them, allowing the torture to continue.

4 Organize the students into eight groups, giving each group a Source Packet (two groups will have each packet), as well as copies of the Recording Your Findings worksheet (at least one per source). Tell each group that they should analyze all the sources in their packet, reminding them that this is a group exercise—they will break down and analyze these sources together (students can bring any questions that they cannot answer to the teacher). Also let students know that they will be sharing their analysis with the class and should be ready to report out.

SEL Focus: Group activities can be a great opportunity to develop students’ SEL skills for social awareness and self-management. Consider asking students to take roles (i.e., Facilitator, Timekeeper, Recorder, and Reporter) within the group. Each student can also take the lead on finding and presenting to the rest of the group their response to one of the questions on the Recording Your Findings handout. Everyone else in the group is then responsible for respectfully confirming, adding to, or refuting the responses of the question lead.

5 When students have completed their analysis, draw the class back together and explain that, working together, students are going to create a concept map addressing the essential question: What factors allowed the police torture of Chicago’s citizens to occur? Display the large version of the visual, A Concept Map, and explain that students will be adding more detailed information from the sources they examined. Start with the groups who worked with Packet 4, ask them to suggest details and evidence that support the importance of the factor they studied. (Note that students may find evidence of more than one factor in
their sources although they have been selected to reflect one particular factor.) Post the information as students share out. You may want to provide copies of the Putting the Pieces Together handout as a note-catcher for students as they listen to other groups’ presentations.

6 Conduct a class discussion in which students bring their own research and what they learned from their classmates to bear on the essential question:

- What factors allowed the police torture of Chicago’s citizens to occur and persist over many years? Can you understand what allowed the torture scandal to occur without considering multiple factors?
- Some people argue the primary factor was institutional (or systemic) racism, inequality built into the system. Others say it was racism and lack of humanity on the part of a few individuals, that is, individual racism by a few “bad apples.” Which do you think is a better explanation? What evidence supports your answer?

Closure: Ask students to write in their journals, reflecting on what they learned through their analysis of the sources that they feel everyone in Chicago should know. They can refer to their initial thinking, which they recorded in Part 2, to see how their thinking has changed or deepened as they’ve gained additional knowledge about the torture scandal.

Assessment:

Choose one of the following writing prompts to assess students’ understanding of the essential question:

- Build on your journal entry by writing a succinct letter to the editor (print or online edition) explaining what Chicagoans should know about the factors that allowed the police torture scandal to occur and why that knowledge is important. Describe the evidence that supports your position.
- Write a five-paragraph essay presenting your best thoughts about the essential question: What factors allowed the police torture of Chicago’s citizens to occur and persist? Your essay should include (a) a thesis statement, (2) evidence from primary sources to support the statement, and (3) your views on why knowledge of the causes of the police torture scandal is important to Chicagoans.

Strong written work will include the following elements: (1) a thesis statement describing what the student thinks are the most important factors that allowed the police torture to occur and persist, (2) evidence to support the answers, (3) a convincing explanation of why knowledge of the torture scandal is important to Chicagoans, and (4) clear writing, logically organized and with few grammatical, punctuation, or usage errors.
WHAT FACTORS ALLOWED THE POLICE TORTURE OF CHICAGO’S CITIZENS TO OCCUR?

Jon Burge and Individual Racism

Government Response to Violations of Civil Rights

Crime and Policing

Chicago and Institutional Racism
Handout: Recording Findings
(Complete this page for any source you analyze)

Inquiry Question: *What factors allowed the police torture of Chicago’s citizens to occur?*

1  Source (use correct citation form):

2  Who created this source?

3  How is the author involved in the issue? What is his/her perspective?

4  Summarize the author’s claim.

5  Identify one or two pieces of evidence from the source that support the author’s claim.

6  According to this source, what factor allowed the police torture of Chicago’s citizens to occur? Explain how the source shows that this factor was important.
Handout: Putting the Pieces Together

What does each factor contribute to understanding how police torture of citizens could happen in Chicago? Fill in the table related to the sources you examined. Add information as other groups share their work. How do these factors together help you answer the Inquiry Question: What factors allowed the police torture of Chicago’s citizens to occur?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Factor/Cause</th>
<th>How It Contributes to Understanding How the Torture Happened</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Jon Burge and Individual Racism</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Chicago and Institutional Racism</td>
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<td>Crime and Policing</td>
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<tr>
<td>Gov’t Response to Violations of Civil Rights</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
Source Packet 1: Jon Burge and Individual Racism

Source 1-1: Anonymous Letter to Flint Taylor, People’s Law Office

Attorney Flint Taylor became involved representing Andrew Wilson, one of the first cases of torture by Burge and his men to be known publically. In 1988, he received three anonymous letters about the torture. Two were sent in envelopes from the Chicago Police Department. Below is the third letter, which describes the kind of person Jon Burge was.

Mr. Taylor:

As I have said previously I do not want to be involved in this affair. That is why I asked for the reassurance that these letters would be kept private. I do not wish to be shunned like Officer Lavorty has been since he co-operated with you.

The following points should be made.

Burge hates black people and is an ego maniac. He would do anything to further himself. Almost all of the detectives and police officers involved know the Wilson's did the murders but they do not approve of the beatings and torture. No one wants to see the Wilson’s get any money but they would like to see the families of the police officers get any funds that the Wilson’s get. McKenna and O’Mare did nothing at all. They have never been involved in those type of activities.

I advise you to immediately interview Melvin Jones who is in the Cook County Jail on a murder charge. He is being re-tried in Markham. When you speak with him compare the dates from 1982 and you will see why it is important. You will also find that the States Attorney knew that he was complaining and that is why his charges were dropped then. That decision was made in the top levels at 26th and California.

There is something else but I am not quite sure of the facts if you need it contact me by the same means.

TY
Source Packet 1: Jon Burge and Individual Racism

Source 1-2: African American Officers Speak Out

In 2005, in an article by Chicago Reader reporter John Conroy, several African American officers spoke about the experience of working under Jon Burge.

However, four black officers who served at Area Two with Burge have recently given sworn statements providing new information about the Burge era. Former detective Melvin Duncan, who worked at Area Two from 1971 to 1978, gave the People's Law Office's Flint Taylor an affidavit saying he'd seen a dark wooden box in the Robbery Unit office when Burge served there. The box, he said, reminded him of a hand-cranked electrical device his father had made and had demonstrated by giving him and his brother "little shocks." Duncan's sworn statement also says, "While working at Area 2, I heard that certain Robbery detectives used an electrical box and cattle prods on people to get confessions from them."

Sammy Lacey Jr., now an attorney, worked as a detective in Area Two for about seven years, moving on to the Seventh District in 1988 when he was promoted to sergeant. In a sworn statement on October 12, Lacey said that even officers outside the unit noticed that detectives on Burge's "A team," most of whom worked the midnight shift, seemed to be getting a lot of confessions. There seemed to be a certain recognition, he said, "that something was not going right on the midnights."

Lacey noted that the black detectives who worked under Burge in the Violent Crimes unit were not assigned homicides. "Every time he would give us our detective division evaluations, we would always be rated low. I don't care what we did, how many arrests we made, he would always throw this in our faces, that 'you didn't do any homicides.' [We'd say,] 'But you didn't assign homicides to blacks.' He said, 'Well, that's your problem,' or something like that."

In those years, low efficiency ratings put a detective's job in jeopardy, and Lacey recalled that the black detectives were always the lowest rated. He said that in 1983 they complained to Burge's immediate superior, future police superintendent LeRoy Martin, about how they were being treated. The sole result, Lacey said, was that they were chewed out by Burge for taking their complaints up the chain of command. Martin did not return calls for comment.

In a sworn statement on November 9, retired sergeant Doris Byrd, who had been Lacey's partner at Area Two Violent Crimes in the early 80s, recalled that black detectives were given unsolvable and unnewsworthy cases, and that their names were ranked lowest on the efficiency reports until Deputy Chief James O'Reilly interceded on their behalf.

Byrd said that she could hear screaming coming from interview rooms while Burge's A team was on duty. She said suspects told her they had been beaten with a telephone book and had had bags put over their heads. She said she had not seen the black box, but had heard that it was "running rampantly through the little unit up there."

When asked why she hadn't said anything about this before, she replied, "We would have been frozen out of the police system. We would have been ostracized. We definitely wouldn't have made rank. We probably would have been stuck in some do-nothing assignment."

Byrd cited the example of Area Two Violent Crimes detective Frank Laverty, legendary within the department for testifying against his colleagues in the case of George Jones. Jones, the teenage son of an African-American Chicago police officer, was put on trial for a 1981 murder though Laverty had uncovered
exculpatory information and had submitted a memo to his commanding officer naming a more likely culprit. Laverty was on leave when he learned Jones was on trial, and he came forward, revealed his role in the case, testified in Jones's defense, and thereafter was ostracized at Area Two. When Laverty requested a transfer, he was moved to police headquarters and assigned the job of watching police recruits give urine samples.

Byrd recalled a day when she was in a room with Burge and other detectives, and Laverty was present, looking for a file. "When he left the room," Byrd said, "Burge drew his weapon and pointed it at the back of Laverty and said 'Bang.'"

Retired officer Walter Young, who served with the Chicago police for nearly 36 years, also worked as a detective under Burge in the early 80s. In a sworn statement given to Taylor on November 2, Young said he had no problem with his efficiency ratings during the decade he worked as a detective before coming to Area Two, but once there his ratings plummeted and he was ultimately busted down to patrolman. Young said he took an ostrich approach to the brutality, that when he thought something might happen he would "vanish." He particularly didn't want to be around when Andrew Wilson came out of the interrogation room. He said he had seen a hand-cranked device in the basement of Area Two but didn't know what it was at the time.

**Source Packet 1: Jon Burge and Individual Racism**

**Source 1-3: Testimony of Darrell Cannon**

*Darrell Cannon is a torture survivor who has provided extensive testimony about his experience*

I wasn’t a human being to them, I was just simply another subject of theirs. They had done this to many others. But to them, it was fun and games. I was just “a nigger” to them. That’s it. They kept using that word like that was my name. They had no respect for me being a human being. I never expected “police officers” to do anything that barbaric. That was my first time, and it wasn’t until later on that I understood what they meant when they said that I was in for the hardest day of my life. . . .

. . . [T]here’s no doubt in my mind that in my case, that racism played a huge role in what happened to me because the enjoyed this. . . . If I’d have been white, I doubt very seriously that I’d have been treated that badly. But because of the fact that I am Afro-American, who’s gonna believe me in court? Nobody.

**Source:** Transcript of January 2008 interview with Darrell Cannon, [http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=AgCZ-qcjFto](http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=AgCZ-qcjFto).
Source Packet 1: Jon Burge and Individual Racism

Source 1-4: Judge’s Statement on the Sentencing of Jon Burge

In 2011, Jon Burge was found guilty of obstruction of justice and perjury. In sentencing him, Judge Joan Humphrey Lefkow reflected on Burge’s motivations.

...I do not believe that anyone in this courtroom believes you are the cause of the racial divisions that plague our community, nor should you. I kept evidence of racism out of the trial because I believe everyone must be judged by their conduct, not their feelings or beliefs.

There are those who believe you are deeply racist, and there are those who believe you could not possibly have tortured suspects. I doubt that my opinion or what happens here will change anyone’s views. You are the person you are, neither all good, nor all evil, just like the rest of us.

...I have asked myself many times what motivated you. My best guess is ambition. ... Perhaps the praise, publicity, and commendations you received for solving these awful crimes was seductive and may have led you down this path. On your behalf how I wish that there had not been such a dismal failure of leadership in the department that it came to this...
Source Packet 1: Jon Burge and Individual Racism

Source 1-5: Jon Burge Responds to the Reparations Package

After Chicago agreed on a reparations package for torture survivors in 2015, Jon Burge spoke up about this development.

Former convicted Area 2 Police Commander Jon Burge says he finds it “hard to believe” that Chicago’s “political leadership” could “even contemplate giving reparations to human vermin” like the “guilty vicious criminals” he tried to take off the streets.

Three days after Mayor Rahm Emanuel agreed to create a $5.5 million “reparations” fund to compensate torture victims, Burge unleashed a torrent of anger against plaintiffs’ attorneys, politicians, a “complicit” news media and two torture victims.

Burge, who has long asserted his Fifth Amendment rights when placed under oath about the alleged torture, broke his silence in an interview with writer and Chicago Police officer Martin Preib posted on a blog titled “The Conviction Project.”

“I find it hard to believe that the city’s political leadership could even contemplate giving ‘Reparations’ to human vermin” like Anthony Holmes and Darrell Cannon, Burge was quoted as saying.

Burge argued that plaintiffs’ attorney Flint Taylor and others with a “radical political agenda” have been “working to free guilty, vicious criminals” for years by filing “specious lawsuits” against Chicago Police officers.

The “cottage industry” has been created by the fact that, “99 percent of the time, the city will settle” instead of going to trial because “it’s cheaper,” Burge said.

“These private attorneys grow rich because the city of Chicago is afraid to defend the lawsuits filed by these human vultures,” Burge was quoted as saying.

Taylor was outraged by the suggestion that he and his fellow attorneys representing torture victims are money-grubbers.

“We have been committed to this for over 2 1/2 decades — not to make money, but because we are firmly committed to exposing racist crimes against humanity. And the people who have joined with us include Amnesty International and a wide range of other organizations who . . . see his crimes for what they are,” Taylor said.

In the interview with Preib, Burge claims that he and his cohorts would someday be “vindicated.” Already, he claimed that “evidence is slowly emerging that clearly shows what happened to the dedicated Chicago Police detectives who fought, as best we could, the worst, most violent predators on the South Side.”

Source Packet 2: Chicago and Institutional Racism

Source 2-1: Home Owners’ Loan Corporation Maps

In the 1920s and 1930s, a federal agency, the Home Owners’ Loan Corporation, drew maps rating the “security” of neighborhoods. The ratings were based on the types of housing available, what property sold or rented for, what the land was like (hilly, swampy, etc.), and who lived there. The maps were used for many years to deny home loans in various neighborhoods. Below are two HOLC maps of Chicago—one of the North Side, one of the South Side. Note that the map marked No. 1 Map Section stretches from Evanston to 3100 S. The map marked No. 2 Map Section stretches from 3100 S. to 15800 S. Both maps stretch from the lake to the suburbs west of the city.

Green = Best  Blue = Still Desirable  Yellow = Definitely Declining  Red = Hazardous

Examine the maps more closely at https://dsl.richmond.edu/panorama/redlining/#loc=10/41.9161/-87.7128&opacity=0.92&sort=295&adview=full&city=chicago-il.
Green = Best   Blue = Still Desirable   Yellow = Definitely Declining   Red = Hazardous

Source Packet 2: Chicago and Institutional Racism

Source 2-2: A Real Estate Speculator Explains the Fine Art of Blockbusting, 1962

This is an excerpt from an article by a “block-buster,” someone who in the 1950s and 1960s bought properties in white neighborhoods and sold them to black families.

. . . The case of a South Side block I busted is typical.

Twenty-five years ago when most of the block’s residents moved in and Chicago’s population was only 8 percent Negro, none of the whites imagined they might be “endangered.” All this racial business was somebody else’s problem. Then one day reality began to dawn on them. All-white streets along which they drove to the Loop suddenly “turned.” Fairly distant stores and theaters they had patronized, friends’ homes they had visited, or churches they had attended were being swallowed. . . .

You can’t appreciate the psychological effect of such a color-line march unless you have seen it. First, Negro students begin enrolling in neighborhood schools. Then, churches and business in the area quit fixing up facilities as they normally might. Parks which have been all white suddenly become all Negro. A homeowner applies to his bank for a home-improvement loan and is turned down. “Too close to the color line,” he is told.

Small businesses begin to close. New whites, if they move into the area at all, are apt to be of lower economic class than before, and they are tenants, not owners. Because lending institutions always blacklist an area for regular mortgages when change appears imminent, white can’t buy there if they want to.

So it went in my typical South Side block. . . .

Newspapers, too, help prepare the way. Their only stories in this field usually concern the “panic” aspects. If they print stories about Negroes, it’s only in connection with crime or welfare problems or population increases, not with Negro church activity or business and educational success or other aspects of normal life in good Negro neighborhoods.

The Board of Education contributes by writing off a school once it begins to change racially, consigning it to overcrowding, double shifts and supervision by the least experienced and lowest-paid teachers—and by giving it the lowest proportion of counselors.

Source: Norris Vitchek (pseudonym) and Alfred Bal, “Confessions of a Block-Buster,” Saturday Evening Post 235, no. 27 (July 14, 1962, 15-19.)
2013 was the 50th anniversary of the March on Washington, when Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. gave his famous “I Have a Dream” speech. To mark the anniversary, the Chicago Reader published a comparison of Chicago in the 1960s and Chicago in the 2010s. Here are some of his findings.

**CHICAGO THEN & NOW**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SEGREGATED NEIGHBORHOODS</th>
<th>POVERTY RATE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>1960</strong></td>
<td><strong>2011</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>69% of African-Americans lived in community areas that were 94 percent black</td>
<td>63% of African-Americans lived in community areas that were 95 percent black</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29.7% for African-Americans</td>
<td>34.1% for African-Americans</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.4% for whites</td>
<td>10.9% for whites</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>MEDIAN INCOME</th>
<th>UNEMPLOYMENT RATE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>1960</strong></td>
<td><strong>2010</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$4,800 for African-American families</td>
<td>$29,371 for African-American households</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$7,700 for white families</td>
<td>$58,752 for white households</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.6% for African-Americans</td>
<td>2.3% for whites</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19.5% for African-Americans</td>
<td>8.1% for whites</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Incarceration rates skyrocket in recent decades

Incarceration rates for black men, especially those who have not graduated from high school, have been higher than those for white men in every age category for at least the past 50 years. Those differences increased dramatically in the 1980s and 1990s.

Source: Derek Neal and Armin Rick, U. of Chicago
Source 2-5: A Historian Testifies on Segregation in Chicago

Historian Adam Green testified in Jon Burge’s trial. In this excerpt, he discusses the history of the African American community in Chicago’s Area 2.

I think there are two things that really have to be thought about, both in terms of looking at this area, in terms of African [American] community, and more generally in Chicago in terms of African American community between 1960 and 1990.

One is that these communities are all defined by very strong conditions of segregation, racial segregation. . . . Using census data a number of researchers have demonstrated, for example, that Chicago is a hyper-segregated city. Has been pretty much throughout the 20th century. Continued to be so past 1960, 1970, 1980, into 1990.

Indeed in 1980 Chicago was understood to be the most segregated city racially in the United States of America.

The second condition that I think is important to address in terms of thinking about black communities within Chicago are the kinds of adverse conditions. . . . A number of leading researchers have pointed out that in looking at Chicago, black Chicago, between 1960 and 1990, the single most important change that took place was the loss of jobs, the lack of work that was found within various areas of Chicago.

During the period from 1967 to 1987, Chicago lost 320,000 manufacturing jobs. These were jobs that people could go into with a high school education. These were the kinds of jobs that could sustain a family.

By the time that you get to the late ’70s, into the early ’80s and up towards 1990, these jobs have essentially disappeared. And those that come and replace are ones that are mismatched in relation to the skill set that many African Americans had in the neighborhoods of Area 2, as well as other neighborhoods within the South Side.

So that when we look at these communities and we see, for instance, higher incidences of crime, higher incidences in relation to gang affiliation for young people, particularly young men, what we really have to pay attention to is the fact that because work has gone from these communities, the sorts of structures that other people elsewhere in the city would take for granted, in terms of creating sustaining healthy, strong, grounded communities are not there.

And because of the segregation that I spoke about before, not only are these communities facing adversity in relation to their economic conditions, and in relation to the conditions of social organization that exist within them, they are also isolated to the extreme. Which means that whatever is going on in those communities is generally to getting a great deal of positive attention in terms of those institutions that provide resources, it is not a concern in relation to the media or the public at large, and the conditions that exist within those communities just continue to become more and more difficult to deal with.
**Source Packet 3: Crime and Policing**

**Source 3-1: President Nixon Makes Crime a Major Issue**

Richard Nixon was the President when Jon Burge became a police officer. President Nixon ran on a “law and order platform.” He kept up his attack on crime throughout his time in office. The following excerpts are from a speech he gave in 1973.

Americans in the last decade were often told that the criminal was not responsible for his crimes against society, but that society was responsible.

I totally disagree with this permissive philosophy. Society is guilty of crime only when we fail to bring the criminal to justice. When we fail to make the criminal pay for his crime, we encourage him to think that crime will pay.

Next week I will propose a revision of the entire Federal Criminal Code . . . Our new Code will give us tougher penalties and stronger weapons in the war against dangerous drugs and organized crime. It will rationalize the present patchwork quilt of punishments for crime. It will substantially raise current limits on monetary fines. And it will restrict the present absurd use of the insanity defense.

I am further proposing that the death penalty be restored for certain Federal crimes . . .

We have already made encouraging progress in the war against drug abuse. Now we must consolidate that progress and strike even harder . . .

One area in which I am convinced of the need for more immediate action is that of putting heroin pushers in prison and keeping them there . . . When permissive judges are more considerate of the pusher than they are of his victims, there is little incentive for heroin pushers to obey the law, and great incentive for them to violate it. This is an outrage. It is a danger to every law-abiding citizen, and I am confident that the vast majority of Americans will support immediate passage of the heroin trafficking legislation I will propose to the Congress next week . . .

This is tough legislation, but we must settle for nothing less. The time has come for soft-headed judges and probation officers to show as much concern for the rights of innocent victims of crime as they do for the rights of convicted criminals.

Source Packet 3: Crime and Policing

Source 3-2: Community Relations from the CPD’s Point of View

Perhaps the first report on problems in the Chicago Police Department was published in 1898. That report charged that police officers often mistreated citizens. In 1953, a report charged that “a substantial amount of police officers in the Chicago Police Department are criminals.” The years from 1959 to 1974 saw several police scandals. Every new superintendent said reform would be a priority.

One reform was the establishment of an Office of Professional Standards in 1974. The OPS’s job was to improve police-community relationships in the city. The official magazine of the police department, the Chicago Police Star, featured the new office in its March 1975 issue, as well as a story about an African American neighborhood where residents loved the police.
The 77th and Aberdeen Block Club Says
"Thank You."

at just about every Block Club meeting, was always about how wonderful the police officers in the 096 District were. How quickly they responded to each and every call. They were all very professional, but they always had room for the humane qualities, like; kindness and consideration.” Mrs. Anderson hesitated for a moment, and then, extending an index finger to emphasize her point, “And I don’t mean just a few of them, I mean every last one of them.”

The happy smile that had wreathed Mrs. Anderson’s face faded for a moment. “You know” she said gravely “Whenever there’s trouble, people mostly re-act just about the same way, regardless to where you live. Everybody’s excited. You don’t start thinking about what the police really did, until they’re gone. And then, maybe the next morning, you wished that you had remembered to write down some names, or squad numbers, so that you could write to them and thank them.”

The smile returned to her face. “You know” she said “When you think about it, it’s pretty hard to give some taken to that many men… something that will say, loud and clearly, what we mean… especially when you haven’t much money. Well, after we had talked about it and talked about it, we just decided that the most precious gift was the gift of self. When you give yourself, your time, and your labor—just about everybody will appreciate that.”

After a brief moment of reflection Mrs. Anderson continued. “There’s a lot of truth in some of the old sayings, and probably the cruelest of all is, ‘The way to a man’s heart is through his stomach.’ So we just contacted Sgt. Marcus Grey, a truly wonderful man, and told him that we wanted to show our appreciation, and to say Thank You in a language that everyman could understand.”

THE 77TH AND ABERDEEN BLOCK CLUB is SERVING a FREE BREAKFAST TO ALL THE WON-
DERFUL MEN OF THE 006 DISTRICT.

How, Mrs. Anderson was asked, did the officers of the 006 District respond? "Let's put it his way," she said, "We served over two hundred cups of coffee, fried up 12 pounds of bacon, ten pounds of sausage, and I don't think anybody could have counted the number of pancakes. They had a ball eating, and we had a ball serving them. They give of themselves, everyday, for us. It was more than a pleasure for us to give to them ... for a change."

According to District Commander Joseph Healy, "This breakfast is illustrative of the rapport between the men of the 6th District and the people of the community. The men of the 6th District are always willing to make the extra effort to support the community and the community responds in kind. We are proud of the community and we like to feel that we render the type of service that makes the community proud of us. The grass root support of the 6th District Police by residents of the community gives direction to the dedication and enthusiasm of our officers."

Service with a smile is provided to Sgt. Schoenbein and Off. Shore.

6th District Commander Joseph Healy gets ready to dig into breakfast while his Neighborhood Relations Sergeant Marcus Grey (in uniform) looks on.
Source Packet 3: Crime and Policing

Source 3-3: A Historian Testifies on Police and Poverty

_Historian Adam Green testified in Jon Burge’s trial. In this excerpt, he discusses the how police often respond to communities where there is poverty._

**Q:** When you have a community such as it was in Chicago’s South Side in the 1970s and ‘80s with these conditions that you just described, what does that mean with respect to the community’s relationship with and need for law enforcement?

**A:** Well, two things are going to come up. One is that because of the difficulties, the adversity, lack of wealth, lack of opportunity, lack of work, a vacuum in terms of people’s relationships to the formal economy, that is going to be taken up by the emergence of informal economy structures like, for instance, the drug economy, people are going to need some presence of law enforcement just in order to be able to address basic concerns around public safety.

At the same time because of the isolation and also because of the way in more and more, that people that live within these communities, black and poor, are blamed for the conditions that exist within these communities, it is going to tend to be the case that even though law enforcement may pay attention to these people, they are going to do so with a certain kind of condescending, a certain kind of superior, maybe even sort of a certain contemptuous attitude.

They see these communities as being beneath them. They see these communities not being able to kind of engage in normal, regular respectable social functions. And oftentimes, as many people have shown, they were going to police them as if they are communities that don’t really need to be given the same respect that other communities are given.
Community activists were horrified that the Police Department was raising funds for a defense fund for Jon Burge and others accused of torture.
Source Packet 3: Crime and Policing

Source 3-5: A Reporter Reflects on Jon Burge and the Chicago Police Department

*The Chicago Reader* covered the torture scandal when the major newspapers in Chicago gave it little or no attention. After Burge was convicted, Michael Miner of the Reader talked to John Conroy, who reported the story for 20 years.

Torture—like so many of the world’s other crimes and sorrows—isn’t personal, it’s only business.

“I think Burge is a guy who was failed by his supervisors,” Conroy told me after the trial ended. “I think that if the first time Burge as a detective pulled somebody in and roughed him up in some way, if his lieutenant said to him, ‘Burge, you do that one more time and I’ll have you guarding the parking lot at 11th and State,’ I don’t think it would’ve happened again. He was a good enough cop without it. He could’ve gone just as far without the torture. It just required some supervision, somebody to say, ‘We don’t do that here,’ and there’s no Jon Burge—Jon Burge is not notorious, he’s a well-regarded cop and serves his career and retires to Florida and all’s well with the world.

“I think everybody wants Burge to be a monster, and he’s not. He’s a creature of our own devising, in a way. He’s a product of the Chicago police system at the time—and now, too—which does its best to protect errant cops unless they’re caught red-handed. . . . If the state’s attorney’s office were prosecuting people for engaging in misconduct of this kind, you and I would never know who Jon Burge is, or we’d know him as an officer who’d brought in some notorious criminals, or as an officer who did something heroic. He wouldn’t be a notorious torturer.”

The case of Andrew Wilson was one of the first reported cases of torture. Despite the doctor’s letter, the police department and state’s attorney did not investigate the case in 1982.

Dear Mr. Brzeczek:

I examined Mr. Andrew Wilson on February 15 & 16, 1982. He had multiple bruises, swellings, and abrasions on his face and head. His right eye was battered and had a superficial laceration. Andrew Wilson had several linear blisters on his right thigh, right cheek and anterior chest which were consistent with radiator burns. He stated that he had been cuffed to a radiator and pushed into it.

He also stated that electrical shocks had been administered to his gums, lips, and genitals.

All these injuries occurred prior to his arrival at the Jail. There must a thorough investigation of this alleged brutality.

Sincerely,

John N. Roha, M.D.
Medical Director
Cermak (Prison) Health Services

CC: Mr. William M. Doyle
Mr. Leonard R. Bersky, Director
Sheriff Richard J. Elrod
Mr. Phillip T. Hardiman, Executive Director
Department of Corrections

JMR/FM:

CE# 123543
ATT##1
Photo of Andrew Wilson after questioning.
Source Packet 4: Government Response to Violations of Civil Rights

Source 4-2: Petition for a Special Prosecutor

In 2001, three individuals and thirteen organizations submitted a petition to the Circuit Court of Cook County. The 16-page petition requested that a special prosecutor be appointed to investigate the actions of Jon Burge and his subordinates and potentially bring charges against them. The petition began by discussing the case of Andrew Wilson, one of the first torture cases to gain public attention.

In a March 28, 1994 memorandum . . . the city admitted that Burge and the other officers had acted in an “outrageous manner and utilized methods far beyond those sanctioned, permitted, and expected by the Police Department.” City attorneys went on to concede that Burge and the others committed acts of “torture” by shocking Wilson with a modified curling iron and other devices and burning him on a radiator. Furthermore, the City admitted that the officers’ actions “constitute[d] the offense of battery under Illinois law.” Finally, the City argued that Burge and the other officers were acting for their own purposes of revenge and that Burge himself was motivated by the prospect of personal advancement and derived “sadistic pleasure” from watching Wilson suffer . . .

The petition quoted Judge Milton Shadur, who wrote about the pattern of torture:

It is now common knowledge that in the early to mid-1980’s Jon Burge and many officers working under him regularly engaged in the physical abuse and torture of prisoners to extract confessions. Both internal police accounts and numerous lawsuits and appeals brought by suspects alleging such abuse substantiate that those beatings and other means of torture occurred as an established practice, not just on an isolated basis.

It then documented a conflict of interest on the part of the state’s attorney, Richard Devine. Devine had been in charge of many of the prosecutions of people who were tortured. When he left the state’s attorney’s office to go into private practice, he went to work for a firm that represented Jon Burge. Thus, the petition argued, a special prosecutor was needed to answer such questions as:

- How can our entire criminal justice system—despite a number of very obvious signs dating back to at least 1983—fail to recognize the undeniable pattern of torture under Jon Burge at Area 2 and Area 3?
- Does the Chicago Police Department’s Office of Professional Standards serve any meaningful role in investigating and punishing police misconduct when it failed to conduct any investigation into the alleged torture of Melvin Jones and forty others; it covered up its own investigators’ findings in six cases (Darrell Cannon, Stanley Howard, Gregory Banks, Phillip Atkins, Thomas Craft, and Lee Homes) . . . ; it later permitted the Superintendent of Police to overrule OPS findings of torture in these six cases; it then refused requests that investigations be re-opened in these cases and in 32 others; and it failed to refer any of the sixty-six alleged torture incidents . . . for prosecution?

A special prosecutor was appointed in 2002.
In 2005, civil rights attorney Standish Willis urged the activists and lawyers working to bring justice in the torture cases, to take the issue to international bodies. By reaching out to groups such as the United Nations Committee Against Torture, advocates could cast police torture as a human right issue. In 2006, attorney Joey Mogul presented the cases to the UN Committee Against Torture and the Human Rights Committee in Geneva, Switzerland. The Committee Against Torture responded.

Constitution against Torture and Other Cruel, Inhuman or Degrading Treatment or Punishment

COMMITTEE AGAINST TORTURE
Thirty-sixth session
1-19 May 2006

CONSIDERATION OF REPORTS SUBMITTED BY STATES PARTIES UNDER ARTICLE 19 OF THE CONVENTION

Conclusions and recommendations of the Committee against Torture

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

25. The Committee is concerned at allegations of impunity of some of the State party’s law-enforcement personnel in respect of acts of torture or cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment. The Committee notes the limited investigation and lack of prosecution in respect of the allegations of torture perpetrated in areas 2 and 3 of the Chicago Police Department (art. 12).

The State party should promptly, thoroughly and impartially investigate all allegations of acts of torture or cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment by law-enforcement personnel and bring perpetrators to justice, in order to fulfill its obligations under article 12 of the Convention. The State party should also provide the Committee with information on the ongoing investigations and prosecution relating to the above-mentioned case.
Source Packet 4: Government Response to Violations of Civil Rights

Source 4-4: Resolution from the Cook County Board of Commissioners

In 2007, the Cook County Board of Commissioners passed three resolutions related to the torture scandal. All were prompted by the special prosecutors’ failure to bring indictments against any of the police officers involved in the torture.

WHEREAS, the investigation conducted by Special Prosecutors Egan and Boyle consumed over four years and cost the taxpayers of Cook County $7 million dollars; and

WHEREAS, Egan and Boyle [the special prosecutors] acknowledge at the conclusion of their investigation that there was evidence beyond a reasonable doubt that certain individuals had been physically abused by Burge and Area 2 and 3 detectives under his command and that there was reason to believe that abuse occurred in “many other cases”; and

“WHEREAS, special prosecutors Egan and Boyle sought no indictments in a State court at the conclusion of their investigation, claiming that the Illinois statute of limitations barred prosecution of any of the perpetrators of Area 2 and 3 abuse; . . .

NOW, THEREFORE, BE IT RESOLVED, that the Cook county Board of Commissioners fully support any action taken by the United States Attorney’s of the Northern District of Illinois in the investigation of any and all federal crimes allegedly committed by Burge and his men.

The Board also asked that the Illinois Attorney General open new hearings in the cases of torture survivors still in jail. Further, it asked that the state legislature and Congress to consider passing laws banning the crime of torture and providing there would be no statute of limitations on the crime.
Source Packet 4: Government Response to Violations of Civil Rights

Source 4-5: Sun-Times Article on Suppression of Reports on Torture

The Office of Professional Standards within the Chicago Police Department investigated the charges of torture in 1990. The investigator, Michael Goldston, concluded that systematic abuse had occurred, but superiors in the police department did not release the report for over a year, as described in this article.

Part 5: How Did the Community Respond?

Introduction:
This lesson turns from the torture scandal itself to the community response—the decades-long fight, led by the African American community, to achieve some measure of justice for survivors of the torture. Working in small groups, students learn about different groups and individuals who were key to the struggle and the tactics they used to bring about change. The groups collaboratively create a timeline of activism that illustrates that achieving change can be difficult and take a long time; the timeline will also demonstrate the need for cooperation and collaboration in taking on institutions resistant to change. Groups also create a “Who’s Who” of individuals and groups involved in the fight for justice.

Essential Question:

● How did people and organizations use the legal system and community action to seek justice for torture survivors, their families, and the community?

Enduring Understandings:

● Using the legal system and community action to achieve their goals, individuals and groups, with leadership from the African American community, worked for decades to stop torture and gain reparations for those who suffered at the hands of Jon Burge and other Chicago police officers.

ISBE Social Science Standards:

● SS.CV.5.9-12: Analyze the impact of personal interest and diverse perspectives on the application of civic dispositions, democratic principles, constitutional rights, and human rights.
● SS.CV.6.9-12: Describe how political parties, the media, and public interest groups both influence and reflect social and political interests.
● SS.CV.8.9-12: Analyze how individuals use and challenge laws to address a variety of public issues.

Common Core Standards:

● CCSS.WHST.9-10.7: Conduct short as well as more sustained research projects to answer a question (including a self-generated question) or solve a problem; narrow or broaden the inquiry when appropriate; synthesize multiple sources on the subject, demonstrating understanding of the subject under investigation.
● CCSS.SL.9-10.1: Initiate and participate effectively in a range of collaborative discussions (one-on-one, in groups, and teacher-led) with diverse partners on grades 9-10 topics, texts, and issues, building on others’ ideas and expressing their own clearly and persuasively.

ISBE Social Emotional Learning Standards:

● 2B.5a. Evaluate strategies for being respectful of others and opposing stereotypes and prejudice.
● 2B.5b. Evaluate how advocacy for the rights of others contributes to the common good.
● 2C.3b. Demonstrate cooperation and teamwork to promote group effectiveness.
Learning Outcomes:

Students will know:

- Groups and individuals who fought to end police torture and find justice for survivors.
- Tactics used to seek justice following the police torture scandal.

Students will be able to:

- Construct a timeline.
- Draw generalizations based on analysis of a timeline.

Vocabulary: activist, strategy

Time: 2 class periods

Materials and Preparation:

- Handout: Analyzing the Community Response
- Activism Cards: One set of each version, ideally copied on four different colors; cards should be cut apart.
- Template for a timeline that runs from 1972 to the present drawn on a long piece of paper (such as shelf paper or another type of paper that comes in long lengths) and displayed on one classroom wall; for a large class, create two timeline templates so that you can divide the class into eight groups to create two timelines (four groups per timeline).
- Sheet of flip-chart paper labeled “Who’s Who”
- Highlighters for all the groups
- Tape

Procedure:

1. Ask students to imagine that they heard about the torture back in 1982. What would your response have been to hearing about the torture? What would you have done? Present students with three possible options:

   - Go to someone in authority (your aldermen, the mayor) and ask them to take action.
   - Protest publicly to make more people aware of the torture and pressure officials to take action.
   - Do nothing and hope someone else will fix the problem.

   Discuss the following: What are the advantages and disadvantages of each option?

2. Tell students that numerous organizations and individuals took action to try to stop the torture and bring justice to the people who were subjected to police abuse. With leadership from the African American community, these activists worked tirelessly for decades to find some measure of justice for torture survivors, their families, and the community. In this lesson, students will be learning about some of those individuals and organizations and the strategies they used to achieve change.
3 Organize students into four groups and give each group one set of Activism Cards and copies of the *Analyzing the Community Response* handout (for a large class, divide into eight groups and assign half to one timeline template you have prepared, half to the other, making sure that the four different groups of activists are represented in each timeline). Go over the instructions so students are clear on the steps they need to take to complete the task.

**SEL Focus:** Here’s an opportunity to practice cooperation and teamwork skills. Each person in the group should have a designated role—they may read some of the cards aloud, they may facilitate the following of each step on the *Analyzing the Community Response* handout, they may record the group’s main thoughts, they may post the group’s cards on the timeline or add to the Who’s Who list, or they may keep track of time and keep the group on track. Each member of the group is responsible for understanding the content of the Activism Cards and contributing thoughts in response to the questions on the handout. Before breaking out into small groups, tell the class you’ll be checking in to see that everyone is following through with their responsibility.

4 When the groups have finished their timeline, allow a few minutes for the class to examine the timeline with information from all four groups posted. Then ask each group—lawyers; survivors/Death Row Ten; activists and organizers; and reporters, national and international groups, and others—to give a brief presentation to the class, telling the story of their group.

5 Debrief the activity using such questions as:

- What do you notice about how the events appear on the timeline? Why do you think getting this movement started was so difficult?
- How many different strategies were used in working for change? Is it possible to tell which were most effective? Why or why not?
● How many different organizations and individuals are listed on the “Who’s Who” chart? What does that tell you about the process of change? Could one group or person done this alone?

● What do you think the people involved in the movement had in common? What do you have in common with these people?

Closure: Give students the following hypothetical related to the question you posed in Step 1: You are a community leader on the South Side. You start hearing stories about African American men being abused after being picked up by the police. What would you do? Ask students to respond to the hypothetical in their journals. They can write their responses in story form, as if they had actually taken the actions they describe.

Assessment:

Have students complete a 3-2-1 exit ticket as the assessment for this lesson: 3 lessons learned from taking part in this lesson, 2 people or organizations you admire (and why), and 1 strategy you would use if you were involved in a similar campaign for justice (and why).
Handout: Analyzing the Community Response

You are going to be studying actions taken by some of the community members and organizations involved in the campaign for justice. You will need to complete the following steps:

1. Read through the cards your teacher gave you. Read the cards out loud, one at a time. Highlight important information on the card, such as activism strategy and audience targeted.

2. Read through the cards a second time, this time compiling a list of all the groups or individuals mentioned. What does this list tell you about your group?

3. Next, arrange your cards in chronological order. How many years do they cover? What does this tell you about your group?

4. Prepare a brief presentation telling your group’s story to the class. Your presentation should answer the following questions:
   - Who is our group?
   - What types of actions did they take?
   - Who did they target?

5. Tape your cards to the class timeline and add your list of involved individuals and groups to the “Who’s Who” list the teacher has posted.

6. Working with other groups, draw links between cards that show the overlap and cooperation among groups.
## Activism Cards: Lawyers

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>In the early 1980s, the People’s Law Office (PLO) begins to represent Andrew Wilson. The PLO receives anonymous letters from someone inside the police department. The letters name officers involved in torture. The PLO continues to be involved in cases involving police torture for 30+ years.</th>
<th>Beginning in 1989, the Chicago Chapter of the National Conference of Black Lawyers becomes involved in torture cases. It represents survivors in their cases.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>In 2007, Black People Against Police Torture led by African American attorney Standish Willis opposes retention of judges who were involved in the torture cases.</td>
<td>In 2006, the Chicago Chapter of the National Conference of Black Lawyers begins an effort to organize the African American community to fight for justice. They organize town meetings and form the Black People Against Police Torture (BPAPT) to “lead the resistance.” African American attorney Standish Willis leads the BPAPT.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>In the mid-2000s, The Chicago Chapter of the Black Lawyers begins lobbying for legislation to address torture issues. They draft and sponsor the “Illinois Torture Inquiry and Relief Commission” bill. In 2008, they begin organizing support for the reparations ordinance finally passed in 2015 by the Chicago City Council.</td>
<td>In September 2005, the National Conference of Black Lawyers introduces evidence of police torture at the Organization of American States (OAS). The OAS is an international organization made up of countries in North, Central, and South America. One of its goals is to defend human rights in its member nations.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Activists and attorneys form the Campaign to Prosecute Police Torture. Among the groups involved are the MacArthur Justice Center, Citizens Alert, Justice Coalition of Greater Chicago, Operation Rainbow Push, CEDP, and the PLO. They petition the courts to appoint a special prosecutor to investigate the torture allegations and possibly seek indictments against Burge and his men. Special prosecutors are appointed but no charges are filed due to being past the statute of limitations.</td>
<td>In 2008, Burge was indicted on charges of perjury and obstruction of justice. He was tried in 2010, found guilty, and sentenced to four years in prison. He was released from prison in 2014 but was on house arrest until 2015. He still receives a police pension.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Activism Cards: Survivors/Death Row Ten

| In 1986, Andrew Wilson files lawsuit from inside prison. His lawsuit alleges he was tortured by Burge and several other officers following a 1972 manhunt for the killers of two police officers. | Prisoners sent to death row after being tortured by police form the Death Row Ten in 1998. They contact the Campaign to End the Death Penalty to be their voice “on the outside.” The Death Row Ten urge a protest. They provide a flyer to be passed out at the protest. Mothers and fathers of the Ten participate in the protest. Letters are also sent to the Illinois Attorney General, Mayor Daley, and Cook County State’s Attorney Dick Devine demanding an investigation. They receive no response. |
| Lawsuits by survivors continue to the present. | |
| In the mid to late 1990s, several defense committees form to bring attention to the cases of Burge survivors on death row. These committees include the Aaron Patterson Defense Committee, the Death Row 10 and the Campaign to End the Death Penalty, and the African American Committee to free Mumia Abu Jamal and Aaron Patterson. | By 2000, Illinois’ record of wrongful convictions convinces Governor George Ryan that many on death row may be innocent. Since the death penalty was reinstated in Illinois in 1977, 12 death row prisoners had been executed and 13 exonerated (proven not guilty). Ryan declares a moratorium on executions. |
| In 2002, survivors, family members, the Campaign to End the Death Penalty, the Illinois Coalition to Abolish the Death Penalty, and attorneys start campaigning for commutation. This means changing the sentences of people on Death Row. | On January 10, 2003, Governor Ryan pardons four of the Death Row Ten on the grounds that their confessions were coerced and they were innocent. The next day, he grants clemency to all 163 people on Death Row. Their punishments were converted to life sentences. |
### Activism Cards: Activists and Organizers

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Event</th>
<th>Details</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>During the civil rights trial of Andrew Wilson in 1989, 50 community</td>
<td>In 1969, the Chicago Police raid an apartment rented by the Black Panthers, killing Fred Hampton and Mark Clark. Mary Powers and some of her friends have the opportunity to walk through the apartment and are shocked by the evidence of police misconduct. Powers becomes involved with Citizens Alert. Citizens Alert is an organization that works to make sure the police were held accountable for their actions. Members attend meetings of the Chicago Police Board. They work to reform the office of the Medical Examiner, which they believed covered up deaths related to police abuse.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>groups protested outside City Hall and Chicago Police Department</td>
<td>Through the 1980s, Citizens Alert, the Task Force to Confront Police Violence, and 50 other organizations demonstrate outside City Hall, Police Headquarters, and the federal courthouse. They call for an investigation and the firing of Burge.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>headquarters. They demand an end to the torture and the firing of Jon</td>
<td>In 1990, Amnesty International issues a report requesting a criminal investigation of police torture. The Police Department’s Office of Professional Standards issues a report upholding the torture charges. In 1991, Burge is suspended. Two years later, in 1993, he is fired.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Burge. Among the groups protesting are the Task Force to Confront</td>
<td>In 2001, Death Row 10 mothers, CEDP activists, Reverend Jesse L. Jackson and Rainbow PUSH Coalition visit the Death Row 10 at Pontiac Correctional. On New Year’s Eve 2002, these groups are joined on their visit by the Center on Wrongful Convictions. They hold a press conference urging Governor Ryan to grant blanket commutations.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Police Violence, Citizens Alert, Clergy and Laity Concerned, ACT UP,</td>
<td>In 2010, artists, activists, scholars, and an attorney form Chicago Torture Justice Memorials. They call for proposals for possible works to memorialize the torture cases. In 2012, CTJM organizes an art exhibition including a display of the initial draft of the Reparations Ordinance. They also host the first of many programs to educate people about the torture cases.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>and Queer Nation. In 1990 the City Council holds a hearing on the</td>
<td>In the wake of police brutality against Occupy Chicago demonstrators in 2011 and 2012, Project NIA and Chicago Prison Industrial Complex Teaching Collective publish a series of pamphlets to educate the public about the history of “oppressive policing toward marginalized populations.”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>torture allegations.</td>
<td>In 2013, Chicago Torture Justice Memorials decides to focus on seeking reparations. They enlist two aldermen, Joe Moreno and Howard Brookins, to serve as sponsors. CTJM hosts an exhibit of art on reparations for human rights violations. They make t-shirts supporting reparations.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>In 2006, Black People Against Police Torture leads more than 200 demonstrations in downtown Chicago. BPAPT announces opposition to Chicago’s bid to host the 2016 Olympics. Olympic medalist John Carlos, one of the 1968 Olympians who stood with fist raised on the medal stand, offers support.</td>
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</table>


## Activism Cards: Reporters, National and International Groups, and Others

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Event</th>
<th>Details</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>John Conroy was a reporter for the free weekly newspaper, the Chicago Reader. He sat in on Andrew Wilson’s civil trial in the late 1980s. As a result, he became convinced that the alleged torture had happened. He began investigating and reporting on the torture scandal—and continued for nearly two decades. His reporting influenced many people, including Governor George Ryan.</td>
<td>Several groups including Standish Willis from the National Conference of Black Lawyers, ask the United Nations to become involved in the investigation. In 2006, the UN issues a report criticizing the United States for an inadequate response.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>In 2013, Amnesty International joins the campaign to win reparations, at the request of the Chicago Torture Justice Memorials. In April the next year, AI holds their annual conference in Chicago. They call for passage of the reparations package. AI and CTJM work together to plan an action at Daley Plaza. The plaza is filled with flags bearing the names of 118 known torture survivors. The names of the survivors are also read aloud. Later in 2014, AI holds a Teach-in on how to lobby aldermen.</td>
<td>In October 2014, the Chicago Sun-Times editorial board meets with Mayor Rahm Emanuel, who is running for reelection. Reporter Fran Spielman asks numerous questions about the Burge torture scandal. In response to the journalist’s questions, the mayor agrees the survivors deserve financial compensation.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>In October 2014, AI and CTJM work with Project NIA and We Charge Genocide (WCG) to organize a Twitter campaign. They ask the public to tweet the mayor, demanding support for reparations.</td>
<td>In 2014, the UN Committee against Torture holds hearings on the U.S. response. WCG sends a group of Chicago youth of color to present findings. They stage a protest during the hearings to draw attention to the U.S. government’s failure to do anything about violence by police. The UN Committee issues a report harshly critical of the City of Chicago for not addressing the claims of survivors. Responding to a report from We Charge Genocide, the committee also expresses concern about police militarization, racial profiling, and excessive use of force against African American and Latino youth, immigrants, and LGBTQ people.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Part 6: Reparations and Reflections

Introduction:
This culminating lesson introduces students to the reparations package passed by the Chicago City Council and signed by Mayor Rahm Emanuel in 2015. Students have an opportunity to consider the impact of the reparations package. They also assess whether the reparations are sufficient: was justice done in this case? They then take part in a Talking Circle, reflecting on what they have learned about the police torture scandal.

Essential Questions:
- How did people and organizations use the legal system and community action to seek justice for torture survivors, their families, and the community?
- What can we learn about racism, both systemic and individual, by studying and discussing difficult episodes in history?

Enduring Understandings:
- Using the legal system and community action to achieve their goals, individuals and groups, with leadership from the African American community, worked for decades to stop torture and gain reparations for those who suffered at the hands of Jon Burge and other Chicago police officers.
- Because difficult historic episodes often represent enduring issues or conflicts, studying and discussing them can help us understand contemporary controversies.

ISBE Social Science Standards:
- SS.H.7.9-12: Identify the role of individuals, groups, and institutions in people’s struggle for safety, freedom, equality and justice.
- SS.H.8.9-12: Analyze key historical events and contributions of individuals through a variety of perspectives, including those of historically underrepresented groups.

Common Core Standards:
- CCSS.SL.9-10.1: Initiate and participate effectively in a range of collaborative discussions (one-on-one, in groups, and teacher-led) with diverse partners on grades 9-10 topics, texts, and issues, building on others' ideas and expressing their own clearly and persuasively.

ISBE Social Emotional Learning Standards:
- 3A.5a. Apply ethical reasoning to evaluate societal practices.
- 2B.5b. Evaluate how advocacy for the rights of others contributes to the common good.
- 1A.4a. Analyze how thoughts and emotions affect decision making and responsible behavior.
- 1A.5a. Evaluate how expressing one’s emotions in different situations affects others.

Learning Outcomes:
Students will know:
- Selected provisions of the reparations package for torture survivors.
Students will be able to:

- Evaluate whether the provision of reparations achieves justice for torture survivors and the community.
- Identify and discuss the most important aspects of the police torture scandal that they learned about in this unit.

Vocabulary: reparations, memorial

Time: 2 class periods

Materials and Preparation:

- Handout: Reparations for Burge Torture Survivors

Procedure:

1. Remind students of the intense and decades-long work by individuals and community organizations, led by the African American community, to achieve some measure of justice for the survivors of the police torture. Ask: What do you think keeps people motivated to continue working for justice when the fight is long and difficult? (Possible answers include hope that they might achieve success and a better future, a desire to prevent similar events in the future, passionate commitment to such values as justice, empathy for the people affected, anger at injustice and racism, desire to teach young people about what happened.)

2. Ask students if they have ever heard the term reparations. Point out that the root word of reparations is repair. Ask: What does this suggest about the meaning of reparations? (Reparations involve fixing something.) Help students develop a definition of reparations along the following lines: reparations are actions that fix something or make amends, as by providing compensation.

**SEL Focus:** If your school is using restorative disciplinary practices, this is a good place to make a connection. Restorative disciplinary practices are ways of repairing harm that has been caused. In the Burge case, it was not enough to sentence Jon Burge—students will learn what else has/will be done to try to repair the harm done to the survivors and their families. Ask students about their experience with restorative practices at the school. How do restorative practices go beyond punishment, and instead seek to repair harm?

3. Distribute the Reparations for Burge Torture Survivors handout and read it with the class or allow time for students to read it independently. Conduct a class discussion using such questions as the following:

- What actions did the city agree to take to make reparations for the police torture of Chicagoans? Which of these actions do you think is most significant?
- Is this response reasonable in light of what you have learned during the unit? Is it sufficient?
- Does the package meet the city’s goal to “restore the trust of all Chicagoans in the decency and fairness of their municipal and county governments, including their law enforcement agencies”? Provide examples from the reparations package and explain how they restore trust.
- If you had the power, what additional items would you include in the reparations package? What items might you take out of the package?
- Are there limits to what government can do to address past failures?
• What connections can you make between the torture scandal and events that have occurred in Chicago in your lifetime? Should addressing current problems and preventing future issues be part of reparations agreements?

4 If time permits, have students work in small groups to develop proposals for actions to add to or remove from the reparations agreement (groups can also decide that the agreement is sufficient as passed). Groups can present their proposals to the class for an up or down vote.

5 Conduct a final Talking Circle, using one or both of the following questions:

• In your view, has the city of Chicago done enough to address the Chicago police torture scandal and the underlying problems it represented?
• What factors might prevent a person from getting involved in activism when injustice occurs in their community?
• What type of activism have you learned about in this unit that you would be most interested in taking part in? Why?

Closure: Conclude the lesson by having students write their “last best thoughts” about the Talking Circle questions in their journals.

Assessment:

Ask each student to prepare a brief “message” for next year’s class about the Chicago police torture scandal. The message can be a written statement, a video, or another medium selected by the teacher or the student and should highlight what students think is most important for young people to know about this historic event and the community’s and government’s response to it.
Reparations for Burge Torture Survivors

In April 2015, the city of Chicago agreed to a reparations package to repair the harm done to those who were tortured by police officers under Jon Burge’s command. The ordinance provided $5.5 million in financial reparations for living survivors of the police torture. The city also agreed to issue a formal apology for the torture. The following are excerpts from the apology, which also described other actions to be taken as part of the reparations package.

* * * *

. . . 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 . . .

. . . 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 . . .

. . . 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 . . .

. . . 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 . . . job placement in programs offered by the City . . . and prioritized access to applicable support services and programs currently offered by city departments . . .

. . . 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 . . .

. . . 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 . . .

Assessment

Introduction:

The reparations package signed by the City of Chicago requires the building of a permanent memorial to the survivors of Jon Burge’s torture. This assessment builds upon that requirement by asking students to prepare a proposal for a memorial that will educate the public about the police torture scandal and ensure that the survivors and those who fought for justice are not forgotten. Students can propose a traditional memorial, a physical work of art such as a mural or collage, or a written memorial such as an entry in the Encyclopedia of Chicago. Students’ plan must address the unit’s Essential Questions.

Essential Questions:

- What factors allowed the police torture of Chicago’s citizens to occur?
- How did people and organizations use the legal system and community action to seek justice for torture survivors, their families, and the community?
- What can we learn about racism, both systemic and individual, by studying and discussing difficult episodes in history?

Enduring Understandings:

- The program of torture conducted by Jon Burge and other officers of the Chicago Police Department must be understood in the context of racial, institutional, historical, and economic factors.
- Using the legal system and community action to achieve their goals, individuals and groups, with leadership from the African American community, worked for decades to stop torture and gain reparations for those who suffered at the hands of Jon Burge and other Chicago police officers.
- Because difficult historic episodes often represent enduring issues or conflicts, studying and discussing them can help us understand contemporary controversies.

ISBE Standards:

- SS.H.1.9-12: Evaluate how historical developments were shaped by time and place as well as broader historical contexts.
- SS.H.7.9-12: Identify the role of individuals, groups, and institutions in people’s struggle for safety, freedom, equality and justice.

Common Core State Standards:

- CCSS.WHST.9-10.4: Produce clear and coherent writing in which the development, organization, and style are appropriate to task, purpose, and audience.
- CCSS.RH.9-10.2: Determine the central ideas or information of a primary or secondary source; provide an accurate summary of how key events or ideas develop over the course of the text.

ISBE Social Emotional Learning Standards:

- 3C.4b. Plan, implement, and evaluate one’s participation in a group effort to contribute to one’s local community.

Time: 2 class periods
Materials and Preparation:

- Handout: **Unit Assessment**
- Handout: **Unit Assessment Rubric (Written Work) and Unit Assessment Rubric (Memorial or Art)**
- Examples of memorials to show students. The following are just some examples that could be used:
  --Mural or Collage: Various murals and other artworks created to commemorate the 9/11 terrorist attacks ([https://www.911memorial.org/category/media/mural](https://www.911memorial.org/category/media/mural)) or a collection of collages on “Women, Gender, Politics, and Art” ([https://envisioningtheamericandream.com/2015/02/24/women-gender-politics-and-art/](https://envisioningtheamericandream.com/2015/02/24/women-gender-politics-and-art/))
  --Written work: Sample entries from the *Encyclopedia of Chicago* ([http://www.encyclopedia.chicagohistory.org/](http://www.encyclopedia.chicagohistory.org/)) or the guidelines for writing for the online encyclopedia Black Past ([http://www.blackpast.org/about/online-encyclopedia-entry-guidelines](http://www.blackpast.org/about/online-encyclopedia-entry-guidelines))

Procedure:

1. Remind students that construction of a permanent memorial to the Burge survivors is part of the reparations package signed by the City of Chicago. Tell students that, to demonstrate what they have learned in this unit, they are going to be developing proposals for a memorial they believe would educate the people of Chicago about the police torture scandal and ensure that the survivors and those who fought for justice are not forgotten.

2. Distribute the **Unit Assessment** handout and go over the instructions with students. Be sure students understand the three formats; you may want to show examples (see Materials and Preparation) or go over the directions for writing an encyclopedia entry provided at Black Past. If students have other ideas for formats (e.g., musically talented students may want to suggest composing a rap, song, or musical), encourage them to talk with you.

3. When you are sure students understand what they are to do, distribute the **Unit Assessment Rubric** and go over what you will be looking for in assessing students’ work. If you allow students to use other formats, you will need to discuss how the rubric will be adapted to reflect the work they are doing.
Handout: Unit Assessment

To demonstrate what you have learned about the Burge police torture scandal, write a proposal describing a memorial to those who survived torture as well as the people who fought for justice. Your memorial should educate the public about the scandal. It should do so by addressing the unit’s Essential Questions:

- What factors allowed the police torture of Chicago’s citizens to occur?
- How did people and organizations use the legal system and community action to seek justice for torture survivors, their families, and the community?
- What can we learn about racism, both systemic and individual, by studying and discussing difficult episodes in history?

In answering these questions, you should reference the primary and secondary sources you examined in the unit. These references will demonstrate that you understand how evidence from the sources helped you answer the questions and ultimately design the memorial.

You can propose one of the following types of memorials:

- A traditional memorial; that is, a large structure with symbolic design and text on large surfaces
- A work of art such as a mural or collage
- An entry in the Encyclopedia of Chicago

If you want to propose a different kind of product, check with your teacher first.

As with all proposals to the government, you must follow a format for preparing your proposal. The proposal should include three sections:

- **The goal of the memorial.** This section should answer the what and why questions. What is the story you want to tell? Why did it happen? Why is it important for people to know this story? Address the unit’s three essential questions (see above) in this section.

- **Description of the memorial.**
  - **If you are proposing a traditional memorial or art work:** Sketch your memorial or work of art. Give it a title and explain why you chose that title. Describe why the memorial or art work looks like it does. Be as detailed as you can. For example, if red will be a major color or you will use electrical wire in your piece, explain what the color or material represents. If your work will have text on it or on signs displayed nearby, explain what the text will cover. Refer to evidence from primary and secondary sources you analyzed in the unit and explain how the evidence influenced your design.
  - **If you are proposing an entry in the Encyclopedia of Chicago:** Suggest a title for your entry and explain why you chose that title. Provide an outline of the entry and identify two documents or visuals that you will use to illustrate your entry. Explain the thinking behind the information you will include and how you plan to organize it. Tell why you chose the illustrations. Refer to evidence from primary and secondary sources you analyzed in the unit and explain how the evidence influenced your design.

- **Reflections on your memorial design.** Explain why you think this memorial will be effective in educating the public and ensuring that the scandal will not be forgotten. If you proposed a traditional memorial or artwork, where in Chicago would you put the memorial? Would it move or stay in one place? Explain your location choice in terms of who you want to see and learn from the memorial. If you proposed an encyclopedia entry, explain to whom you would send a flyer or promotional email to, inviting them to read the entry. Explain why you want these audiences to read and learn from the memorial entry.
## Handout: Unit Assessment Rubric (Written Work)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Criteria</th>
<th>Excellent (4)</th>
<th>Good (3)</th>
<th>Fair (2)</th>
<th>Poor (1)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Goal of the Memorial</td>
<td>• Proposal clearly and thoroughly identifies multiple answers regarding: --Factors that allowed the scandal to happen. --How people and organizations worked to achieve justice. --What students learned about racism. Proposal convincingly explains why the student thinks the identified answers are the most important things the public should learn about the torture scandal.</td>
<td>• Proposal clearly and thoroughly identifies one answer regarding: --Factors that allowed the scandal to happen. --How people and organizations worked to achieve justice. --What students learned about racism. Proposal explains why the student thinks some of the identified answers are the most important things the public should learn about the torture scandal.</td>
<td>• Proposal identifies one answer regarding: --Factors that allowed the scandal to happen. --How people and organizations worked to achieve justice. --What students learned about racism. Proposal explains why the student thinks some of the identified answers are the most important things the public should learn about the torture scandal.</td>
<td>• Proposal identifies one or no answers regarding one of the following: --Factors that allowed the scandal to happen. --How people and organizations worked to achieve justice. --What students learned about racism. Proposal does not explain why the student thinks the identified answers are the most important things the public should learn about the torture scandal.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Description of the Memorial</td>
<td>• Outline is logically organized, illustrations are identified, and both are thoroughly explained. Creative and communicative title is provided and reasons for choosing title are given. Description reflects use of multiple sources, including primary and secondary sources. Analysis shows careful and critical thought.</td>
<td>• Outline is logically organized, illustrations are identified, and both are explained. Title is provided and reasons for choosing title are given. Description reflects use of two or three sources, including primary and secondary sources. Analysis shows careful and critical thought.</td>
<td>• Outline is organized, illustrations are identified, but the explanation is unclear. Title is provided. Description reflects use of one or two sources. Analysis shows some flaws in thinking.</td>
<td>• Outline is poorly organized and illustrations are not identified or do not match the content in the outline. Title is not provided. Description does not cite any sources. Analysis of information shows major flaws in thinking.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reflection</td>
<td>• Proposal provides an excellent explanation of why the memorial will be effective.</td>
<td>• Proposal provides a sufficient explanation of why the memorial will be effective. Proposal identifies to whom</td>
<td>• Proposal provides a basic explanation of why the memorial. Proposal identifies to whom</td>
<td>• Proposal does not explain why the memorial will be effective. Proposal does not identify to whom</td>
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<tr>
<td>Effective Writing/Presentation</td>
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<td><strong>CCSS.WHST.9-10.4:</strong> Produce clear and coherent writing in which the development, organization, and style are appropriate to task, purpose, and audience.</td>
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| • Proposal identifies to whom the entry should be marketed and provides a convincing explanation of why that audience should learn from the memorial. | the entry should be marketed and provides an explanation of why that audience should learn from the memorial. | the entry should be marketed but does not explain why or provides an illogical explanation for choosing the audience. | whom the entry should be marketed. |

| • Student writes clearly and understandably, makes no errors in grammar and usage, and organizes design plan logically. | • Student writes clearly and understandably, makes no major errors in grammar and usage, and organizes design plan logically. | • Student generally writes clearly and organizes response logically, but a few aspects of the design plan may be confusing or difficult to understand. Student makes a few major errors in grammar and usage. | • Student writes unclearly with confusing structure and makes numerous major errors in grammar and usage. |

| • Students’ outline is thorough and well-organized and selected illustrations support outlined content. | • Students’ outline is thorough and well-organized and selected illustrations support outlined content. | • Students’ outline is incomplete and connection between selected illustrations and outlined content is unclear. | • Sketch or outline is incomplete or missing. |
# Handout: Unit Assessment Rubric (Memorial or Art)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Criteria</th>
<th>Excellent (4)</th>
<th>Good (3)</th>
<th>Fair (2)</th>
<th>Poor (1)</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Goal of the Memorial</strong></td>
<td>• Proposal clearly and thoroughly identifies multiple answers regarding:</td>
<td>• Proposal clearly and thoroughly identifies one answer regarding:</td>
<td>• Proposal identifies one answer regarding:</td>
<td>• Proposal identifies one or no answers regarding one of the following:</td>
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<tr>
<td>SS.H.1.9-12: Evaluate</td>
<td>--Factors that allowed the scandal to happen.</td>
<td>--Factors that allowed the scandal to happen.</td>
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<td>--Factors that allowed the scandal to happen.</td>
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<td>historical developments</td>
<td>--How people and organizations worked to achieve justice.</td>
<td>--How people and organizations worked to achieve justice.</td>
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<td>--How people and organizations worked to achieve justice.</td>
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<td>were shaped by time and</td>
<td>--What students learned about racism.</td>
<td>--What students learned about racism.</td>
<td>--What students learned about racism.</td>
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<td>place as well as broader</td>
<td>• Proposal convincingly explains why the student thinks the identified</td>
<td>• Proposal explains why the student thinks the identified answers are the</td>
<td>• Proposal explains why the student thinks some of the identified answers</td>
<td>• Proposal does not explain why the student thinks the identified answers</td>
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<td>historical contexts.</td>
<td>answers are the most important things the public should learn about the</td>
<td>are the most important things the public should learn about the torturer</td>
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<td>torture scandal.</td>
<td>scandal.</td>
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<td>scandal.</td>
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<td>**Description of the</td>
<td>• Sketch providing a clear view of the memorial is provided and explained in</td>
<td>• Sketch providing a clear view of the memorial is provided and explained</td>
<td>• Sketch of the memorial is provided. Text on memorial is described.</td>
<td>• Sketch of the memorial is not provided or incomplete. Text to</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Memorial**</td>
<td>detail. Text on memorial is described.</td>
<td>Text on memorial is described.</td>
<td>Title is provided.</td>
<td>accompany the memorial is not described.</td>
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<td></td>
<td>• Creative and communicative title is provided and reasons for</td>
<td>• Title is provided and reasons for choosing title are given.</td>
<td>Title is not provided.</td>
<td>Title is not provided.</td>
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<td></td>
<td>choosing title are given.</td>
<td>• Description reflects use of one or two sources.</td>
<td>Description does not cite any sources.</td>
<td>Description does not cite any sources.</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Description reflects use of multiple sources, including primary and</td>
<td>• Analysis shows some flaws in thinking.</td>
<td>Analysis of information shows major flaws in thinking.</td>
<td>Analysis of information shows major flaws in thinking.</td>
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<td>secondary sources.</td>
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<td>• Analysis shows careful and critical thought.</td>
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| Reflection | • Proposal provides an excellent explanation of why the memorial will be effective.  
          • Proposal identifies where the memorial should be located and provides a convincing rationale for that location, citing the audiences who should learn from the memorial. | • Proposal provides a sufficient explanation of why the memorial will be effective.  
          • Proposal identifies where the memorial should be located and provides a rationale for that location, citing the audiences who should learn from the memorial. | • Proposal provides a basic explanation of why the memorial.  
          • Proposal identifies where the memorial should be located but does not explain why. | • Proposal does not explain why the memorial will be effective.  
          • Proposal does not identify where the memorial should be located. |
| Effective Writing/Presentation  
*CCSS.WHST.9-10.4: Produce clear and coherent writing in which the development, organization, and style are appropriate to task, purpose, and audience.* | • Student writes clearly and understandably, makes no errors in grammar and usage, and organizes design plan and product text logically.  
          • Students’ sketch shows evidence of careful work. | • Student writes clearly and understandably, makes no major errors in grammar and usage, and organizes design plan and product text logically.  
          • Students’ sketch shows evidence of careful work. | • Student generally writes clearly and organizes response logically, but a few aspects of the design plan or product text may be confusing or difficult to understand. Student makes a few major errors in grammar and usage.  
          • Students’ sketch is carelessly prepared or incomplete. | • Student writes unclearly with confusing structure and makes numerous major errors in grammar and usage.  
          • Sketch is incomplete or missing. |
Appendix: Unit Extensions

The content of this unit includes numerous concepts and issues students could explore in greater depth. Here we provide ideas for extensions that could build on the topics students find most engaging either during the unit or as follow-up once the unit lessons and assessments have been completed.

Part 1:

If time permits, add a second question to the Talking Circle focused on police in the community. For example, you might ask: What is the role of police in your community? Or What impact do the police have on your community?

Part 2:

1. Check in with students to see if they would like to have a Talking Circle to process and reflect on what they learned in this lesson. If they do, conduct the Circle using the process described in Lesson 1 before proceeding to the next lesson. If you choose to process the lesson using a Talking Circle, begin with a lower pressure prompt such as, “Use one word to describe how you feel after this lesson.” Alternately, you might choose to provide students with a variety of images (see https://docs.google.com/a/cps.edu/document/d/1L0eiKVZt3N6ZoQCVo0tPC-pg9GdLOk4fjDXrKbcTxs/edit?usp=drive_web). Ask students to choose one that represents how the people who were tortured may have felt and explain how. From there, proceed to a question that prompts students to think about a productive way to channel their emotions, such as “What do you think should be done to make sure torture does not happen again in our city?” or “What can our community do to prevent torture?”

2. Encourage students to create a larger version of the timeline to which they can add more events, illustrations, more information about specific events, and news articles they uncover from the Internet. Publish the timeline in the classroom so it can be added to throughout their study of the torture scandal.

Part 3:

If you have students with skill in different languages in your classroom, have students translate each other’s found poetry into those languages. Give the “translators” time to talk about the process of translating and how the nuances of the two languages affect the way the poem communicates. Another option involving the students’ found poetry is to have them illustrate the poems using original artwork or photographs they find on the internet.

Part 4:

1. Assign students to talk with their parents, guardians, or other adults they know well about the torture scandal. They might use a prompt such as: What do you know about the torture of African Americans by Chicago Police Commander Jon Burge and officers in his command? Why do you think the torture occurred and persisted? Ask students to think carefully about the responses given by these adults: Do they provide any insights as to the answer to the essential question? Do the interviews provide evidence that public education about the torture scandal is needed? Note: Students should be prepared to be sensitive to the emotions that the people they are talking to display. Some students may have family members who were affected by what happened when Burge and his men were torturing Chicagoans or by similar events and circumstances. They may receive responses that reflect prejudices (from varying perspectives) that do not reflect the facts of the scandal as students have learned them. Thus, what students hear in their
discussions should be debriefed with the class, focusing not only on what students learned from their conversations with adults but how it affects their understanding of the need for all Chicagoans to be sensitive to and informed about the scandal. Be sure to allow space in the discussion for multiple perspectives and encourage students to consider seriously viewpoints different from their own.

2 One lesson or even one unit cannot provide students with full understanding of the racial, institutional, historical, and economic context in which the police torture scandal occurred. The awareness that this unit can give students about the importance of context can, however, help them make connections between events in different time periods as they study U.S., Illinois, and Chicago history. For example, as students learn about the City government’s response to Dr. Martin Luther King Jr.’s 1966 campaign in Chicago, the police violence in response to protests at the 1968 Democratic National Convention in Chicago, and the police raid that resulted in the deaths of Black Panther Party members Fred Hampton and Mark Clark, they can make connections with the attitudes and practices that contributed to the police torture scandal. Following this lesson, students might continue adding to the web started in this lesson showing the interrelated factors that contributed to the torture scandal; they can add to the web as they study the history of the decades leading up to the torture scandal. If events reflecting government responses to civil rights and other protests of the era are not covered in significant depth, encourage groups of students to research selected events and report additional details to the class.

Part 5:

1 Have students choose individuals or groups from the “Who’s Who” that they would be interested in learning more about/from. Ask them to conduct Internet research to gather more background on the individual or group and locate contact information (if available).

2 Ask students to prepare interview questions before they contact the person or group in which they are interested—being prepared is critical, in case someone says “okay, let’s talk right now.” The Writing Interview Questions handout may be helpful in this process. When students have prepared their questions, help them reach out to the person or group in which they are interested, inviting them to take part in an email or Google Hangouts/Skype interview or to visit the class to meet and talk with students.

Part 6:

Distribute the Civic Engagement for a Better Community handout, which lists civic organizations that work on issues relating to civil rights, human rights, and positive police community relations in Chicago, as well as organizations that oppose torture in other parts of the world. Ask students to choose one of these organizations to research. Students should prepare posters providing the following information about their organization:

- Name and contact information for the group
- Description of activities
- How to volunteer or participate

Assessment:

Encourage interested students to take their proposals an additional step—build a model of the memorial, write the entry for the encyclopedia, or write a script or storyboard for a video or podcast. Display their work where other students in the school can examine and learn from it. If you are interested in having your class share their memorial proposals with representatives of the Chicago Torture Justice Center, please contact Christine Haley at christine@repwoncenter.org.
Extension Handout for Part 5: Writing Interview Questions

Being prepared is key when you are interviewing someone. First, it allows you to make the best use of your time. Second, it shows respect for the person you are interviewing, called the interviewee.

Here are some tips to help you conduct a good interview:

- Find out as much as you can about your interviewee so you can ask informed questions.
- Think about the purpose of your interview. What are you hoping to learn? Write questions that will help you get that information.
- Write open-ended questions. The questions should require more than a yes or no answer. To illustrate, which of these questions do you think would draw out more information? --Wasn’t it hard to keep going when you didn’t seem to be making any progress?
  --How did you stay positive and keep going when you didn’t seem to be making any progress?
- An interviewee sometimes mentions something interesting that you hadn’t thought about. Be prepared to listen carefully so you can ask follow-up questions and avoid asking a question that has already been answered. Follow-up questions can be simple: Could you tell me more about _____?
- Write your questions down.
- Remember to be polite and friendly while you are talking to the interviewee. Be you and you will both enjoy your talk.

These are some question starters that may be helpful:

- Tell me more about the time when you . . .
- Tell me about the people who were most important to . . .
- What stands out for you when you think about . . .
- During your work for justice, when did you feel happiest? Saddest? Most angry?
- How do you describe your activism to yourself?
- How do you describe your activism to others?
- What did success or “winning” mean for you?
Extension Handout for Part 6: Civic Engagement for a Better Community

Civic Organizations

American Civil Liberties Union of Illinois | http://www.aclu-il.org/
Amnesty International | http://www.amnestyusa.org/
Black People Against Police Torture |
Black Youth Project | http://blackyouthproject.com/
CeaseFire Illinois | http://cureviolence.org/partners/illinois-partners/
Chicago Committee to Defend the Bill of Rights | http://www.ccdbr.org
Chicago Freedom School | http://chicagofreedomsschool.org/
Chicago Torture Justice Center | http://chicagotorturejustice.org/
Chicago Torture Justice Memorials | http://chicagotorture.org/
Chicago Urban League | http://www.thechicagourbanleague.org/
Criminal and Juvenile Justice Project, The University of Chicago | http://www.law.uchicago.edu/clinics/mandel/juvenile
Human Rights Watch | https://www.hrw.org/about/get-local/chicago
Illinois Coalition for Immigrant and Refugee Rights | http://icirr.org/
MacArthur Justice Center, Bluhm Legal Clinic, Northwestern University | http://www.law.northwestern.edu/legalclinic/macarthur/
Mexican American Legal Defense and Education Fund | http://www.maldef.org/about/offices/midwest/index.html
National Conference of Black Lawyers | http://www.ncbl.org/chapters/chicago-chapter/
National Black Police Association | http://www.blackpolice.org/midwest.html
People’s Law Office | http://peopleslawoffice.com
Project Nia | http://www.project-nia.org/
Safer Foundation | http://www.saferfoundation.org/

Government Organizations

Law Office of the Cook County Public Defender | http://www.cookcountycourt.org/FORPEOPLEWITHOUTLAWYERS.aspx
Historical Background Essay: Jon Burge and Individual Racism
Andrew Baer, Ph.D.
Assistant Professor of History, University of Alabama at Birmingham

Historical context played an important role in shaping the Jon Burge police torture scandal. Many of the white detectives involved, including Burge, grew up on Chicago’s South and Southeast Sides in the two decades following World War Two. Their early life experiences likely helped shape a racist worldview that later allowed for the regular abuse of African American criminal suspects. In addition, most of the African American men who encountered Burge’s crew came from social and economic backgrounds historically vulnerable to racist police violence. Burge’s police career—from 1970 to 1991—overlapped with a period of rising rates of violent crime, de-industrialization, and the rise of mass incarceration throughout the United States. The social movements that confronted the torture crisis from 1989 to 2015 helped change local and national conversations about the meaning of crime and punishment in America.

Jon Burge was born in Chicago in December 1947. He was raised in a private housing development called Merrionette Manor in South Deering, a large, yet sparsely populated neighborhood on Chicago’s Southeast Side. His father was a WWII veteran and a blue-collar employee of the local phone company. His mother was an advice columnist and public speaker who gave fashion and business advice to other mothers and working women.

Although the residents of Merrionette Manor included families from a variety of backgrounds, including many liberal Jews and other progressive whites, developers and homeowners aggressively guarded the neighborhood’s racial boundaries. Fearing expansion of the nearby so-called Black Belt, many white people fought to keep African American families out through a variety of methods, including intimidation and violence. Indeed, for several years beginning in the early 1950s, South Deering exploded in mass protest and collective violence against black families attempting to move into Trumbull Park Homes, a low-rise public housing complex less than a mile-and-a-half from the Burge household. Involving thousands of local whites—including women and children—the violence at Trumbull Park symbolized the depth of fear and hatred greeting black families wherever they ventured beyond the overcrowded confines of their segregated communities.

Like his older brother before him, Jon Burge went to all-white grade schools before attending Bowen High School from 1961 to 1965. Throughout the early 1960s, Bowen was one of several South Side high schools that faced rising demands from African American parents and community leaders seeking fair access to quality education on a desegregated basis. While Burge spent much of his time at Bowen practicing drill with the school’s prestigious Reserve Officer Training Corps (ROTC), he and his fellow students participated in several unpopular desegregation plans devised by the embattled Board of Education.

By 1970, just five years after Burge’s graduation, South Deering and Bowen High School had transitioned from nearly all-white to virtually all-black. Adjacent neighborhoods faced a similar experience. In response to the national civil rights and Black Power movements, many white people, small businesses, and large corporations chose to leave the city rather than stay and work with black neighbors to ensure equal treatment in housing, education, employment, and criminal justice. Burge’s age cohort thus grew up during the height of white resistance to racial progress in Chicago and elsewhere. Many of his peer group perceived the demographic changes of the post-WWII period as a loss of racial privilege and personal security.

African Americans experienced these changes differently. Beginning in the early 20th century, millions of African Americans left the Jim Crow South in search of safety and opportunity in the industrial North and Midwest. Indeed, the black population of Chicago expanded from approximately two percent of the city’s population to 33 percent between 1910 and 1970. Throughout this period, white realtors, homeowners, politicians, bankers, and
other bureaucrats and administrators helped funnel black people to certain neighborhoods on the city’s South and West Sides. Local police and ordinary white residents reinforced racist policy with the threat of violence, forcing a disproportionate number of African Americans into inferior housing, slums, and public housing.

As factories moved out of the city in the 1960s, 1970s, and 1980s—slowly at first, and then in rapid succession—much of black Chicago struggled to maintain a decent quality of living in the face of unemployment, discrimination, and disinvestment. While many individual African Americans achieved success—financial, political, and otherwise—many more faced severe poverty and social isolation.

By the 1970s and 1980s, an entire generation of young black men found themselves without access to quality housing, education, healthcare, and employment. As a result, many turned to petty crime or joined one of the growing number of organized street gangs. Others wound up in jail or prison as law enforcement officials embarked on a national project of mass incarceration during the last decades of the 20th century. Indeed, violent crime rates—particularly murder—soared to new highs during the years that Burge worked as a detective. Unable or unwilling to appreciate larger historical trends, many white Chicagoans saw black youth as inherently criminal and undeserving of constitutional rights. As the 1960s War on Poverty gave way to the 1970s War on Crime and the 1980s War on Drugs, local police officers like Jon Burge experienced less scrutiny in their daily use of illegal or unconstitutional methods.

Indeed, the Chicago Police Department (CPD) that Jon Burge joined in 1970 had earned a long-standing reputation for inefficiency, corruption, brutality, and racism. In the 1920s and 1930s, Chicago detectives became notorious for using the so-called third degree to coerce confessions from suspects. A national movement to professionalize police departments in the mid-20th century culminated in the implementation of widespread reform in Chicago under police superintendent O.W. Wilson from 1960 to 1967. Many of Wilson’s improvements, however, simply papered over the seedy underbelly of the CPD with modern public relations and community outreach.

In 1972, Burge joined a group of detectives working at police Area 2, a large jurisdiction covering much of the far South and Southeast Sides, including his childhood home. His first supervisor faced allegations of abuse long before Burge arrived. To complement the standard methods detectives relied on to make unwilling suspects talk, Burge brought a new innovation—electroshock torture. Some people believe he learned this technique in the U.S. Army. From fall 1968 through late summer 1969, Burge served as a Military Policeman (MP) in Vietnam. While there is no evidence that Burge ever participated directly in an interrogation of a Vietnamese prisoner of war, the forward base he worked at later became associated with numerous allegations of electroshock torture. If Burge did not directly practice electroshock torture in Vietnam, he easily could have caught word of the technique.

From white resistance to black mobility in the 1950s, to racialized war in a foreign nation in the 1960s, to policing the streets of post-industrial Chicago in the 1970s, Burge’s life experiences shaped his attitudes and contributed to his decision to torture black men in police custody. This illegal behavior helped Burge and his colleagues coerce confessions, close cases, and earn promotions, while punishing African American men they saw as undeserving of constitutional and human rights.
Institutional racism refers to racially discriminatory policies and practices carried out by institutions and having a disparate impact on different racial groups. Institutional racism has a long history in Chicago, as does the effort to end institutional racism. Indeed, laws were passed in Chicago during the 1870s that provided for black voting rights and outlawed segregation (legally separate public spaces for blacks and whites—e.g., schools). These laws were not always enforced, however, and segregation persisted in employment, housing, and schooling.

Between World War I and 1970, 7 million African American migrants traveled from the South to the North as part of the Great Migration. They left the virulent racism and economic hardships of the South and traveled to northern cities for the promise of greater social freedoms and economic opportunities in northern industrial economies. More than half a million of these migrants came to Chicago where, instead of the gilded image of a land of opportunity, they often encountered harsh winters and cramped living conditions of the South Side’s Black Belt. Black families were crowded into this densely populated community by housing segregation and its resulting school segregation, employment discrimination, and racist policies that limited African Americans’ opportunities for financial and geographic mobility. For those living in Chicago’s black communities, however, segregation also encouraged congregation, the development of black institutions (black banks, newspapers, social/civic organizations, religious groups, etc.) and a unique sense of kinship amongst people in the neighborhood.

Housing Policies and Racism

Segregation in housing was policed by neighborhood groups, white racial violence, discriminatory governmental, real estate, and banking practices, and public housing policies.

**Redlining:** Redlining is the practice of denying homeowners loans and insurance based on the race and/or class of residents. In the 1930s, the New Deal Home Owners’ Loan Corporation (HOLC) initiated redlining—dividing neighborhoods up by “quality” (and desirability for lending). The lowest rated neighborhoods were almost always areas where blacks lived, regardless of whether the residents of the community could afford to pay a mortgage. At various times Latinos, Asians, and Jews were also redlined. These policies made (re)development and investment in black communities very difficult.

**Racial Restrictive Covenants:** White homeowners entered into contracts that prohibited the sale or lease of property in their neighborhoods to African Americans. The use of racially restrictive covenants increased during the 1920s, with the influx of southern black migrants. These agreements barred African Americans from living in many white areas of the city. The U.S. Supreme Court struck down racially restrictive covenants nationally in 1948 (*Shelley v. Kraemer*), but such agreements had already reinforced segregation in Chicago.

**Blockbusting:** White real estate agents and speculators scared white homeowners into thinking that black people were going to move into their neighborhoods; or example, on an all-white block near a racially transitioning area, they would hire a black person to walk down the street and inquire about purchasing a home in the area. The white agents would then use the ensuing panic to buy white homeowners’ homes at a low price and resell the same homes at a higher price to African Americans who were largely frozen out of the traditional lending market by racist banking practices.

**Contract Loans:** Buyers shut out from conventional lending are offered an alternative: make monthly payments on a home directly to the seller. They receive the deed only once the property is entirely paid off, 20
or 30 years down the road. Meantime, they have few of the legal protections of a typical home buyer. They don't build equity with time. They can be easily evicted. If that happens, they lose their investment. Between the 1930s and 1960s, contract lending was in some cities the primary means middle-class blacks had to buy homes. When families fell behind on payments or repairs, they were swiftly evicted. To make payments, residents had to put more people under one roof and didn’t have money to pay for upkeep of homes, adding to the decline of neighborhood housing stock.

**Public Housing Only in Black Neighborhoods**: Early public housing was segregated. Whites opposed—often violently—the building of public housing in their communities. Public housing for black residents was almost exclusively built in black areas cleared by urban renewal or adjacent to existing overcrowded/struggling black communities. In 1969 a judge ordered the CHA to build scattered-site housing elsewhere in the city. Rather than comply with this order, the CHA virtually stopped building family housing and almost exclusively built housing for elderly tenants.

**Education**

Since most public schools assigned attendance areas based on neighborhood, segregation in schooling was closely tied to patterns of residential segregation. In 1922 the Board of Education implemented a strict neighborhood schooling policy complementing the 1917 Chicago Real Estate Board’s policy to confine black residents to certain neighborhoods. A 1958 investigation by the NAACP’s *Crisis* magazine found that CPS schools were more segregated than the city as a whole. School attendance areas were meticulously districted, and new schools were built to maintain separate black and white schools.

Into the 1960s, schools in black neighborhoods often ran on double and triple shifts to accommodate overcrowding—with black students attending schools for only a few hours each day. Mayor Richard J. Daley’s appointed Superintendent of Schools Benjamin Willis and the Chicago Board of Education refused to alleviate overcrowding by granting black students access to open seats in nearby under-enrolled white schools. Black and white schools were separate and unequal.

In local actions and massive citywide protests, black parents, students, and civil rights organizations mobilized around the problem of overcrowding in schools serving black children. In response, Willis ordered building of portable classrooms at overcrowded black schools. Willis and these makeshift mobile classrooms, dubbed “Willis Wagons,” became prime targets for protests. Chicago Civil Rights Coalition, Coordinating Council of Community Organizations (CCCO), organized a Freedom Day school boycott in October 1963. Nearly 225,000 students (almost half of all CPS students) stayed home from school. In February 1964 another 175,000 students stayed home to boycott the schools. These actions demanded desegregation and more equitable resources and materials for black students. In 1968 attempts to use one-way busing (moving a small number of black students into white schools) to desegregate schools in South Shore and Austin sparked protests by white and black parents. White parents who opposed busing didn’t want their children in school with black students and black parents argued that their students were worthy of quality neighborhood schools in their own communities. In another round of school boycotts in 1968, African Americans demanded community control of schools.

**Employment**

Historically, African Americans, Latinos, and women were the “last hired, first fired” in many forms of employment in the city. During the 1960s and 1970s, these practices were challenged. In the late 1960s, for example, black teachers waged major battles against the Chicago Teachers Union’s lack of attention to the needs of black students and teachers. By 1969, more than half of CPS students were black, but black teachers only accounted for 34 percent of the teaching force. For years, black teachers were denied positions in schools...
without a significant majority of black students. While the law did not sanction these actions, school administrators and many white principals used discretionary hiring practices to limit the schools where black teachers and administrators could work.

African American teachers made up a disproportionately large number of Full-time Basis Substitutes (FTBs). By 1963, FTBs constituted a quarter of the CPS teaching force and, by some estimates, 90 percent of FTBs were African American. FTBs were able to teach because they met the requirements for certification by the State of Illinois, but they were not considered certified in CPS because they had not passed the Chicago Board of Education’s certification exam. Many argued that this exam explicitly discriminated against black teachers. Teachers claimed that the oral part of the exam was used to deny black teachers’ certification, much in the way that subjective “literacy tests” were administered in the South to prevent African Americans from voting. Relegating the majority of black teachers to FTB status allowed the Chicago Board of Education to uphold faculty segregation. It prevented the majority of black teachers from easily requesting transfers, a benefit extended to certified teachers. FTBs were paid less, easier to fire than certified teachers, and barred from full voting rights in the union. CPS officials could also more easily transfer FTBs to break up groups of teachers participating in civil rights activism. The CTU leadership largely ignored these issues facing black FTBs.

Organizing by black teachers, students, and community organizations pressured the Board of Education to hire, certify, and promote more black teachers, administrators, and staff, significantly transforming the demographics of CPS employees. In the decade following the 1969 CTU strike, the number and proportion of black teachers, administrators, and CPS employees increased significantly. In 1969 African Americans made up only 34 percent of teachers (7,844 teachers) and 24 percent of the supervisory and administrative staff (377 employees) employed by the Board of Education. However, by 1978, African Americans became a majority of CPS employees. By 1979, African Americans constituted 43 percent of the teaching staff (11,068 teachers), 39 percent of the administrative staff (553 employees), and 60 percent of the clerical and service support staff (12,460 employees) in CPS. As their numbers grew, black educators’ power grew within the CTU. In 1984, Jacqueline Vaughn became the first African American, woman, and elementary school teacher to head the CTU.

Black police officers also challenged their underrepresentation in the police force and promotion and assignment practices. In 1973 leaders of the Afro-American Patrolman’s League filed a series of lawsuits that challenged the police force’s hiring and promotion practices and the discriminatory implementation of medical tests that were used to weed out minority applicants.

Deindustrialization

For African Americans, the impact of deindustrialization was particularly painful. Black unemployment rates increased further with the decline of low-skilled relatively higher paying industrial work in cities. In the postwar period, as urban manufacturing plants closed across the Northeast and Midwest, black workers were left facing a labor market constricted by discrimination and a spatial mismatch between their location in the city core and expanding job opportunities in racially exclusionary suburbs and the growing “Sunbelt” economies in the South and West.

In 1954 Chicago’s manufacturers employed almost 500,000 production workers. By 1982, they employed only 162,000 such workers. This particularly impacted black workers, who disproportionately found work in the low-skilled manufacturing sector. Deindustrialization, including the loss of manufacturing, trade jobs, and related industries, also led to greater racial inequality in income and employment rates. The impacts of these economic changes led to increases in black unemployment, poverty, and reliance on public assistance programs. Rather than address the structural changes in the economy that shaped the lives of black families, policymakers and the
public shifted attention to the alleged pathology of black women and families as a primary cause of urban black poverty.
Historical Background Essay: Crime and Policing in Chicago
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Jon Burge and other white detectives under his command tortured more than 120 black criminal suspects between 1972 and 1991, a period in which crime rates soared across the United States and politicians obsessed over issues of law and order. Gathered by local law enforcement officials and compiled by the Federal Bureau of Investigation, crime rates have always been unreliable and vulnerable to manipulation. Indeed, crime rates only reflect the number of offenses actually reported to the police, a small portion of the total number of crimes committed each year. Nevertheless, these flawed statistics hold significant political and social consequences and have the power to shape historical outcomes. In the 1970s and 1980s, a perceived crisis over rising crime rates played an important role in explaining the persistence of police torture in Chicago and the impunity enjoyed by its perpetrators.

The rise of reported incidents of violent crime, in particular, often lead to panic and pressure on public figures to find a solution. Among scholars who study historical crime trends, homicide rates often stand in as a proxy for violent crime rates as a whole, as homicides are among the most accurate of all crime statistics. For most of the period 1900 to 1965, homicide rates in Chicago fluctuated around a rate of 10 per 100,000 people. In the 1920s, however, the homicide rate doubled to nearly 20 per 100,000. This increase—mirrored in other large cities as well—changed public perception of the crime problem, triggered fear and panic, inspired local and national officials to declare a war on crime, and raised public tolerance for police misconduct. With crime seemingly out of control, many local residents proved willing to turn a blind eye to police abuse if it meant the streets would be made safe again. When crime rates began to drop during the Great Depression, local people became less willing to tolerate police misconduct. The 1930s witnessed increased scrutiny of law enforcement and led to many important reforms, including the apparent decline of the so-called third degree—police abuse of criminal suspects during interrogation. Throughout the 1940s and 1950s, crime rates in big cities like Chicago remained relatively low and public attention to issues of crime and policing ebbed.

In the ten years after 1965, however, violent crime rates in cities across the United States soared. As local police departments professionalized and improved their recordkeeping, more people became willing to turn to the police for help, and crime appeared to be on the rise. In Chicago, for example, the total number of murders in 1965 was 395. In 1974, the total number of murders had risen to an all-time high of 970 (for reference, the total number of murders in Chicago in 2015 clocked in around 468, a slight uptick from recent lows). The average number of murders each year from the early 1970s through the early 1990s was roughly double what it had been in the four preceding decades. Beginning in the mid-1990s, murders started to decrease once again. Therefore, the peak years of murder in twentieth-century Chicago, measured in real numbers, corresponded remarkably with the police career of Jon Burge, who served with the Chicago Police Department from 1970 to 1991.

The relationship between crime and policing, however, has never been straightforward, and political considerations often determine law enforcement outcomes. Much as in the 1920s, public concern over the apparent crime wave sanctioned a reactionary and punitive government response from the late-1960s forward. In addition to the increase in murders and other violent felonies, public officials also reacted to the rise in protests and civil disobedience demonstrated by the civil rights movement, the anti-war movement, the student movement, the women’s rights movement, and the burgeoning gay rights movement. Adding to this general sense of lawlessness, hundreds of American cities erupted in so-called urban riots each summer between 1964 and 1968, highlighted by the Watts rebellion of 1965, urban disorder in Detroit and Newark in 1967, and the mass outpouring of anger and grief in Chicago, Washington, D.C., and elsewhere following the assassination of
Martin Luther King, Jr. in April 1968. In the eyes of elected officials, police administrators, and other members of law enforcement, America seemed to have entered a period of widespread disregard for public safety and rampant disrespect for the rule of law. Capitalizing on these fears, politicians championed the cause of law and order and launched a series of wars on crime.

In Chicago, police administrators and mayors struggled to contain the growing crime crisis beginning in the mid-1960s. Mayor Richard J. Daley, in office from 1955 until 1976, controlled most of Chicago’s municipal departments, including the police, as the head of a powerful political machine. Determined to bolster the city’s image and to avoid national scrutiny, Daley and his successors sought to clamp down on crime while reaping new federal anti-crime resources. After the retirement of a reform-minded police superintendent in 1967, Mayor Daley and his hand-picked superintendents responded to the crime problem with an aggressive crackdown on targeted communities, particularly African American neighborhoods on the city’s South and West Sides.

Due to decades of discrimination in housing, education, employment, health, and criminal justice, many black neighborhoods suffered disproportionately from high levels of crime. Rather than address the crime problem by attacking its social and economic roots, Daley and other big city mayors chose instead to increase funding for the police, including special tactical units, anti-gang operations, and political surveillance of civil rights organizations. Beginning in the late 1960s, the Chicago Police Department’s war on gangs morphed into a never-ending war on crime. Driven by political and economic incentives coordinated from Washington, the militarization of local police departments in the 1970s and 1980s triggered widespread misconduct and brutality at the local level. Fought primarily in poor and non-white neighborhoods, the national crime war devastated African American communities like Chicago’s South Side, where racist police officers like Jon Burge and his men operated with little apparent supervision.

The torture regime operating at Area 2 in the 1970s and 1980s responded, in part, to the escalating crime crisis of the 1970s, when the local murder rate skyrocketed. But the detectives’ willingness to resort to torture also reflected the political possibilities of the times. If professional, personal, and racial considerations convinced Burge and his men to coerce confessions through intimidation and violence, they were emboldened by the protection and encouragement they received from other members of law enforcement. While police violence has persisted over time, the political and social climate of the 1970s and 1980s—a period of crime panic and bipartisan consensus on issues of law and order—ensured that Burge and his men would operate with impunity. Most public officials, members of the corporate media, and much of the white public tolerated police abuse in a period of perceived crime crisis.

However, not all Chicagoans jumped on board the law and order bandwagon. Many local people, especially African Americans, opposed the criminal justice crackdown of the 1970s and 1980s. Even those black leaders and residents who called for police protection from violent crime insisted that the local crime war be fought with efficiency and professionalism. African Americans living in Chicago’s poorest neighborhoods wanted protection from violent crime and violent police alike, demanding a war on crime, but one fought on humane and nondiscriminatory terms.
On June 28, 2010, after a twenty-nine year battle for justice, former Chicago Police Commander Jon Burge was convicted in federal court for perjury and obstruction of justice in connection with his torture of more than 110 African American men on Chicago’s South Side. Burge’s criminal prosecution followed the release and exoneration of 14 wrongfully convicted torture survivors and the City of Chicago’s payment of more than $20 million in settlements in nine civil rights cases. Burge’s conviction marked a major victory, as did the City’s 2015 agreement to a reparations package to provide some compensation for torture survivors and their families. These were victories won through creative, principled, and persistent litigation in the courts and tireless activism in the streets and at City Hall. They were the product of attorneys, activists, torture survivors, and their family members working together, empowering and propelling one another, to fight on year after year.

Throughout Burge’s reign of terror from 1972 to 1991, local and federal officials repeatedly received concrete and credible information regarding the torture, but nevertheless refused to take action. In February of 1982, then Cook County State’s Attorney Richard M. Daley (later to become Mayor of Chicago) was advised that Burge and his men electrically shocked Andrew Wilson, burned him against a radiator, suffocated him with a plastic bag, and beat and kicked him. Instead of initiating a criminal investigation into Burge’s crimes, Daley prosecuted Wilson for the murder of two white police officers based on a confession elicited by this torture. It was politically expedient for Daley and other politicians to credit the word of white police officers closing scores of criminal cases by securing convictions based on these coerced confessions. It was also convenient to discredit, disbelieve, and ignore the torture survivors, who were black, poor, unsympathetic, and, in many cases, like Wilson, were accused of violent crimes. Emboldened by the State’s Attorneys’ and CPD’s failure to take any action in 1982, Burge and his detectives went on to torture an additional 74 men with impunity over the next nine years.

Facing unrelenting resistance in the courts and long odds fighting City Hall, the State’s Attorney’s Office, and the CPD, attorneys and organizers nevertheless persisted in their efforts to obtain justice for the torture survivors. In 1986, Wilson filed a pro se law suit in federal court against Burge; the case was subsequently taken up by lawyers from the People’s Law Office (PLO). This litigation became the vehicle for discovering the overwhelming evidence of the CPD’s pattern and practice of torture under Burge.

During and after Wilson’s civil trial in the late 1980s, the Task Force to Confront Police Violence, Citizens Alert, and approximately 50 other local organizations ranging from Clergy and Laity Concerned to Queer Nation routinely demonstrated outside the federal courthouse, at Police Headquarters, and at City Hall, challenging then Mayor Daley and the Superintendent of the CPD to investigate and stop the torture. Attorneys and activists repeatedly orchestrated presentations and demonstrations at Chicago Police Board and City Council demanding Burge’s termination from the CPD. Subsequently, the Office of Professional Standards (OPS) re-opened investigations into several torture cases, and in 1990 Amnesty International issued a report requesting a criminal investigation. Ultimately, the OPS sustained Wilson’s allegations of torture, resulting in Burge’s termination from the CPD in 1993, a huge victory in the campaign for justice.

Throughout the following decade, the PLO continued to successfully represent torture survivors in federal civil rights cases, further developing evidence that corroborated the systemic torture and racist practices of Burge and his men. Much of the litigation and organizing efforts, however, shifted to those who remained incarcerated on the basis of confessions elicited through torture. Torture survivors on Illinois’ death row began to organize on their own behalf, dubbing themselves the Death Row 10 (later the Death Row 11). They were represented by a
coalition of attorneys from Northwestern University’s legal clinics, the Capital Defenders’ Office, the Cook County Public Defenders’ Office, the PLO, and private attorneys. The torture survivors and their lawyers collaborated with community organizations, including the Campaign to the End the Death Penalty (CEDP), the African American Committee to Free Mumia Abu Jamal and Aaron Patterson, the Illinois Coalition to the Abolish the Death Penalty, and the Aaron Patterson Defense Committee to bring attention to their wrongful convictions. The synergistic combination of litigation and organizing educated the media, politicians, and the public about the plight of these torture survivors and resulted in several favorable rulings from the Illinois appellate courts granting new hearings to some of the torture survivors in their post-conviction cases.

Family members of the survivors also took great risks and spoke out on behalf of their imprisoned loved ones. They joined with family members of other death row inmates in a historic meeting with former Illinois Governor George Ryan in 2002, in which they appealed to him to commute all death sentences. The campaign for the Death Row 11 culminated with Ryan pardoning four torture survivors on the basis of their innocence. Moreover, the atrocities committed in the torture cases were one of the factors Ryan considered when he commuted the death sentences of all people on Illinois’s death row in 2003, another monumental victory in the campaign for justice.

Meanwhile, neither Burge nor any of the detectives under his command were prosecuted for their crimes of torture, despite the wealth of evidence against them. This complete lack of accountability led to the formation of the Campaign to Prosecute Police Torture, a coalition of community organizations and attorneys, including the Mac Arthur Justice Center, Citizens Alert, Justice Coalition of Greater Chicago, Operation Rainbow Push, CEDP, and the PLO. In 2002, the Campaign successfully filed a petition securing the appointment of special prosecutors to criminally investigate Burge and other detectives for their crimes of torture and abuse, as well as for the perjury they engaged in when covering up their misconduct.

In the absence of any criminal indictments, a group of attorneys and organizers coalesced again two years later to bring the torture cases to the international arena. In May of 2006, advocates from Chicago and the Law Enforcement Working Group of the US Human Rights Network, with the assistance of the Midwest Coalition for Human Rights, presented the Chicago Police Torture cases to the U.N. Committee Against Torture (U.N. CAT) in Geneva, Switzerland. The Committee subsequently issued a scathing indictment of the U.S. government’s failure to comply with the Convention Against Torture and called on the U.S. government to “promptly, thoroughly and impartially” investigate the Chicago Police Torture cases and “bring the perpetrators to justice.”

In July 2006, the Special Prosecutors concluded their investigation without seeking any indictments, instead issuing a report. The failure to indict Burge or any of the other officers for their repeated acts of torture that the Special Prosecutors concluded had taken place caused widespread community outrage. Armed with the findings in the Special Prosecutors’ report and those of the U.N. CAT, attorneys and activists issued a “shadow” report to the Special Prosecutor’s Report endorsed by more than 210 human rights, criminal justice, civil rights, and racial justice organizations and individuals nationwide, demanding Burge’s prosecution and relief for the survivors.

The report led to dramatic hearings before the Cook County Board and Chicago City Council. Subsequently, the Cook County Board passed a resolution calling on the U.S. Attorney to criminally investigate Burge. City Council Aldermen advocated publicly for his prosecution as well. The CEDP continued to stage spirited demonstrations demanding new trials for the torture survivors behind bars. Black People Against Police Torture, a newly formed organization, initiated a campaign to oppose Chicago’s bid for the 2016 Olympic Games, asserting the international human rights violations implicated by the torture cases disqualified the City from consideration as a host city.
In October 2008, the U.S. Attorney’s Office in Chicago, in conjunction with the Department of Justice, indicted Burge for crimes of perjury and obstruction of justice, based on the fact that he lied under oath in a civil rights case when he denied he used, or was aware of the use of, torture techniques.

Burge was tried in June 2010. Four of the torture survivors—Anthony Holmes, Melvin Jones, Gregory Banks, and Shadeed Mu’min—courageously testified at his trial, reciting the torment and anguish they suffered when Burge and his men tortured and taunted them at Area 2 police headquarters. Burge was ultimately found guilty by a jury of all three counts.

On January 20 and 21, a two-day sentencing hearing was held in a courtroom packed with torture survivors, family members, activists, attorneys, and community members. Again, Anthony Holmes testified, recounting his torture and describing its long lasting effects he struggles with to this very day:

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.

At the conclusion of the hearing, the Honorable Judge Joan Lefkow sentenced Burge to serve four and half years in prison, twice the amount recommended under the federal sentencing guidelines. In doing so, Judge Lekow noted the letters and petition she received, signed by over 1,000 people:

those statements describe brutality at your hands or those under your supervision or command, some even more appalling than the torture the witnesses here have testified about.

One remarkable thing about the statements was how many came from outside the Chicago area. These people say they had to leave Chicago because they were terrified that the police would do this to them again.

One statement from a prisoner, however, will probably haunt me the longest. This man reports that he has been in prison for 30 years. He stated he was 17 when he was arrested while walking down the street and brutally tortured until he confessed to a murder. He said, I had the body of a man; but I was a child inside. He remains in prison for a crime he insists he did not commit, being abandoned by family and friends who trusted that the police would not have charged him had he not done the crime...

While Burge’s conviction was a tremendous step forward along the path of accountability and justice, as were the subsequent reparations agreement and apology from the City of Chicago, there is still more work to be done. African American men remain in prison as a result of convictions based in whole or in part upon their coerced confessions. Further, Burge did not act alone, and the other detectives involved in torturing people to secure coerced confessions must also be held accountable. The struggle for justice must continue.