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## **“Reparations NOW!”: Municipal Reparations, International Tribunals, and the Chicago Torture Justice Memorials Campaign**

Nickolas Kaplan

### INTRODUCTION

Chicago is an epicenter of systemic anti-black state violence. The murder of Fred Hampton,<sup>1</sup> the torture ring of Chicago Police Department Commander Jon Burge<sup>2</sup>, and the “domestic equivalent of CIA black site” at Homan Square<sup>3</sup> are just the tip of the iceberg. Almost 500 people have been killed by U.S. law enforcement in 2015 as of June 1,<sup>4</sup> with the killing of Freddie Gray<sup>5</sup>, and the acquittals of the police who killed Tony Robinson,<sup>6</sup> Justus Howell,<sup>7</sup> and Rekia Boyd<sup>8</sup> impelling mass protests.<sup>9,10,11,12</sup>

<sup>1</sup> WATCH: “*The Assassination of Fred Hampton: How the FBI and Chicago Police Murdered a Black Panther*”, DEMOCRACY NOW!, Dec. 4, 2014, [http://www.democracynow.org/blog/2014/12/4/watch\\_the\\_assassination\\_of\\_fred\\_hampton](http://www.democracynow.org/blog/2014/12/4/watch_the_assassination_of_fred_hampton).

<sup>2</sup> Noah Berlatsky, *When Chicago Tortured*, THE ATLANTIC, Dec. 17, 2014, <http://www.theatlantic.com/national/archive/2014/12/chicago-police-torture-jon-burge/383839>.

<sup>3</sup> Spencer Ackerman, *The disappeared: Chicago police detain Americans at abuse-laden ‘black site’*, THE GUARDIAN, Feb. 24, 2015, <http://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2015/feb/24/chicago-police-detain-americans-black-site>.

<sup>4</sup> *The Counted*, THE GUARDIAN, Jun. 1, 2015, <http://www.theguardian.com/us-news/ng-interactive/2015/jun/01/the-counted-police-killings-us-database> (last visited Jun. 7, 2015).

<sup>5</sup> David A. Graham, *The Mysterious Death of Freddie Gray*, THE ATLANTIC, Apr. 22, 2015, <http://www.theatlantic.com/politics/archive/2015/04/the-mysterious-death-of-freddie-gray/391119/>

<sup>6</sup> Oliver Laughland and Zoe Sullivan, *Tony Terrell Robinson was shot dead by Madison police. This is how it happened*, THE GUARDIAN, Mar. 13, 2015, <http://www.theguardian.com/world/2015/mar/13/tony-terrell-robinson-madison-wisconsin-police-shooting-how-it-happened>

<sup>7</sup> Sujay Kumar, *‘I shot him. I shot his ass.’ Why was Justus Howell shot twice in the back by police?*, FUSION, Apr. 15, 2015, <http://fusion.net/story/120441/why-was-this-17-year-old-shot-twice-in-the-back-by-police/>

<sup>8</sup> Steve Schmadeke and Jeremy Gornier, *Anger follows acquittal in rare trial of Chicago cop*, CHICAGO TRIBUNE, Apr. 21, 2015, <http://www.chicagotribune.com/news/local/breaking/ct-chicago-police-detective-manslaughter-trial-0421-met-20150420-story.html#page=1>

<sup>9</sup> Rachel Cohen, Todd St. Hill, Georgette Kirkendall and Sara Rougeau, *Rise up for Rekia!*, SOCIALISTWORKER.ORG, Apr. 23, 2015, <http://socialistworker.org/2015/04/23/rise-up-for-reakia/>

<sup>10</sup> Bryna Godar, *Madison students walk out, shut down East Washington to protest Tony Robinson shooting*, THE CAPITAL TIMES, Apr. 14, 2015, [http://host.madison.com/news/local/writers/bryna-godar/madison-students-walk-out-shut-down-east-washington-to-protest/article\\_3f74246e-b2f9-579b-9c8b-639f0f0ad103.html](http://host.madison.com/news/local/writers/bryna-godar/madison-students-walk-out-shut-down-east-washington-to-protest/article_3f74246e-b2f9-579b-9c8b-639f0f0ad103.html)

On April 15, 2015, however, a historic victory at the helm of Black Lives Matter<sup>13</sup> and earlier movements came with the approval of a reparations ordinance and fund for the survivors, families, and communities devastated by Burge's torture campaign<sup>14</sup>. Ta-Nehisi Coates' *Atlantic* essay "The Case for Reparations"<sup>15</sup> revived a national discourse on reparations as a systemic solution to restoring wealth and self-determination divested from black Americans via institutional racism.<sup>16,17</sup> Courts' failure to deliver meaningful justice to police torture victims<sup>18</sup> compels intersectional frameworks between social activists and progressive lawyers where legal frameworks are articulated by and directly redress communities of color.<sup>19</sup> The Chicago Torture Justice Memorials ("CTJM") campaign<sup>20</sup> has epitomized this endeavor.

<sup>11</sup> Scott Neuman, *After Baltimore March, Clashes Between Protesters, Police*, NPR, Apr. 25, 2015 <http://www.npr.org/blogs/thetwo-way/2015/04/25/402214984/protesters-pledge-to-shut-down-baltimore-over-police-custody-death>

<sup>12</sup> Ruth Fuller, *Dozens protest prosecutor's police shooting decision in Waukegan*, CHICAGO SUN-TIMES, May 15, 2015, <http://chicago.suntimes.com/news/7/71/610373/dozens-protest-prosecutors-police-shooting-decision-waukegan>

<sup>13</sup> Khury Petersen-Smith, *Black Lives Matter: A new movement takes shape*, INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW, Spring 2015, <http://isreview.org/issue/96/black-lives-matter>

<sup>14</sup> Zach Stafford, *Chicago Is About to Offer the Nation's First Reparations Program for Victims of Police Violence*, THE NATION, Apr. 22, 2015, <http://www.thenation.com/article/205113/chicago-about-offer-nations-first-reparations-program-victims-police-violence>: "The struggle for the reparations ordinance became the heart of the Black Lives Matter movement locally in Chicago."

<sup>15</sup> Ta-Nehisi Coates, *The Case for Reparations*, THE ATLANTIC, June 2014, <http://www.theatlantic.com/features/archive/2014/05/the-case-for-reparations/361631>.

<sup>16</sup> Jesse McCarthy, *Who Will Pay Reparations on my Soul?*, THE POINT MAGAZINE, Aug. 16, 2014, <http://thepointmag.com/2014/politics/reparations-on-my-soul>.

<sup>17</sup> Elliot Sperber, *Beyond Reparations – Ferguson and Actual Justice*, HEATHWOOD PRESS, Sept 9, 2014, <http://www.heathwoodpress.com/beyond-reparations-ferguson-actual-justice>.

<sup>18</sup> Jamelle Bouie, *Why Darren Wilson was never going to be indicted for killing Michael Brown*, SLATE, Nov. 25, 2014, [http://www.slate.com/articles/news\\_and\\_politics/politics/2014/11/darren\\_wilson\\_was\\_never\\_going\\_to\\_be\\_indicted\\_for\\_killing\\_michael\\_brown\\_our\\_single.html](http://www.slate.com/articles/news_and_politics/politics/2014/11/darren_wilson_was_never_going_to_be_indicted_for_killing_michael_brown_our_single.html).

<sup>19</sup> Gene Demby, *The Birth of a New Civil Rights Movement*, POLITICO MAGAZINE, Dec.31, 2014, <http://www.politico.com/magazine/story/2014/12/ferguson-new-civil-rights-movement-113906.html#ixzz3V3APcdH7>.

<sup>20</sup> CHICAGO TORTURE JUSTICE MEMORIALS, <http://chicagotorture.org/> (last visited Mar. 21, 2015).

## THE ORDINANCE

CTJM is a coalition of activists, attorneys, and community organizers<sup>21</sup> demanding justice for the torture victims of ex-CPD Commander Jon Burge via direct action, exhibitions, and reparations.<sup>22</sup> From 1972 to 1991, Burge and white police detectives under his command tortured black and Latino prisoners via anal rape by cattle prod, suffocation by plastic bag, genital electric shock, and racial epithets to elicit false confessions.<sup>23,24</sup> CTJM formed in 2010, when Burge was sentenced to four and a half years in federal prison for perjury<sup>25</sup> but not for the actual torture.<sup>26</sup>

The ordinance was introduced before City Council on October 16, 2013.<sup>27</sup> To that point, the City of Chicago has spent \$100 million in legal fees defending Burge and CPD, \$67 million in settlements<sup>28</sup> to 18 of 120 documented victims<sup>29</sup>, and \$4,000 a month on Burge's pension.<sup>30</sup> The reparations ordinance's \$5.5 million in damages<sup>31</sup> is thus intended to bypass the statute of

<sup>21</sup> Diamond Sharp, *Chicago Activists Push for Reparations for Victims of Police Torture*, *THEROOT*, Dec.29, 2014, [http://www.theroot.com/articles/culture/2014/12/chicago\\_activists\\_push\\_for\\_reparations\\_for\\_victims\\_of\\_police\\_abuse.html](http://www.theroot.com/articles/culture/2014/12/chicago_activists_push_for_reparations_for_victims_of_police_abuse.html).

<sup>22</sup> Alex Keefe, *Aldermen want reparations for Burge torture victims*, *WBEZ*, Oct. 16, 2013 <http://www.wbez.org/aldermen-want-reparations-burge-torture-victims-108946>.

<sup>23</sup> John Conroy, *House of Screams*, *THE READER*, Jan. 25, 1990, <http://www.chicagoreader.com/chicago/house-of-screams/Content?oid=875107>.

<sup>24</sup> Joey Mogul, *The Chicago Police Torture Cases: 1972 – 2011*, -Document in *History*, *CHICAGO TORTURE JUSTICE MEMORIALS*, [http://chicagotorture.org/files/2012/03/08/Mogul\\_CPTC\\_1971\\_2011.pdf](http://chicagotorture.org/files/2012/03/08/Mogul_CPTC_1971_2011.pdf)

<sup>25</sup> Annie Sweeney, *Burge given 4 1/2 years in prison*, *CHICAGO TRIBUNE*, Jan. 21, 2011, [http://articles.chicagotribune.com/2011-01-21/news/ct-met-burge-sentencing-0122-20110121\\_1\\_midnight-crew-chicago-police-cmdr-jon-burge](http://articles.chicagotribune.com/2011-01-21/news/ct-met-burge-sentencing-0122-20110121_1_midnight-crew-chicago-police-cmdr-jon-burge)

<sup>26</sup> Jeremy Gorner, *Former Chicago police Cmdr. Jon Burge released from home confinement*, *CHICAGO TRIBUNE*, Feb.13, 2015, <http://www.chicagotribune.com/news/local/breaking/chi-jon-burge-police-torture-released-20150213-story.html%20>.

<sup>27</sup> Keefe, *supra* note 22.

<sup>28</sup> Terrell Jermaine Starr, *For Decades, Chicago Police Used City Jails as Torture Chambers*, *ALTERNET*, Feb. 13, 2015, <http://www.alternet.org/civil-liberties/decades-chicago-police-used-city-jails-torture-chambers>.

<sup>29</sup> Flint Taylor, *Rahm Emanuel Apologizes For Police Torture. Now What?*, *THE NATION*, Sept. 8, 2013, <http://thenation.com/article/176247/rahm-emanuel-apologizes-police-torture-now-what>.

<sup>30</sup> Joe Fletcher, *Chicago Cop Who Tortured Over 100 Men Will Receive \$4,000 Monthly Pension*, *ADDICTING INFO*, Nov. 2, 2014, <http://www.addictinginfo.org/2014/11/02/chicago-cop-tortured-over-100-men>.

<sup>31</sup> Hal Dardick, John Byrne and Steve Mills, *Mayor backs \$5.5 million reparations deal for Burge police torture victims*, *CHICAGO TRIBUNE*, Apr. 14, 2014, <http://www.chicagotribune.com/news/local/breaking/ct-burge-reparations-emanuel-met-20150414-story.html#page=1>

limitations that has run on some survivors<sup>32</sup> while allowing others to augment the meager settlements reached earlier.<sup>33</sup> By invoking “reparations,” however, the ordinance seeks far more than monetary recompense. Rather, per attorney-drafter Joey Mogul, the ordinance addresses a “whole panoply of redress.”<sup>34</sup> Reparations push back against a criminal justice system that myopically construes damages in strictly monetary terms.<sup>35</sup>

The reparations ordinance<sup>36</sup> moves beyond individual compensation and evidentiary procedures to provide vital support systems to survivors and communities ravaged by Burge.<sup>37, 38, 39</sup> The ordinance ensures that psychological trauma and the denied opportunity of torture and imprisonment are remediated.<sup>40</sup> Remediation includes a South Side counseling center, free City

<sup>32</sup> Starr, *supra* note 28.

<sup>33</sup> G. Flint Taylor, *Federal Appeals Court Rejects Torture Survivor’s Case*, IN THESE TIMES, June 26, 2014, [http://inthesetimes.com/article/16881/federal\\_appeals\\_court\\_rejects\\_torture\\_survivors\\_case](http://inthesetimes.com/article/16881/federal_appeals_court_rejects_torture_survivors_case): “In response [in 1988], the city of Chicago offered [Darrell Cannon] a nuisance value settlement amounting to \$3,000. . . . Cannon received \$1,247 of his settlement; his lawyer took the rest.”

<sup>34</sup> Starr, *supra* note 28.

<sup>35</sup> *Id.*

<sup>36</sup> *Reparations Ordinance*, CHICAGO TORTURE JUSTICE MEMORIALS, <http://chicagotorture.org/articles/ordinance-seeks-reparations-chicago-police-torture-survivors>: “WHEREAS, the trauma and damage caused by these heinous acts continue to deleteriously effect the torture survivors, their family members, African American communities and the City of Chicago. . .”

<sup>37</sup> Starr, *supra* note 28: “[Darrell Cannon] has been diagnosed with PTSD as a result of the physical abuse he endured, and he still carries memories of what the cops did to him that day. ‘I think about it continuously, even though it’s been over 20 years,’ Cannon told AlterNet. ‘I still remember it as if it happened yesterday.’”

<sup>38</sup> Mark Clements, *The kind of apology we really need*, SOCIALIST WORKER, Jan. 21, 2015, <http://socialistworker.org/2015/01/21/the-kind-of-apology-we-need>: “I was just sixteen years old when I was arrested. I served 28 years in prison under some of Illinois prisons’ darkest conditions, where inmates were killed and staff were killed. Where is my psychological treatment? Where is my health care? I am sick to this day[.]’ . . . This treatment leaves lifelong psychological scars. Plus, 28 years of my life was taken, and I cannot get it back.”

<sup>39</sup> F. Amanda Tugade, *Chicago Police Tortured Dozens of Black Men. Now, Victims Are Demanding Reparations*, Dec. 17, 2014, [http://inthesetimes.com/article/17468/chicago\\_torture\\_reparations\\_bill](http://inthesetimes.com/article/17468/chicago_torture_reparations_bill): “Family members, too, have been traumatized. . .and needed to be accounted for. ‘I need counseling,’ said Jeanette Plummer, mother of Chicago police torture victim Johnny Plummer. ‘I can’t sleep.’ Plummer said her son, now 38, was just 15 years old when he was beaten into giving a confession for a murder he now says he did not commit and is still in prison today. ‘I’m tired. My health is failing me. . . I want my son to come home. Let me get my son before I leave this earth.’”

<sup>40</sup> *Id.*

College enrollment, and, via a Chicago Public Schools unit on the torture,<sup>41</sup> concurrent political education.<sup>42</sup>

Standish Willis represented Burge torture victims in the 1980s. Willis came up with reparations as a remedy to the Burge torture in 2005 and organized black communities through a grassroots coalition called Black People Against Police Torture.<sup>43</sup> The Kovler Center, which serves international torture victims on the North Side, inspired Willis to propose a South Side center where survivors and their families could work with volunteer professional providers.<sup>44</sup> Reparations compel progressive lawyers to “mobiliz[e], meet with[,] and respect the[ ] views” of community members, advocating beyond the courts<sup>45</sup>. “Lawyers don’t deal with the legislative body very much,” he said. “We just tend to have lawsuits and press conferences around the lawsuits. . . We need to be more proactive in the legislative body. . .to help marginalized communities and victims of mass incarceration.”<sup>46</sup>

#### THE LOCAL IS INTERNATIONAL

The reparations ordinance extends beyond the City of Chicago to the international reparations for the Holocaust<sup>47</sup> and other human rights violations

<sup>41</sup> Kelly Hayes, *Reparations in Chicago: The Homestretch*, TRUTHOUT, Apr. 16, 2015, <http://www.truth-out.org/opinion/item/30249-reparations-in-chicago-the-homestretch>.

<sup>42</sup> Berlatsky, *supra* note 2: “According to [Alderman Proco Joe] Moreno, . . . ‘We need to be educated about and have education on this. . . Look at what we’re going through right now in Ferguson and New York with police brutality against African-Americans. This was the torture capital of the United States under Jo[ ]n Burge. And it took so long to get it out into the open, and we need to make sure that people know about this so that it’s not repeated, and so we know the injustices that happened here in Chicago.’”

<sup>43</sup> Telephone Interview with Standish Willis, Staff Attorney at The Law Office of Standish E. Willis, Ltd. (Mar. 24, 2015)

<sup>44</sup> *Id.*

<sup>45</sup> *Id.*: “Things come up that I see requires community involvement in a very organized way, but I don’t consider myself an organizer. . . , I do it because it’s my community.. . . You can’t fight for victims in the community but ignore the community. . . [and as progressive lawyers], we need to think more broadly about how we elevate communities [in] how we solve issues.”

<sup>46</sup> *Id.*

<sup>47</sup> Coates, *supra* note 15, p.39-41: “West Germany ultimately agreed to pay Israel 3.45 billion deutsche marks, or more than \$7 billion in today’s dollars. Individual reparations claims followed—for psychological trauma, for offense to Jewish honor, for halting law careers, for life insurance, for time spent in concentration camps. Seventeen percent of funds went toward purchasing ships. ‘By the end of 1961, these reparations vessels constituted two-thirds of the Israeli merchant fleet,’ writes the Israeli historian Tom Segev in his book *The Seventh Million*.”

and genocides.<sup>48</sup>In November 2014, CTJM sent a shadow report to the United Nations Committee Against Torture in Geneva, Switzerland,<sup>49</sup> CTJM's report was submitted along with other Chicago grassroots organizations, including We Charge Genocide<sup>50</sup>,<sup>51</sup> for the Committee's quadrennial review of the U.S., a Convention signee.<sup>52</sup>

Reparations internationalized U.S. police torture cases mired in legal purgatory. "At that juncture, we were at a stalemate," Willis recalls.<sup>53</sup>"We had done everything that we could do, fil[ed] all the hearings [and] post-conviction motions, waiting for the special prosecutor."<sup>54</sup>Willis also seeks to push against international limitations on torture that qualify for reparations. "The United Nations has a special protocol on reparations that has a section on torture, special repertoire," Willis pointed out, but has not fully addressed "torture with segregation in prison," or solitary confinement.<sup>55</sup>

The Committee's December report called out Burge's conduct as "acts of torture" and expressly recommended that the City "provide redress to Burge torture survivors by supporting the passage of the ordinance" so as to compen-

<sup>48</sup> G. Flint Taylor & Joey Mogul, 'Sorry' Not Good Enough for Chicago Torture Survivors, IN THESE TIMES, Jan. 6, 2015, [http://inthesetimes.com/article/16064/sorry\\_not\\_good\\_enough\\_for\\_torture\\_survivors\\_say\\_activists](http://inthesetimes.com/article/16064/sorry_not_good_enough_for_torture_survivors_say_activists).

<sup>49</sup> Kevin Gosztola, *UN Anti-Torture Watchdog Dismayed at US Failure to Provide Redress for Chicago Police Torture Survivors*, THE DISSENTER, Dec. 1, 2014, <http://dissenter.firedoglake.com/2014/12/01/un-torture-watchdog-dismayed-at-us-governments-failure-to-provide-redress-for-chicago-police-torture-survivors>.

<sup>50</sup> We Charge Genocide, *We Charge Genocide: Police Violence Against Chicago's Youth of Color*, Nov. 2014, at [http://www.ushrnetwork.org/sites/ushrnetwork.org/files/police\\_violence\\_against\\_chicagos\\_youth\\_of\\_color.pdf](http://www.ushrnetwork.org/sites/ushrnetwork.org/files/police_violence_against_chicagos_youth_of_color.pdf)

<sup>51</sup> Kevin Gosztola, *UN Committee Against Torture Calls Out Chicago Police for Brutality, 'Excessive Use of Force'*, COMMON DREAMS, Nov. 29, 2014 <http://www.commondreams.org/views/2014/11/29/un-committee-against-torture-calls-out-chicago-police-brutality-excessive-use-force>.

<sup>52</sup> United Nations Convention against Torture and Other Cruel, Inhuman or Degrading Treatment or Punishment art. 1-1, Dec. 10, 1984, 1465 U.N.T.S. 85, at <http://www.ohchr.org/Documents/ProfessionalInterest/cat.pdf>: "Any act by which severe pain or suffering, whether physical or mental, is intentionally inflicted on a person for such purposes as obtaining from him or a third person, information or a confession, punishing him for an act he or a third person has committed or is suspected of having committed, or intimidating or coercing him or a third person, or for any reason based on discrimination of any kind, when such pain or suffering is inflicted by or at the instigation of or with the consent or acquiescence of a public official or other person acting in an official capacity."

<sup>53</sup> Willis, *supra* note 43.

<sup>54</sup> *Id.*

<sup>55</sup> *Id.*

sate “the extensive injuries suffered.”<sup>56</sup> The Committee earlier addressed the U.S.’s response to the Burge case in 2006, lambasting its “limited investigation and lack of prosecution.”<sup>57</sup> Advocates celebrated the report not just for its “profound moral weight” for Chicago’s “international city” aspirations,<sup>58</sup> but also for ensuring that anti-police brutality measures stand in solidarity with victims’ redress.<sup>59</sup>

Burge’s torture and the present ordinance have also had longstanding political ramifications. “Chicago’s biggest criminal conspiracy” implicated Mayors Byrne, Daley, and Washington, who “looked the other way and allowed racism and torture to continue. . .to protect their own jobs” from the Chicago political machine.<sup>60</sup> Yet CTJM also parleyed the 2015 mayoral runoff into holding a Finance Committee hearing on the ordinance,<sup>61</sup> supported by 29 aldermen and mayoral candidate Chuy Garcia.<sup>62</sup> While Garcia did not win the runoff and drew ire for his community policing plan<sup>63, 64</sup>, the runoff<sup>65</sup> and

<sup>56</sup> UN Committee Against Torture, *Concluding observations on the third to fifth periodic reports of United States of America*, Advanced Unedited Edition, Nov. 28, 2014, para. 26, UN Doc. CAT/C/USA/CO/3-5, at [http://tbinternet.ohchr.org/Treaties/CAT/Shared%20Documents/USA/INT\\_CAT\\_COC\\_USA\\_18893\\_E.pdf](http://tbinternet.ohchr.org/Treaties/CAT/Shared%20Documents/USA/INT_CAT_COC_USA_18893_E.pdf)

<sup>57</sup> Ellyn Fortino, *Demands For Reparations Increase For Those Tortured Under CPD’s Jon Burge*, PROGRESS ILLINOIS, Dec. 15, 2014, <http://www.progressillinois.com/posts/content/2014/12/12/calls-grow-louder-reparations-chicago-police-torture-survivors>.

<sup>58</sup> *Id.*: Per Joey Mogul, “I think it serves to really mark the city of Chicago as being out of step and in violation of international law, and if we as a city want to be an international city, I think it’s incumbent upon us to respect international human rights. . .We are hopeful that the city will in fact heed these recommendations and take them to heart and pass the reparations ordinance in order to ensure it is in compliance with international human rights.”

<sup>59</sup> *Id.*

<sup>60</sup> Michael Volpe, *A Culture of Torture: Mark Clements, Jon Burge, and the Chicago Police Department*, GAPERS BLOCK, July 1, 2010, <http://gapersblock.com/mechanics/2010/07/01/a-culture-of-torture>.

<sup>61</sup> *Chicago Hearing Scheduled For Police Torture Reparations Ordinance*, PROGRESS ILLINOIS, Mar. 16, 2015 <http://progressillinois.com/news/content/2015/03/16/chicago-hearing-scheduled-police-torture-reparations-ordinance>.

<sup>62</sup> *Cook County Commissioner Jesus ‘Chuy’ Garcia issues statement in support of redress for torture victims of disgraced former police commander Jon Burge*, JESUS “CHUY” GARCIA FOR MAYOR OF CHICAGO, Jan. 18, 2015, <http://chicagoforchuy.com/news/cook-county-commissioner-jesus-chuy-garcia-issues-statement-in-support-of-redress-for-torture-victims-of-disgraced-former-police-commander-jon-burge>.

<sup>63</sup> Ted Cox, *Garcia Questions Crime Stats, Calls for 1,000 More Officers*, DNAINFO, Feb. 20, 2015, <http://www.dnainfo.com/chicago/20141229/downtown/chuy-questions-crime-stats-calls-for-1000-more-cops>.

<sup>64</sup> Steve Bogira, *No, Chuy, let’s not hire a thousand more cops*, CHICAGO READER, <http://www.chicagoreader.com/Bleader/archives/2015/02/20/no-chuy-lets-not-hire-a-thousand-more-cops>.

the progressive momentum it generated<sup>66</sup> helped secure Mayor Rahm Emanuel's eleventh-hour support for the ordinance.<sup>67</sup>

### CONCLUSION

Beyond an intransigent criminal justice system,<sup>68</sup> the reparations ordinance blueprints a micro-level legalistic, policy-based, and human-restorative model for reparations on a national scale. While the ordinance amplifies current discourse<sup>69</sup> and past Chicago-based legal-activist campaigns around reparations<sup>70</sup>, it also dovetails into nationwide and global activism against racist police brutality.<sup>71</sup> “Reparations is an international remedy,” said Willis, “[but] I am devoted to helping develop a human rights movement in the United States—a people-centered movement.”<sup>72</sup>

The Chicago reparations campaign was both the culmination of decades-long legal and activist struggle and a manifestation of modern youth-led movements in the aftermath of Ferguson.<sup>73</sup> As a new generation reorients the or-

<sup>65</sup> *Chicago offers \$5.5m reparations package to victims of police torture*, THE GUARDIAN, Apr. 14, 2015, <http://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2015/apr/14/chicago-offers-reparations-victims-police-torture-jon-burge>

<sup>66</sup> Rick Perlstein, *From Moral Victories to Tangible Ones*, IN THESE TIMES, Apr. 9, 2015, <http://inthesetimes.com/article/17821/from-moral-victories-to-tangible-ones>

<sup>67</sup> Hal Dardick, John Byrne & Steve Mills, *Mayor backs \$5.5 million reparations deal for Burge police torture victims*, CHICAGO TRIBUNE, Apr. 14, 2015, <http://www.chicagotribune.com/news/local/breaking/ct-burge-reparations-emanuel-met-20150414-story.html>

<sup>68</sup> Taylor, *supra* note 29.

<sup>69</sup> Noah Berlatsky, *How the Torture Reparations Fit Into Coates' 'Case for Reparations'*, CHICAGO, Apr. 21, 2015, <http://www.chicagomag.com/city-life/April-2015/reparations/>

<sup>70</sup> Mick Dumke, *Power to his people*, CHICAGO READER, Dec. 1, 2003, <http://chicagoreporter.com/power-his-people/#.U-I95PldWSo>

<sup>71</sup> Spencer Ackerman & Zach Stafford, *Victims of Chicago police savagery hope reparations fund is 'beacon' for world*, THE GUARDIAN, May 7, 2015, <http://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2015/may/07/chicago-police-brutality-reparations>

<sup>72</sup> Willis, *supra* note 43.

<sup>73</sup> Kirsten West Savali, *Chicago's Reparations for Police Torture Victims Offer a Glimpse of the Power of #BlackLivesMatter*, THE ROOT, May 8, 2015, [http://www.theroot.com/articles/culture/2015/05/chicago\\_s\\_reparations\\_to\\_black\\_victims\\_of\\_police\\_torture\\_offer\\_a\\_glimpse.html](http://www.theroot.com/articles/culture/2015/05/chicago_s_reparations_to_black_victims_of_police_torture_offer_a_glimpse.html): Per Project NIA director Mariame Kaba, “A number of factors led to the successful outcome, including a hotly contested mayoral election, a strategic focus on both inside and outside organizing, and a climate of protest sparked this August by the killing of Mike Brown in Ferguson[ Mo.]. The national #BlackLivesMatter protests lent urgency to a struggle that has been decades in the making. . .galvaniz[ing] a new generation of activists to join the #RahmRepNow #Reparations Now campaign and to engage in the struggle alongside veteran organizers.”

ganizing and ideologies of prior movements<sup>74,75</sup>, reparations bridge the “involuntary martyrs”<sup>76</sup> of the past to the intergenerational leaders of the future.

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<sup>74</sup> Matt Pearce, *Modern civil rights movement expands on classic methods*, LA TIMES, Mar. 5, 2015, <http://www.latimes.com/nation/la-na-selma-civil-rights-movement-20150306-story.html#page=1>

<sup>75</sup> Jena McGregor, *Civil rights leadership 50 years after Selma*, THE WASHINGTON POST, Mar. 5, 2015, <http://www.washingtonpost.com/blogs/on-leadership/wp/2015/03/05/civil-rights-leadership-50-years-after-selma-a-conversation-with-colorofchange-orgs-rashad-robinson>.

<sup>76</sup> Colin Daileida, *Ferguson protesters in Selma: The Civil Rights Movement isn't just for history books*, MASHABLE, Mar. 8, 2015, <http://mashable.com/2015/03/08/ferguson-selma>.