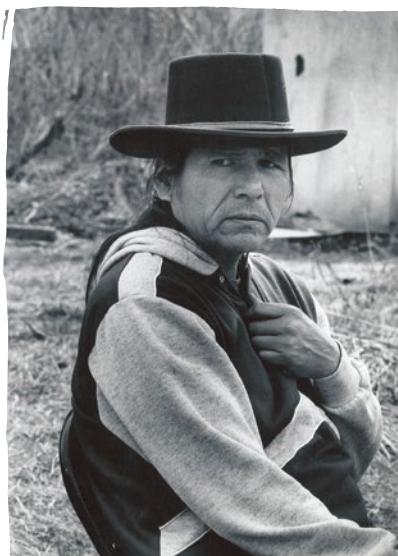




# ANNUAL REPORT

2021



CENTER FOR  
CONSTITUTIONAL  
RIGHTS

55  
YEARS

# VISION

The Center for Constitutional Rights fights for a world without oppression—where people use their power to achieve justice and guarantee the rights of all.

# MISSION

The Center for Constitutional Rights stands with social justice movements and communities under threat—fusing litigation, advocacy, and narrative shifting to dismantle systems of oppression regardless of the risk.

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**TODAY, THE CENTER FOR CONSTITUTIONAL RIGHTS ENJOYS THE STRONGEST FINANCIAL, POLITICAL, AND LEADERSHIP POSITION IT HAS EVER HAD THANKS TO EXCEPTIONAL STAFF LEADERSHIP, BOARD VISION, AND COMMUNITY PARTNERSHIPS.**



## **+ MESSAGE FROM THE OUTGOING BOARD CHAIR +**

Fifty-five years ago the call went out from activists in the U.S. South: we need your help securing the right for Black people to vote, especially in Mississippi. Organizers working to get people of color to the polls were beaten, firebombed, shot at, run out of town, and killed. When Fannie Lou Hamer led a group of eligible voters to the polls in Indianola, Mississippi, they were turned away because of the state's racist literacy test, and on their way home their bus was pulled over. The police fined them \$100 for the bus being "too yellow."

Their call for help was answered by a group of progressive, smart, bold lawyers: Arthur Kinoy, Morty Stavis, Bill Kunstler, and Ben Smith. The Center for Constitutional Rights was born in that struggle and the partnership with Hamer, Ella Baker, and the other leaders of the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party.

Kinoy, Stavis, Kunstler, and Smith passed the torch to the next generation of courageous lawyers who continued the Center for Constitutional Rights' unwavering commitment to show

up for social justice advocates under fire: Michael Ratner, Rhonda Copelon, Philip Weiss, Nancy Stearns, and Joan Gibbs to name only a few. Their legacies are carried on today—and deepened—by the fierce staff who are standing shoulder to shoulder with environmental activists in Louisiana's Cancer Alley, challenging cruel and unusual treatment of trans people incarcerated in Georgia prisons, ending the New York Police Department's unconstitutional and discriminatory stop-and-frisk practices, defending Palestinian-rights advocates who have been fired from their jobs and sued in frivolous litigation by right wing Zionists, and holding private military contractors liable for torture of detainees at Abu Ghraib prison.

The torch is also now being passed on at the Center for Constitutional Rights' Board of Trustees. This June Lisa Crooms Robinson and Leila Hessini succeeded me as co-chairs of the board. Lisa is a law professor at Howard University and an internationally recognized scholar of racial and gender justice. Leila is Vice President of Programs

at the Global Fund for Women and brings to the organization over 20 years of organizing and grantmaking experience promoting an intersectional lens to advancing human rights, gender equality, and economic and reproductive justice in the United States and globally. I'm delighted that Lisa and Leila, together with the other impressive activists/advocates on the board, will lead the Center for Constitutional Rights into the next stage of its work—including expanding our presence in the U.S. South with a new office in Mississippi, the place where we were born 55 years ago.

We are especially grateful to the Thelma Newman Society Members, Michael Ratner Campaign Donors, and Justice Sustainers. The Center for Constitutional Rights' family is stronger than ever and ready for the fights that lay ahead.

A handwritten signature in black ink that reads "Katherine Franke". The signature is fluid and cursive, with a long horizontal line extending from the end of the last name.

**Katherine Franke  
Chair, Board of Trustees  
2015-2021**

WE NEED TO REMAIN  
RADICAL. WE NEED TO  
REMAIN COMMITTED. WE  
NEED TO REMAIN OUTRAGED.



## + MESSAGE FROM THE EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR +

In April, I was in my office when I got a call that one of our clients imprisoned at Guantánamo Bay had been cleared for release after being held there without charge for almost 20 years. It was an emotional day. Earlier in the year we had received equally good news when a military judge sided with us and ruled that another of our clients, Majid Khan, could be released from the prison as early as February 2022.

I wish I could put into words what the prospect of freedom from this hell means for these two men, but I don't have the writing skills to adequately capture that. What I can tell you is how it was for us: bittersweet, jubilant, enraging, and affirming. The Center for Constitutional Rights has been at the forefront challenging indefinite detention and torture at Guantánamo since the prison opened in 2002. We were the first to send civilian lawyers there to represent detainees.

It was a radical move by a radical organization with the blessing of our radical supporters.

As we celebrate our 55th anniversary, it should not be lost on any of us that some of our biggest victories over the past year came in our legacy cases—the protracted battles that require tremendous dedication. It takes time and some incredible will to make change. It requires resilience and an immovable commitment to justice. Not once during this long fight did you ever question our work or abandon us. *This annual report is dedicated to you.*

It highlights the lives and communities you are changing for the better and represents the best of who we are and what we do. The report includes a New Directions piece summarizing our growing legislative advocacy work, as well as our progress with the long-awaited rebirth of our Southern Regional Office.

Whether you have been with us since the early days or are new to the Center for Constitutional Rights' family, none of this work happens without you. So often during the long hours, days, weeks, months, and years it takes to fight for social transformation, I am overwhelmed

with gratitude for the way you stand with us no matter the odds. Your will forces our society to change.

Your belief in the Center for Constitutional Rights ensures we can continue to partner with grassroots movements to advance liberation and justice, dismantle structural racism and patriarchy, push back against economic exploitation, and challenge government abuse. Together, we have built the Center for Constitutional Rights into a powerhouse in the social justice movement.

We will never give up, because we know you won't give up. Thank you.

In solidarity,

Vince Warren  
Executive Director

# + INTRODUCING OUR NEW BOARD CHAIRS +



**"I AM LOOKING FORWARD TO WORKING WITH LEILA HESSINI TO HELP THE CENTER FOR CONSTITUTIONAL RIGHTS CONTINUE TO MODEL WHAT IT LOOKS LIKE TO BE A BLACK AND PEOPLE OF COLOR-LED ORGANIZATION COMMITTED TO RADICAL LAWYERING IN THE INTEREST OF SECURING BASIC HUMAN RIGHTS FOR ALL REGARDLESS OF IDENTITY, STATUS, OR LOCATION."**

—LISA CROOMS-ROBINSON

## Lisa Crooms-Robinson

is a professor of Law at Howard University School of Law and an internationally recognized scholar of race, gender, and human rights. She has written shadow reports for the UN Committee on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination and on U.S. compliance with the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights.

Lisa got to know the Center for Constitutional Rights in the 1980s, during the anti-apartheid movement and while organizing against police brutality and white supremacist violence in New York. After 9/11, she appreciated how the organization "was brave enough to challenge the national narrative that justified suspending basic legal

protections in the interest of 'national security.'" That, combined with our fight against stop and frisk, support for Palestinian self determination, and organizing around Law for Black Lives, confirmed for Lisa that radical lawyers and movement lawyering were two characteristics of the community in which she wanted to do the work of training the next generation of lawyers committed to serving communities.

Crooms-Robinson is excited to co-chair the board as we relaunch our Southern Regional Office, determining "how best to move forward in concert with individuals and communities who are most affected by the unfinished business of the movements for civil and human rights and Black liberation."



**"GIVEN THE INTERSECTING CRISES IN TODAY'S WORLD, WE NEED MORE THAN EVER THE RADICAL, STRATEGIC, MOVEMENT-FOCUSED VISION OF THE CENTER FOR CONSTITUTIONAL RIGHTS."**

—LEILA HESSINI

## Leila Hessini

is the Vice President of Programs at Global Fund for Women. She has over 20 years of organizing and grantmaking experience promoting an intersectional lens to advancing human rights, gender equality, and economic and reproductive justice.

"I bring to the Center for Constitutional Rights my identities as a reproductive justice activist, an immigrant from North Africa, and someone who has made the U.S. South their home," Hessini said.

Hessini served on the senior leadership team of Ipas, co-founded a feminist consulting firm, and led the Ford Foundation Cairo office's gender work. She serves on Prospera's board and previously served on the boards of SisterSong, Women's Global Network for Reproductive Rights, and others.

**"Center for Constitutional Rights folks are my people because they believe in radical change, in revolutionary love, and in the power of collective action."**

# +

# NEW DIRECTIONS

# +

## Legislative Advocacy— Increasing Our Impact

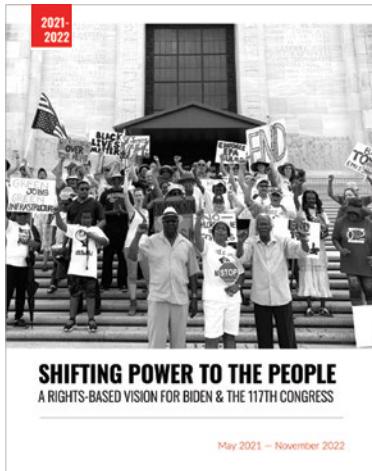
The overlapping crises facing our global community are the result of generations of political decisions. And while we must collectively uproot oppressive ideologies and institutions, we must also demand policies today that will mitigate harm, improve material conditions, and move us closer to the society we deserve.

The Center for Constitutional Rights has long engaged in principled, strategic advocacy with our clients and movement partners. Over the past year, recognizing a unique opportunity to advance our work at the federal level, we expanded the capacity of our advocacy team to heighten the impact of our congressional and legislative advocacy. In defining actionable, rights-based policy demands, we are guided not by what is practical, but by what is necessary, just, life-giving, and liberatory.

### Highlights from this past year include:

> **December 10, 2020** International Human Rights Day, we released a ["Rights-based Vision for the First 100 Days"](#) of the Biden administration and the 117th Congress. Demands include instituting an affirmative and equitable COVID-19 response; providing repair and remedy for historical injustice; investing in safe communities and divesting from criminalization; ensuring a rights-based foreign policy; and committing to international human rights norms and global solidarity.

> **May 2021** We released ["Shifting Power to the People"](#), our policy agenda for the coming two years. Building on our demands for the first 100 days and



rooted in human rights, international law, and our values of social change, the agenda provides a roadmap to the Biden administration and Congress for enacting policies that meet this moment.

**Stay tuned as we continue building a bold and streamlined legislative advocacy program that is accountable to our clients and movement partners and builds toward our shared vision of a just and equitable world. Your partnership makes it possible for us to dream big.**

Thank you!

**Southern  
Justice Rising:  
Our New  
Southern  
Regional  
Office**



The Center for Constitutional Rights was founded by lawyers working on behalf of Black civil rights movement activists in the U.S. South. Throughout the 1980s and '90s, from our office in Greenville, Mississippi, we supported Southern communities in the fight to defend Black people's voting rights, combat racist police and hate groups, and stand up for low-income workers of color. We closed the Greenville

office in 1998, but our commitment to communities in the South never diminished. We have continued to stand with individuals and movements in the South throughout our 55-year history and have deep relationships with frontline, grassroots organizations in the region that are taking on some of the most urgent challenges of our time, from climate disaster to gender injustice and the criminalization of dissent.

**We are returning to our roots and taking a strategic step for the future by establishing a renewed and strengthened presence in the U.S. South, opening a new Southern regional office in Jackson, Mississippi.**

The U.S. South is where the most pernicious forms of racial violence and oppression persist and where laws and policies that operationalize white supremacy are often incubated. The South is also where lived and historical experiences of systemic racism powerfully inform movements of liberation, justice, and accountability.

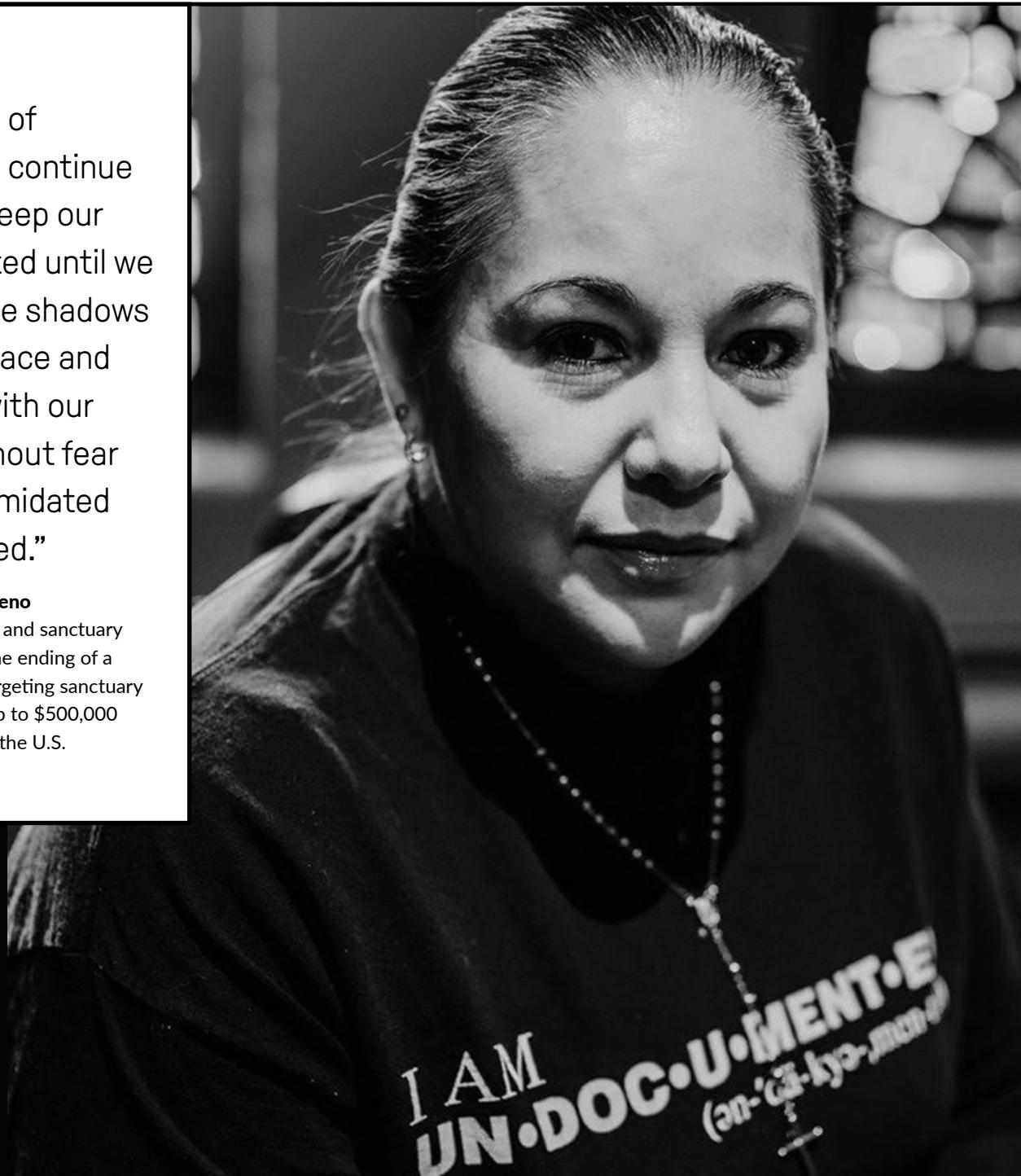
Developed in conversation with leaders of our former Southern regional office and other dedicated movement lawyers, activists, and grassroots organizations, our new Southern Justice Rising Project aims to amplify the impact of social justice work already underway through movement lawyering, visionary advocacy, and strategic communications. We will continue our important work, now from a new strategic regional hub. Your partnership made this possible and for that we are so grateful!

# STRUCTURAL RACISM: DISSANTLING WHITE SUPREMACY

“As mothers of faith, we will continue fighting to keep our families united until we can leave the shadows and have peace and tranquility with our families without fear of being intimidated or persecuted.”

—Edith Espinal Moreno

Immigration activist and sanctuary seeker in Ohio on the ending of a Trump-era policy targeting sanctuary leaders with fines up to \$500,000 for failing to depart the U.S.



The Center for Constitutional Rights was born out of support for civil rights movement activists, and we have spent decades challenging anti-Blackness, settler colonialism, xenophobia, and all forms of racist oppression. We represented Fannie Lou Hamer in a historic suit that led to the overturning of structurally racist elections in Mississippi (*Hamer v. Campbell*, 1966) and kept up the fight for voting rights, challenging discriminatory elections (*Jackson v. Allain*, 1984), and [discriminatory county redistricting](#). We've fought systemic anti-Black employment discrimination (*U.S. and Vulcan Society, Inc. v. City of New York*, 2002), and challenged the constitutionality of replacing democratically elected officials in predominantly Black and Brown Michigan communities with unelected "Emergency Managers" (*Bellant v. Snyder*, 2013). We have a long history of fighting racist policing, from [Daniels v. City of New York](#) in 1999 to our landmark [Floyd](#) case against the NYPD's unconstitutional and racist stop-and-frisk policy. For 55 years, we have used the law and advocacy to dismantle institutionalized white supremacy. Thank you for partnering with us to make our crucial work possible!

## TOOLKIT FOR THE MOVEMENT

### FOIA for the Movement

The Center for Constitutional Rights' Open Records Project uses the Freedom of Information Act (FOIA) and state open records laws to support movement partners in their efforts to challenge—and understand the workings of—oppressive systems of power. Our success with using FOIA information to stop fines of sanctuary movement leaders is just one recent example. We have also recently used FOIA requests to:

➤ Demand information about ICE's "enforcement and removals operation citizen academy." When ICE failed to respond to our request, [we filed a lawsuit](#) to compel release of information about the trainings, which rights advocates fear could fuel vigilante targeting of immigrant communities.

➤ Demand access to information about "Operation Palladium," under which ICE undertook a wave of immigrant raids in 2020. After ICE and DHS refused to provide information, [we filed suit](#) seeking a court order to force them to produce records.

➤ Seek information on U.S. Customs and Border Protection's (CBP) policies and practices relating to emergency services along the U.S.-Mexico border, where many hundreds of people die annually attempting to cross into the United States. After CBP had not delivered a single document in over 20 months, [we filed a lawsuit](#) with our movement partner, No More Deaths.

➤ Learn more about Cameroonian asylum seekers and the rationale for their mass deportations in 2020 back to dangerous conditions during an intense civil war in Cameroon.

## STRUCTURAL RACISM: DISMANTLING WHITE SUPREMACY (CONT'D)

### Big Wins with Movements for Racial Justice

The Center for Constitutional Rights serves as movement lawyers for the visionary movements that are transforming our world. This year we saw important wins in our work alongside the abolition movement and the immigrant sanctuary movement.

### Holding Police Accountable

As a founding member of Communities United for Police Reform (CPR), we were part of the movement that got the Safer New York Act passed last summer to hold New York police accountable for brutality and anti-Black policing. Immediately after the landmark legislation passed, five police unions brought a lawsuit to override the Act's repeal of New York Civil Rights Law [50-a](#), which had allowed police to shield their misconduct from the public and which impacted family members and activists saw as a central obstacle to police accountability.

**OUR MOTION TO INTERVENE IN THE POLICE UNIONS' LAWSUIT UPLIFTED THE VOICES OF VICTIMS OF POLICE VIOLENCE, INCLUDING RAMARLEY GRAHAM'S MOTHER, CONSTANCE MALCOLM, WHO RECOUNTED HER HARROWING EFFORTS TO UNCOVER THE DISCIPLINARY RECORDS OF THE OFFICERS WHO SHOT HER SON—AND THE CITY'S FAILURE TO SUPPORT HER.**

After an initial victory in the district court in February, the Second Circuit Court of Appeals denied the police unions' attempt to overturn the

repeal of 50-a, and in April the unions decided to give up. Our success will pave the way to fight similar efforts from police unions nationwide. Reporters from many outlets, including [The Amsterdam News](#), [The New York Times](#), [New York Magazine](#), [Democrat & Chronicle](#), and [Gothamist](#), covered this win for the community.

### A Victory for the Refugee Sanctuary Movement

A Trump-era policy that authorized ICE to exorbitantly fine immigrant-movement leaders is over. In 2020, along with New York University Law School's Immigrant Rights Clinic and Just Futures Law, we filed a [Freedom of Information Act \(FOIA\) request](#) which produced documents that showed how high-level Trump administration officials, including Stephen Miller, targeted sanctuary movement leaders, most of them women, with fines to punish them for their outspoken activism in support of immigrants. Armed with this information, in January 2021, we filed a federal action on behalf of individual and organizational movement leaders, [Austin Sanctuary Network v. Mayorkas](#), attacking the government's discriminatory and retaliatory issuance of exorbitant civil fines as a violation of the rights to speech, advocacy, and freedom of religion. In April, Department of Homeland Security Secretary Alejandro Mayorkas announced the end of the fines policy. We continue to seek damages and other immigration relief for our clients. Our clients' stories and win were publicized in [TruthOut](#), [Prism](#), [ColorLines](#), [The Columbus Dispatch](#), and [The Patch](#).

### Litigation for Decarceration Amid the COVID-19 Pandemic

[Belton v. Gautreaux](#) sought immediate release of medically vulnerable people and an overhaul of health procedures at a notoriously decrepit Louisiana prison during the COVID-19 pandemic. When the district court dismissed the lawsuit, we shifted to working with grassroots partners to convince the jail to permit us to educate incarcerated people about vaccinations. We also filed cases against ICE officials on behalf of medically vulnerable people detained in Mississippi ([Gonzalez Morales v. Gillis](#)) and Louisiana ([Ache v. Witte](#)). Reporters from [Buzzfeed News](#), [Business Insider](#), and [The Lens New Orleans](#) covered this regional story with a national angle.

### Freeing Those Convicted by Jim Crow Juries

We partnered with the Promise of Justice Initiative to bring justice to the 1,000+ people incarcerated in Louisiana who were convicted by non-unanimous juries, also known as Jim Crow juries. For well over a century, Louisiana was one of only two states permitting criminal convictions by non-unanimous juries, meaning that people could be convicted and serve long sentences over the dissent of members of the jury. The laws were intentionally designed to disenfranchise Black jurors and contributed to disproportionately high rates of incarceration of Black people in the state. In April, following a Supreme Court decision holding non-unanimous juries unconstitutional, we filed post-conviction relief petitions on behalf of [Rufus Henry](#) and [Matthew Allen](#), two Black men who were convicted by non-unanimous juries—where white jurors voted to convict and dissenting jurors were Black.

## Fighting to End Death by Incarceration

Despite growing recognition that extremely long sentences serve no legitimate public purpose and are cruel and dehumanizing, the United States continues to incarcerate thousands of people for life. We partnered with the Abolitionist Law Center and Amistad Law Project to file a first-of-its-kind legal challenge to life without parole, or what our partners rightly call “Death by Incarceration.” In [Scott v. Pennsylvania Board of Probation and Parole](#), we represent a group of people convicted under Pennsylvania’s “felony murder” rule, which carries a mandatory sentence of life without parole even if the individual did not take a life, or intend to, during the crime. The lawsuit highlights how such sentences are grossly disproportionate and unconstitutionally cruel. The sentences also reflect the unconscionable racism of the carceral system:

## 70% of people serving death-by-incarceration sentences in Pennsylvania are Black.

Rooted in principles of redemption and liberation, the legal filing centers voices and experiences of incarcerated individuals and highlights the irrationality and inhumanity of Pennsylvania’s carceral system—a mirror of the system of mass incarceration across the country. The case and our clients received news coverage via in-depth pieces on [NPR](#) and the [Pittsburgh Post Gazette](#).

## Supporting Community Resistance

In March 2021, the Center for Constitutional Rights nominated Buena Vista Plantation Cemetery, Acadia Plantation Cemetery, and affiliated archaeological sites to the Louisiana Trust for Historic Preservation’s List of Most Endangered Places. The effort is in support of tremendous community organizing to stop the development of a toxic plastics plant on the burial grounds of formerly enslaved African people. With our Southern partners, RISE St. James, the Louisiana Bucket Brigade, Inclusive Louisiana, Healthy Gulf, and the Center for Biological Diversity, we celebrated the addition of the burial grounds to the [Endangered List](#) in May 2021.

We also engaged in difficult negotiations to ensure that RISE St. James could hold their first Juneteenth ceremony at the burial grounds site in 2020. In 2021, they livestreamed their second annual Juneteenth commemoration.

### Indigenous Rights:

#### [Ramapough Mountain Indians, Inc. v. Township of Mahwah, Ramapo Hunt & Polo Club](#)

We are proud to represent the Ramapough Lenape Nation in their struggles to retain and freely enjoy their ancestral land. Over the last year, since coming to a favorable settlement with the Township of Mahwah, the Ramapough have finally been able to hold religious and cultural ceremonies on their land without threat of illegal fines. In the meantime, along with our partners at Weil Gotshal, we are representing the Ramapough in long-running mediation with the neighboring Ramapo Hunt & Polo Club Homeowners Association to ensure their rights will be respected by the entire community.



## Black August

Black August is a celebration of the Black rebellions and Freedom Fighters who have come before us. In 2020, amidst ongoing defense of Black Lives, we called on the strength, wisdom, and power of revolutions and revolutionaries, and commemorated the sacrifices made for our collective advancement. Throughout the month, we recognized this history through digital programming, including sharing an [online exhibition](#) of artwork documenting Black freedom struggles and freedom fighters, a [podcast](#), weekly historical narrative posts, an [op-ed](#), and a [playlist](#) celebrating the music of Black liberation.



Portrait of Assata Shakur by Tom Manning: Courtesy of Certain Days as part of our Black August online art exhibition

## Agendas for Black Liberation

We celebrated Black History Month in 2021 with programming around the theme "[Agendas for Black Liberation](#)," honoring the generations of Black freedom fighters who have put forward liberatory political, social, and economic platforms, and Black artists who have charted a future where Black people live abundant, healthy, safe, and joy-filled lives. Our month of programming included an [institutional statement](#) celebrating liberatory visions of Black futures, a [podcast episode on the BREATHE Act](#), political education, a [virtual panel](#), a [Freedom Flicks screening](#), and a [live art celebration](#).

# PATRIARCHY: FIGHTING GENDER-BASED OPPRESSION

“[W]ith all the threats and injustices facing trans people, and especially trans people of color, right now, we have no choice but to fight. I will continue to stand up for myself and for my community until we can all be safe and free.”

—Ashley Diamond

A Black trans woman and prisoners' rights activist being held in a Georgia men's prison who is our client in

[Diamond v. Ward](#)



Five years of fighting patriarchal violence means following the leadership of those demanding liberation from all forms of gender-based oppression. We have always known dismantling patriarchy is a multi-issue struggle, and we work to center those with multiple-marginalized identities to ensure that our interventions expose and address the roots of injustice.

In the 1970s, the Center for Constitutional Rights worked with women's groups on what became a national model for informed consent in the face of systematic involuntary sterilization of Black and Puerto Rican women (*Douglas v. Holloman*, 1975), defended women of color who were being prosecuted before white juries for their actions to protect themselves and their families from violence, and fought for equal treatment of women in the workplace (*Monell v. Department of Social Services*, 1971). Over the decades, we have fought sexual harassment—including in *Burns v. City of Detroit*, which resulted in a 2002 opinion rejecting the concept that sexual harassment is free speech; worked with LGBTQIA+ activists like members of ACT UP to challenge surveillance and suppression of organizing to promote safer sex and protest government inaction in response to HIV/AIDS; and supported abuse survivors in seeking high-level investigations and prosecutions for systematic sexual violence committed against children by Catholic clergy, all the way up to the International Criminal Court at the Hague. With your crucial support, we continue the struggle to dismantle cisgender patriarchy and uproot gender-based violence and oppression, from employment to healthcare, homeless shelters to prisons. We thank you for being right there with us as we fight alongside bold movements for gender self-determination, equity, and justice.

## How We Approach Dismantling Cisgender Patriarchy

This year, we reaffirmed our commitment to a broad-based vision of gender self-determination by explicitly naming our values in a statement released in March during Women's History Month, on Trans Day of Visibility.

### At the Center for Constitutional Rights

- We vocalize our solidarity with people in the sex trades and people punished for their survival from violence
- We partner with Black and Brown cis/trans women and LGBTQIA+ communities to disrupt the discrimination-to-incarceration pipeline
- We historicize the harm of patriarchal violence and commit to ending it
- We protect the rights and ability of trans youth to lead full and healthy lives
- We honor the women, cis and trans, and transmasculine and non-binary people who have fought to build a world where gender-oppressed people can thrive
- We understand that an expansive, cross-cutting gender justice lens acknowledges and supports the leadership of marginalized communities toward liberation for us all

## PATRIARCHY: FIGHTING GENDER-BASED OPPRESSION (CONT'D)

### Ashley Diamond Is Fighting for Trans People to Be Safe and Free—and We Fight By Her Side

Ashley Diamond is fighting for her freedom, safety, and basic human rights. Ms. Diamond, a Black trans woman and prisoners' rights activist, is also fighting for systemic change for all incarcerated people, especially LGBTQIA+ people, who are often targeted for violence. The Center for Constitutional Rights, along with the Southern Poverty Law Center, is [representing Ms. Diamond](#) to hold the Georgia Department of Corrections (GDC) accountable for the brutal abuse and mistreatment she has suffered ([Diamond v. Ward](#)). Like Ms. Diamond, we do this work as part of a broad challenge to gender-based oppression and the devastating impacts of sexual and gender-based violence, anti-trans bias, anti-Black racism, and mass incarceration.

Ms. Diamond made headlines in 2015 when she successfully challenged GDC's policy of denying gender-related healthcare to transgender individuals and failing to protect them from sexual assault under the Eighth Amendment. That lawsuit prompted system-wide policy changes that greatly expanded transgender people's access to healthcare behind bars.

Ms. Diamond is currently incarcerated in a men's prison for a technical parole violation. She has faced repeated sexual assaults and denial of the healthcare her previous lawsuit was supposed to guarantee. On November 23, we filed a complaint on Ms. Diamond's behalf citing violations under the Eighth and Fourteenth Amendments. On April 9, we filed an emergency motion asking a federal judge to order GDC to take immediate steps to protect her from violence, transfer her to a women's facility,



Illustration of Ashley Diamond courtesy of Micah Bazant

provide her with medically necessary treatment, and protect her and witnesses from further retaliation. Twelve days later, the U.S. Department of Justice filed a Statement of Interest affirming that prison officials violate the Constitution and the Eighth Amendment's prohibition on cruel and unusual punishment when they refuse transgender people placements at facilities that correspond to their gender where needed for safety, and when they deny transgender people medically necessary care. Senior Staff Attorney Chinyere Ezie and co-counsel argued the motion in federal court in May. We now await a ruling.

**"THE WAY GEORGIA TREATS ME AND OTHER TRANS PRISONERS IS A SYSTEMIC ABUSE OF POWER, AUTHORITY, AND MORAL DECENCY," MS. DIAMOND WROTE IN AN OP-ED.**

Alongside litigation, we are advocating for Ms. Diamond and for all LGBTQIA+ incarcerated people through solidarity actions and campaigns. We commissioned artwork featuring Ms. Diamond by Micah Bazant and gathered letters of support for Ms.

Diamond. In June, members of the Free Ashley Diamond support committee were featured on our podcast, "The Activist Files." The same month, CNN covered Ms. Diamond's case.

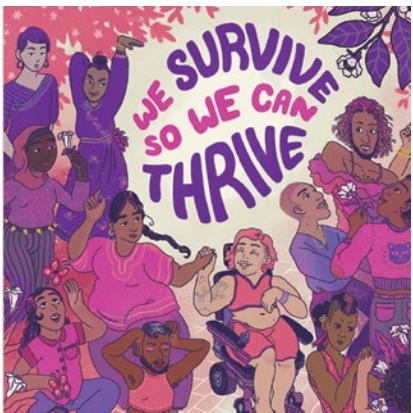
Understanding that prisons are inherent sites of violence where gender-based and sexual violence are exacerbated, the Center for Constitutional Rights is expanding our efforts to challenge abusive detention policies and promote decarceration in the South and nationally. We're committed to the struggle to see Ms. Diamond and everyone she's fighting for safe and free.

Ms. Diamond has received an incredible amount of coverage in the media. In addition to [CNN](#), her story was featured in [USA Today](#), the [New York Times](#), [NPR](#), [Pink News](#), [Refinery 29](#), [Metro Weekly](#), and the [Associated Press](#). Ashley wrote an op-ed in *Them* titled "[I'm a Trans Woman Locked in a Men's Prison. I'm Fighting to Be Free](#)" that received more than 32,000 likes on the magazine's Instagram account.

### Ending Discrimination Against LGBTQIA+ People and People With Disabilities at the NYC Department of Homeless Services

We represent Mariah Lopez, a Black trans woman who is the executive director of STARR and a longstanding LGBTQIA+ rights activist, in her case seeking concrete policy changes in NYC's shelter system. After experiencing anti-trans and disability-related discrimination when entering shelter, Ms. Lopez filed a lawsuit that is currently in settlement talks. Through our negotiations, we hope to institute policy changes that will meaningfully improve access and prevent discrimination against LGBTQIA+ people and people with disabilities in NYC shelters.

## Trans Day of Remembrance and Resilience



Artists' image description: Brightly colored illustration of a crowd of trans and non-binary people of color of different races, abilities, sizes and genders. They are dancing, resting, talking and being together and wearing bright pink and purple outfits.

On [Trans Day of Remembrance and Resilience in November](#), we remembered the trans siblings we have lost at the hands of state-sanctioned violence, misogyny, and transphobia, and we marked the day as a call to action. From representing Ashley Diamond in her struggle against a violent prison system to our efforts to end discrimination against and criminalization of trans people, we will keep working for a world where trans people can not only survive, but thrive.

## From Stonewall to Minneapolis: Fighting for Black, Queer, and Trans Liberation (and Winning!)

On June 24, 2020, we celebrated the radical legacy of Black queer and trans liberation movements with the webinar ["From Stonewall to Minneapolis."](#)

Miss Major Griffin-Gracy, a veteran of the Stonewall uprising who has been fighting for a better world for trans and gender non-conforming people for more than 50 years, joined author and activist Hope Giselle, 8 to Abolition Co-founder K Agbebiyi, and Black Visions Collective Co-founder Oluchi Omeoga for a conversation

with our communications assistant, Alex Webster, about what's happening today to advance Black, queer, and trans liberation.

## Ending Gender-Based Violence Means Dismantling All Systems of Violence

As we mourned the loss of eight people, including six Asian women, in a racist and misogynist attack in Atlanta in March, we recommitted to dismantling the interlocking systems that threaten the safety and lives of Asian women, BIPOC, queer, trans and gender-nonconforming people, sex workers, immigrants, and those who are economically vulnerable. In [a statement](#), the Center for Constitutional Rights added our voice to calls by the Asian and AAPI community for accountability that addresses violence at its root, believing that justice does not lie in strengthening police power, but rather in addressing the sources of violence: white supremacy, cisgender patriarchy, and all systems of oppression.

## Opposing Discrimination in Federal Policy

In the waning days of the Trump administration, the Center for Constitutional Rights submitted

[public comments](#) opposing proposed changes to federal rules that would permit discrimination against trans people in homeless shelters and would remove claims for asylum that are predominately cited by LGBTQIA+ people and survivors of violence and torture. The proposed rule for homeless shelters has since been rescinded, and the change to asylum policy was corrected by the new administration in January 2021 to affirm that all asylum claims will be reviewed in accordance with the UN Convention Against Torture.

## Fighting the Colonial Legacy of Gender Oppression

During Pride Month, the Center for Constitutional Rights hosted partners across the African continent in an Instagram Live series entitled *"Pride is Protest: Celebrating a Legacy of Black Queer and Trans Resistance, Resilience, and Rebellion."* Our comrades Pepe Julian Onziema of Sexual Minorities Uganda and Matthew Blaise, a Nigerian queer rights activist, highlighted the urgency of challenging the legacy of colonialism and imperialism that oppresses those who dare to live in their authentic identity, gender expression, and sexuality.

During this virtual event, Stonewall legend Miss Major Griffin Gracy, author and activist Hope Giselle, co-founder of 8 to Abolition K Agbebiyi, and Oluchi Omeoga, co-founder and core team member of the Black Visions Collective celebrated and reflected on the work that is currently being done to engineer Black, Queer, and Trans Liberation.

# OPPRESSIVE ECONOMIC STRUCTURES: COMBATING ABUSIVE CORPORATE POWER

“This law is nothing less than an effort to strong-arm water protectors, landowners, and concerned citizens into submission and silence us.”

—Anne White Hat

Lead plaintiff in [our suit](#) challenging an anti-protest law pushed by the oil and gas industry in Louisiana



# Introduction

We use the legal system to fight oppressive economic structures and corporate abuses. Our argument in the 1980 case [Local 1330, United States Steelworkers of America v. U.S. Steel \(amicus\)](#) framed the societal issues at stake when more than 10,000 steelworkers in one town lost their jobs as a result of private companies' decisions: we argued that corporations with enormous economic power that receive substantial benefits from government sources must act in a manner consistent with the best interests of the community. We have fought for years against environmental racism in Louisiana's Cancer Alley, including a current battle against construction of a plastics factory on a burial ground of formerly enslaved people ([RISE St. James](#)). We push to hold [U.S. corporations accountable for torture and human rights abuses committed abroad](#) ([Al Shimari v. CACI](#); [Doe v. Unocal and Roe v. Unocal](#); [Al-Quraishi v. Nakhla and L-3 Services](#); [Abtan v. Prince/Blackwater](#); [Corrie v. Caterpillar](#)), as in the 13-year fight to hold Shell accountable for its role in the brutal repression of the Ogoni people ([Wiwa v. Shell](#)). We also determinedly challenge [corporate capture](#) of government policy and law making. Thank you for your commitment and dedication as we expose and combat oppressive economic structures in the United States and around the world.

“Landowners can prevail against a pipeline company in Louisiana because the Constitution is on our side . . . I hope our victory today will encourage more landowners to engage in the legal process to protect their property and the natural resources of the state of Louisiana.”

—Landowner Peter Aaslestad

### Important Wins in the Battle Between Pipelines and the Public Interest

#### Victory: Defending the Right to Protest Pipelines

A Louisiana district attorney has rejected all charges against pipeline protestors and a journalist who we represent who were arrested and charged under controversial amendments to a critical infrastructure law.

Since the 2017 protests at Standing Rock opposing the Dakota Access Pipeline, more than 60 bills that heighten the risk and criminal penalties of dissent have been introduced across 30 states. Many of them seek to frame protests as "riots" and activists as "terrorists" in attempts to criminalize free speech activity and defense of Indigenous land. The Center for Constitutional Rights made a constitutional challenge to this kind of repressive legislation in *White Hat v. Landry*, representing protestors charged with felonies under a new Louisiana law—drafted and pushed by the Louisiana Mid-Continent Oil and Gas Association and inspired by an Oklahoma law pushed by ALEC—that added pipelines to the definition of critical infrastructure and dramatically increased the penalties faced by protestors engaging in civil disobedience in and around pipelines and pipeline construction sites. The law could become a dangerous model, threatening protestors, landowners, and environmental justice organizations across the country. In defense of the people's right to protest and resist environmental devastation, we pushed back, and, in July, more than two years after we challenged the anti-protest law, a local DA vowed not to prosecute our clients under the measure. Reporters from the Associated Press, ABC News, and Reuters have followed this case as it developed, and journalists from the Louisiana Illuminator, WDSU TV, and KLFY TV publicized our clients' victory.

**More than 60 bills that heighten the risk and criminal penalties of dissent have been introduced across 30 states.**

#### The Pipeline Company Must Pay

In a related case, the Louisiana Supreme Court ruled in May 2021 that the [Bayou Bridge Pipeline Company](#) violated landowners' due process rights, and the company must pay additional compensation, attorneys' fees, and costs for the constitutional violations they committed.

Built by the company behind the infamous Dakota Access Pipeline, the Bayou Bridge Pipeline ends in the historic Black community of St. James, Louisiana. The company attempted to take property via eminent domain, arguing the pipeline is in the public interest. But a few holdout landowners fought back, declaring the pipeline is actually contrary to the public interest in light of the extensive spill and leak record of the companies involved, the role pipelines have played in Louisiana's coastal erosion crisis, and the relationship between fossil fuels and climate change.

The Center for Constitutional Rights has been representing the holdout landowners since 2018. Last year, they won a resounding victory when an appeals court ruled the company violated their due-process rights, and, in spring 2021, the state Supreme Court affirmed, in a precedent-setting ruling, that the company must pay legal fees and costs relating to the violations. Reporters from the [Associated Press](#), [The New Orleans Advocate](#), the [Louisiana Illuminator](#), [Eyes on the Ties](#), and [Resilience.org](#) covered our clients' story and victory.

We hope our success in this case will encourage other small landowners to stand up to corporate abuse—and inspire more lawyers to help them.



## Fighting Corporate Capture

The American Legislative Exchange Council (ALEC) epitomizes corporate capture of government policy and lawmaking.

**The influential trade association has a 45-year legacy of designing and lobbying for state laws—including Stand Your Ground and voter ID laws—that have had a negative impact on human rights and disproportionately harmed communities of color.**

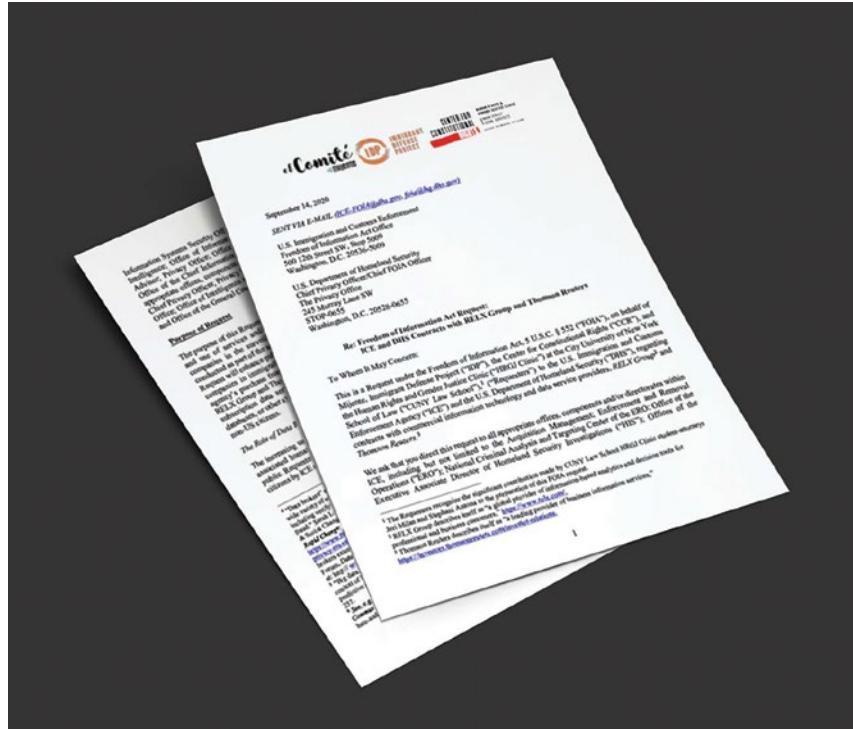
In [Puente, et al. v. Arizona State Legislature](#), we are fighting on behalf of the Arizona Palestine Solidarity Alliance, Mijente Support Committee, Puente, and Black Lives Matter Phoenix Metro in a lawsuit arguing that attendance by a majority of members of several Arizona state congressional committees behind closed doors at ALEC meetings violates Arizona's Open Meeting Law. We appealed a lower court's decision to grant the state legislature's motion to dismiss the case in May 2021.

Journalists from [ThinkProgress](#), [Teen Vogue](#), [Rising Up With Sonali](#), [Eastern Arizona Courier](#), and [TruthOut](#) have amplified this story.

## When Corporations Are Complicit

In June 2021, the U.S. Supreme Court limited—but has not foreclosed—the ability to sue U.S. corporations in U.S. courts for complicity in transnational human rights violations. We had joined more than a dozen human rights organizations in filing an amicus brief in [Doe, et al. v. Nestlé USA, Inc./Cargill](#),

which concerns the corporations' alleged role in aiding child slavery and forced labor in the Ivory Coast. We argued the Alien Tort Statute (ATS), the 1789 law which the Center for Constitutional Rights' landmark case [Filártiga v. Peña-Irala](#) turned into a vehicle for modern human rights cases, must apply to U.S. corporations. While the Supreme Court did not provide the categorical exemption from liability under the ATS that corporations want, with five justices recognizing domestic corporate liability, the court ruled the narrow domestic conduct alleged by Nestlé and Cargill was insufficient for liability. A week after issuing its ruling in [Nestlé](#), the Supreme Court denied the petition by private contractor CACI to take up our long-running case on behalf of Abu Ghraib torture survivors, [Al Shimari v. CACI](#). Having been weeks from trial in 2019 when CACI filed its improvident appeal, we are eager for the plaintiffs to finally have their day in court. [Reuters](#) and [Bloomberg Law](#) covered this latest development.



Freedom of Information Act Request (FOIA): ICE and DHS Contracts with RELX Group and Thomson Reuters

# ABUSIVE STATE POWER: CHALLENGING UNJUST GOVERNMENT POLICIES

“It is a soaring feeling. I made my life in this country, so this is important not just for me, but for everybody. I don’t want the same thing that the FBI did to me to happen to others.”

—Muhammad Tanvir

On the Supreme Court’s unanimous decision that American Muslims the FBI tried to coerce into spying on their communities can sue FBI agents for damages ([Tanvir v. Tanzin](#))



# Introduction

The Center for Constitutional Rights has a long legacy of defending individuals and movements against abuses of power by the state. We represented American Indian Movement leaders after a standoff with the FBI (*United States v. Banks and Means (Wounded Knee)*, 1974), exposed the extent and danger of FBI surveillance of activists (*Clavir v. Levi*, 1976), and challenged illegal government electronic surveillance (*Kinoy v. Mitchell*, 1986). For two decades, we have been confronting the human rights violations and abuses of state power enabled by the so-called “war on terror,” including defending the rights of Muslim men and boys detained at Guantánamo. We fight for the human rights of all incarcerated people and seek justice and accountability on behalf of people who have been brutalized by war crimes and human rights violations across the world and in the United States. Your generous support and steadfast partnership allows us to continue challenging the surveillance state and confronting government abuses. Thank you.

“We held on to hope for so many years despite so many obstacles for justice. Finally, those who committed these egregious crimes will be held accountable.”

—Hernan Apaza, after a jury verdict awarded Apaza and his co-plaintiffs damages for the killing of their relatives by the Bolivian military in *Mamani v. Sánchez de Lozada / Mamani v. Sánchez Berzaín* (the judgment is currently on appeal)



(Left) Mohammad Tanvir  
(client in *Tanvir v. Tanzin*) and his child

## ABUSIVE STATE POWER: CHALLENGING UNJUST GOVERNMENT POLICIES (CONT'D)



Mamani v. Sánchez de Lozada / Mamani v. Sánchez Berzain clients, who were awarded \$10 million in damages against Bolivia's former president and former defense minister for the killing of their family members during a massacre of unarmed Indigenous Aymara people in 2003, with co-counsel Thomas Becker. The judgment is currently on appeal.

### Obtaining Accountability for Individuals Targeted by Government Abuse

When we represent people seeking justice and accountability for government abuse, we are in it with them for the long haul. And this year we saw progress in our efforts to obtain redress in domestic and international cases we have been working on for years.

Working with our legal partners at CUNY CLEAR, we scored a landmark victory in the Supreme Court—and a critical advocacy opportunity—in *Tanvir v. Tanzin*, a long-running case challenging the FBI's targeting of Muslims. Beginning in 2013, the FBI pressured our clients—as part of a coercive pattern of targeting Muslims and Arabs—to become informants on their religious community. When they refused, they were put on the No Fly List, which is a secretive system rife with abuse. After we filed suit, the government took our clients off the list. Still, we argued our clients

were entitled to damages under the Religious Freedom Restoration Act (RFRA) for the emotional and economic harms they suffered, and, in December, the Supreme Court unanimously agreed that RFRA does authorize damages against federal officials, allowing our case for accountability against the FBI to proceed.

**We have a storied history of fighting for accountability for human rights abuses committed against communities across the world, and this year we obtained another landmark victory in that fight.**

In *Mamani v. Sánchez de Lozada / Mamani v. Sánchez Berzain*, litigated for nearly 15 years by cooperating counsel Beth Stephens and Judith Chomsky,

we represent Indigenous Bolivian families whose loved ones were killed in 2003 when security forces used deadly military force to suppress peaceful, popular protests. After a historic trial—the first time a former head of state sat before his accusers in a U.S. human rights civil jury trial—we obtained a \$10 million jury verdict against the ex-president and ex-minister of defense of Bolivia. In April of this year, following an earlier victory in the Court of Appeals in Miami, a federal judge upheld the verdict against the powerful defendants, despite their relentless attempts to evade accountability. Defendants have appealed that judgment.

As a result of our federal lawsuit, *Migrant Justice v. Wolf*, Immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE) will pay damages to our clients who were targeted by the Department of Homeland Security and ICE in a campaign to intimidate and repress activists who protest against abusive immigration and labor practices. One of the defendants, the Vermont DMV, which had fed ICE information about activists, agreed in a settlement last year to restrict its communication and information-sharing with federal immigration agencies. In a separate settlement reached in October, ICE agreed to pay substantial damages and afford “deferred deportation” status (a form of immigration relief) to the activists ICE arrested in retaliation, and agreed as a policy to instruct officers not to target people “for exercising First Amendment rights.”

Based on our victory, *The Progressive* magazine published an important *policy piece* making immigration recommendations to the Biden administration. Reporters from *The Washington Post*, and *Latino Rebels* also covered this win.



## Supporting More Immigrants and Immigrant Rights Movements

Since 2018, the Center for Constitutional Rights has successfully obtained multiple injunctions to stop horrific Trump-administration bans on asylum for refugees desperately arriving at the Southern border. In February 2021, a federal court again blocked a ban that denied asylum to anyone at the Southern border who had transited through a third country en route to the United States, with very limited exceptions. Our lawsuit seeking the injunction, [East Bay Sanctuary Covenant v. Barr](#) (after [East Bay Sanctuary Covenant v. Trump](#)) was part of our broad work fighting abusive immigration policies, supporting immigrants and immigrant rights organizations, and upholding international human rights principles at the heart of asylum laws.

In *Make the Road New York v. Renauld* (formerly [v. Cuccinelli](#)), we partnered with the Legal Aid Society to challenge Trump-administration rules that targeted immigrants with medical conditions and low-income immigrants of color by radically transforming the test for determining whether someone might become a “public charge” and imposing an unprecedented wealth test on noncitizens.

## We had obtained the first-of-its kind nationwide injunction in federal court.

In *Make the Road New York v. Blinken* (formerly [v. Pompeo](#)), the government has also withdrawn its appeal of the nationwide injunction we won against additional “public charge” rules affecting those seeking visas to enter the U.S. As a result of our injunction, the Department of State is operating under the rules that were in place from 1999 to 2017. President Biden also rescinded the Trump administration’s proclamation barring immigrants who did not have private health insurance, a proclamation that never went into effect thanks to our lawsuit. Journalists from outlets including [Courthouse News](#), [Black Star News](#), and [El Diario](#) reported on this victory.

We are continuing our fight against restrictions on asylum seekers at the Southern border in *Al Otro Lado v. Mayorkas* (formerly [v. Nielsen](#)), by challenging a DHS policy and practice of “turnbacks”—denying refugees access to the asylum process, including by forcing thousands to put their names on

a list and wait for months in dangerous conditions in Mexico until their name is called. We received a temporary restraining order in January blocking the Trump administration’s latest attempt to prevent asylum seekers from accessing the U.S. asylum process, and we hope to ensure that the U.S. honors its commitment to the fundamental human rights principle of asylum.

In [D.J.C.V. v. U.S. Immigration and Customs Enforcement](#), we are seeking damages for a Central American father and son separated at the border during the height of the Trump administration’s “zero tolerance” immigration policy. In a one-of-a kind suit, we are arguing that the separation of families seeking asylum amounts to torture and crimes against humanity. The government filed a motion to dismiss, claiming that the father’s past misdemeanor conviction gave the government the discretion to seize a toddler from his father and keep them apart for months without any determination of parental unfitness or the best interests of the child. Oral argument was March 5, and the decision is stayed pending settlement negotiations with the government.

## ABUSIVE STATE POWER: CHALLENGING UNJUST GOVERNMENT POLICIES (CONT'D)



Awad, et al. v. Fordham University client Veer Shetty with former 2018-2020 Bertha Justice Fellow Astha Sharma Pokharel.

### Protecting the Right to Support Palestinian Freedom

Since 2017, we have been advocating on behalf of [Fordham University students](#) who were banned from starting a Students for Justice in Palestine (SJP) club by the university. Following our 2019 victory in which the court ordered Fordham to recognize SJP, the club successfully operated for more than a year. In December 2020, an appellate court reversed the decision, permitting Fordham to reinstate its ban. In May, New York State's highest court refused to hear our appeal, ending the case. We continue to support the students, who are still speaking out for justice in Palestine.

We succeeded in asking a federal court to dismiss the meritless complaint in [Jewish National Fund v. US Campaign for Palestinian Rights](#), where we represent US Campaign for Palestinian Rights (USCPR) in fighting a lawsuit that seeks to chill USCPR's First Amendment-protected activity and represents an escalation of the attack on advocacy for Palestinian freedom. Reporters from [+972 Magazine](#)

covered this case as it developed, and [Mondoweiss](#) wrote about the victory.

### Seeking Accountability for International Crimes in Palestine

Alongside Palestinian partners, we continue to fight for [accountability for war crimes and crimes against humanity](#) committed in Palestine. On behalf of 20 Palestinian victims

**“GUANTÁNAMO EMBODIES THE FACT THAT, FOR TWO DECADES FOLLOWING THE SEPTEMBER 11, 2001 ATTACKS, THE UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT HAS VIEWED COMMUNITIES OF COLOR—CITIZENS AND NON-CITIZENS ALIKE—THROUGH A SECURITY THREAT LENS, TO DEVASTATING CONSEQUENCES.”**

**—EXCERPT FROM A LETTER WE SENT TO PRESIDENT BIDEN IN FEBRUARY CALLING FOR THE CLOSURE OF THE PRISON AT GUANTÁNAMO BAY.**

of the crime against humanity of persecution from across Palestine and the diaspora, we argued to the Pre-Trial Chamber of the International Criminal Court (ICC) that the court has jurisdiction over serious international crimes committed on the territory of Palestine by Israeli officials and their agents. In a historic ruling, the Pre-Trial Chamber ruled in February 2021 that the ICC can investigate and prosecute those responsible for war crimes, crimes against humanity, and genocide committed in Palestine. Soon thereafter, the ICC prosecutor announced the opening of an investigation. Senior Staff Attorney Katherine Gallagher penned an op-ed on this issue for [OpinioJuris](#) and participated in [numerous webinars](#) on the groundbreaking developments.

### Upholding the Rights of Incarcerated People

Years after our landmark class-action settlement in [Ashker v. Governor of California](#) succeeded in releasing nearly everyone held in longterm indefinite solitary confinement in California, a federal judge affirmed our right to continue monitoring California's treatment of the class. In April 2021, plaintiffs proved that the California Department of Corrections is systemically violating the due-process rights of people in prison, so we continue to work with our clients to limit solitary and improve conditions in the California prisons. Our perseverance in this case has been covered by reporters from the [San Francisco Bay View](#) and [The Progressive Magazine](#).

In [Aref v. Garland](#), we persist in challenging “Communications Management Units” (CMUs) that isolate politically unpopular people in federal prisons, with Muslims placed in CMUs at vastly disproportionate

rates. A federal judge agreed that our client could continue to seek justice for his placement in a CMU despite his release from prison, but ruled against us on the merits of his procedural due process claim. We have appealed to the D.C. Circuit Court of Appeals and are arguing the case this fall.

### Continuing the Movement to Close Guantánamo

The letter, which we drafted with long-time partner Center for Victims of Torture, was signed by more than 100 civil rights and racial justice organizations. Secretary of State Blinken responded to the letter, assuring us the administration plans to review issues related to the facility and the remaining 39 men held in indefinite detention.

While we work with our partners to close Guantánamo, we have continued to lead the fight to apply the Constitution's guarantees of fundamental fairness, embodied in the Due Process Clause, to the men detained there.

We coordinated and led the filing of motions in 11 cases arguing that these basic fairness guarantees meant that the procedures and evidentiary rules used in these cases to date, which have called the outcomes in the government's favor, were unconstitutional.

In April 2021, our client Sharqawi Al Hajj was finally cleared for transfer out of Guantánamo after a Periodic Review Board hearing determined his ongoing detention was unnecessary. We expect and will fight for the release of all those imprisoned at Guantánamo, including Al Hajj and Mohammed al Qahtani, who are suffering greatly as they continue to languish in prison and have been denied needed medical attention and evaluation.

## We also work at the international level to seek justice and accountability for the serious harms suffered by men subjected to the U.S. torture program

including Al Hajj and Guled Hassan Duran. Following our long-fought win at the ICC to open an investigation into the crimes committed in Afghanistan and through the CIA torture program, the Trump administration issued an Executive Order that led to the sanction of the ICC prosecutor and threatened civil and criminal punishment of those who furthered the investigation, including us. We worked with an international coalition to have the Executive Order rescinded by the Biden administration. Through legal filings and advocacy, we have urged the ICC prosecutor to reject a request to defer its own investigation in favor of one conducted by Afghanistan, and proceed to conclude its own investigation and victim-inclusive trials.

Domestically, we secured a historic ruling at the Guantánamo military commissions in June 2020 to substantially reduce the sentence of our client Majid Khan as a remedy for the war crimes of torture and other cruel treatment that he suffered while in CIA detention. The judge also ordered an evidentiary hearing on Khan's treatment for May 2021. In December 2020, the government sought reconsideration of the ruling, arguing that universal torture prohibitions do not bind the U.S. government and there is no right to a remedy for torture under international law. The judge rejected those arguments and also granted our

request to compel certain witnesses to testify about Khan's torture. In April 2021, the government modified Khan's plea agreement to reduce his sentence in exchange for withdrawing his motions to compel witnesses and for pretrial punishment credit. These developments were covered in The New York Times and in Just Security.



Illustration of Sharqawi Al Hajj by Christopher Noxon  
@noxonpics



#### RADICAL FREEDOM THROUGH ART AND ACTIVISM

with Nadia Ben-Youssef and BK King

THE ACTIVIST FILES + THE ACTIVISTS' ROOM

CENTER FOR CONSTITUTIONAL RIGHTS

DONKEYSADDLE PROJECTS

#### OUR MONTHLY PODCAST, “THE ACTIVIST FILES”

which features the stories of people on the front lines fighting for justice, including activists, lawyers, and artists, averages close to 1,000 downloads a month from all over the world, including Sweden, Mexico, the United Kingdom, and Australia. We continue to partner with organizations that have podcasts to cross-produce and promote. We worked with Donkeysaddle in July, when Advocacy Director Nadia Ben-Youssef and artist BK King with Donkeysaddle talked about radical freedom through art and activism.



#### STAYING CONNECTED

with reporters, producers, and bookers to keep them informed on our range of issues through relationship building and media briefings

#### GROWING ENGAGEMENT

on Twitter, Facebook, LinkedIn, and our Instagram accounts

#### FRONTLINES OF JUSTICE

our weekly email newsletter that brings you the Center for Constitutional Rights' latest news every Monday

#### OP-EDS FROM OUR CLIENTS AND THE LEGAL AND ADVOCACY TEAMS

offering radical thought leadership on the pages of major newspapers and magazines from *The New York Times* to the *Washington Post*, *The Atlantic* and *Teen Vogue*



#### PRESS RELEASES AND STATEMENTS ON BREAKING NEWS

that get to reporters' inboxes first. The more than 100 press releases and statements we wrote helped the department secure nearly 4,000 media hits in the last fiscal year, which translates to 21.9 billion potential readers, and is equivalent to spending \$7 million on advertising.

## IN THE NEWS

#### The Center for Constitutional Rights Communications

Department has had a generative year, sharing our radical perspective with billions of readers and viewers on traditional and social media. Our clients have been featured in stories across the globe, from France to South Africa, Germany to Israel, and India to Spain. With the goals of shifting the narrative and bringing awareness of our clients and our work, we have expanded our use of social media with Instagram Live takeovers and events that reach new audiences and produced compelling client-centered videos, press/community events, and webinars.



#### FACEBOOK LIVE STREAMS

to bring our thousands of supporters into the conversation during and after hearings, press conferences, and advocacy actions

#### EMAILS

on breaking news, upcoming events, and more

#### THE DAILY OUTRAGE

the Center for Constitutional Rights' blog

#### INSTAGRAM LIVE TAKEOVERS

featuring staff talking about our legal cases and advocacy work and special partners, such as radical poets and DJs, for celebratory events, such as Black History Month and Black August

#### VINCE WARREN IS IN THE MEDIA

on MSNBC, Al Jazeera, Vice News, Black News Channel, CNN and Democracy Now! and more, bringing our distinctive analysis to TV audiences

YOUR CONTINUED SUPPORT ENABLES THE CENTER FOR CONSTITUTIONAL RIGHTS TO KEEP AMPLIFYING OUR RADICAL PERSPECTIVE THROUGH DIVERSE MEDIA CHANNELS, SHIFT PUBLIC OPINION ON OUR CRITICAL ISSUES, AND EXPAND OUR AUDIENCES.

# BERTHA JUSTICE FELLOWSHIP PROGRAM

**BUILDING THE NEXT GENERATION OF MOVEMENT LAWYERS**

The Bertha Justice Fellowship is a two-year program for emerging lawyers to gain practical experience working on Center for Constitutional Rights cases across the full range of the organization's issue areas and a theoretical understanding of how legal advocacy can create social change. Now in their second year of the Fellowship, the current Fellows are getting firsthand experience in movement lawyering.

The Bertha Justice Fellowship Program is sponsored by the Bertha Foundation, which hosts emerging lawyers at legal organizations across the world.

**"ONE THING I HAVE LEARNED IS THAT LOSING IS NOT ALWAYS A LOSS. THERE IS ALWAYS SOMETHING MORE TO ADVOCATE FOR. RELIEF GOES BEYOND LITIGATION AND RESISTING IS WINNING."**

**—ELSA MARIA MOTA,  
BERTHA JUSTICE FELLOW**



Luna Martínez is working to defend the rights of Palestine solidarity advocates in cases including *Jewish National Fund v. US Campaign for Palestinian Rights* and *Awad v. Fordham University*; challenge unlawful detentions at Guantánamo (*al Qahtani v. Obama*); and support Indigenous and environmental justice movements (*Ramapoough Mountain Indians v. Ramapo Polo Club*).



Elsa Maria Mota specializes in advocating for immigrant rights and racial justice. During the Fellowship, she is challenging government misconduct and abusive immigration practices in cases such as *Al Otro Lado v. Nielsen* and *Make the Road New York v. Pompeo*. Elsa is inspired by her experience in diverse, low-income communities that creatively fight against systems of oppression to seize opportunities.



Samah Mcgona Sisay specializes in international human rights and challenging inhumane immigration policies and abusive police practices. During her Fellowship, Samah has provided legal representation on immigration matters to undocumented Black immigrant women impacted by gender violence and has worked on our efforts to gain accountability for international crimes committed in *Afghanistan* and *Palestine*, as well as on cases including *Floyd v. City of New York* and *Scott v. Pennsylvania Board of Probation and Parole*.



Rafaela Uribe works on issues of racial and gender justice, discriminatory policing, governmental abuses of power, and government surveillance. During their Fellowship, Rafaela has worked on cases including our *FOIA litigation on behalf of the sanctuary movement*, *Austin Sanctuary Network v. Mayorkas*, *Lopez v. NYC Department of Homeless Services*, *Black Love Resists v. City of Buffalo*, and *Diamond v. Ward*. Rafaela was previously an Ella Baker Intern at the Center for Constitutional Rights.

# ELLA BAKER INTERNSHIP PROGRAM

**BUILDING THE NEXT GENERATION OF MOVEMENT LAWYERS**

The Ella Baker Summer Internship Program honors civil rights movement hero Ella Baker by training the next generation of social justice lawyers. Interns gain practical litigation experience and sharpen their theoretical understanding of the relationship between social change, organizing, and lawyering. They are also connected to a global community of social justice law students and lawyers through our Ella Baker Alumni Network. As a result of the pandemic, the summer 2020 internship was remote.

We are proud to introduce you to two of the 2020 Ella Baker interns who have dedicated themselves to using the law as a tool for social justice.



**"It was ... amazing to get an inside peek of a movement-focused institution."**

Fatoumata Diabate, Seton Hall University School of Law '21, was drawn to the Center for Constitutional Rights by our work on racial justice and discriminatory policing.

"[In high school], I spent four years in ... a highly politicized, damaged school district. As Black children, we were treated like criminals before even entering the building. This unwarranted criminalization only contributes to the school-to-prison pipeline," Fatoumata wrote.

At the Center for Constitutional Rights, Fatoumata gained experience in cases related to discriminatory policing, the human rights of incarcerated people, and more, working on *al Qahtani v. Obama*, our FOIA litigation with *No More Deaths*, and *Turkmen v. Ashcroft*. Fatoumata also learned from the historic war-crimes case *Doe v. Karadzic*.

Fatoumata then spent the spring 2021 semester in an immigration and human rights clinic.



**"I thought I would have to wait 20 or 30 years to work on these issues, but at CCR, I didn't have to wait."**

Maira Perez Velazquez, University of Illinois College of Law '21, is a DACA recipient and first-generation law graduate. Maira applied for the Ella Baker Internship "to surround myself with progressive and passionate people's lawyers—the kind who don't see legal work as just a job but as a movement for change."

As an intern, Maira worked on "an incredible array of issues that got at the heart of the social injustices occurring today," from *ALEC* and corporate capture to Indigenous land rights (*Ramapough Mountain Indians v. Township of Mahwah, Ramapo Hunt & Polo Club*), immigration and human rights (*DJVC v. U.S. Immigration and Customs Enforcement*), and environmental justice for the communities in Louisiana's Cancer Alley.

Maira's next role will be as a Law Advisor for the Trial Advocacy Program at the University of Illinois Law School.

# EVENTS

As the COVID-19 pandemic continued, we created opportunities to gather, raise awareness on important issues, and stay connected to our supporters and larger community through dynamic online events, and by continuing our podcast series.

## A CONVERSATION WITH Vince Warren



On July 29, 2020 as the pandemic and the long-overdue reckoning with structural racism gripped the nation, supporters joined Executive Director Vince Warren and Legal Director Baher Azmy to learn how the Center for Constitutional Rights was seizing the moment to fight even harder for justice.

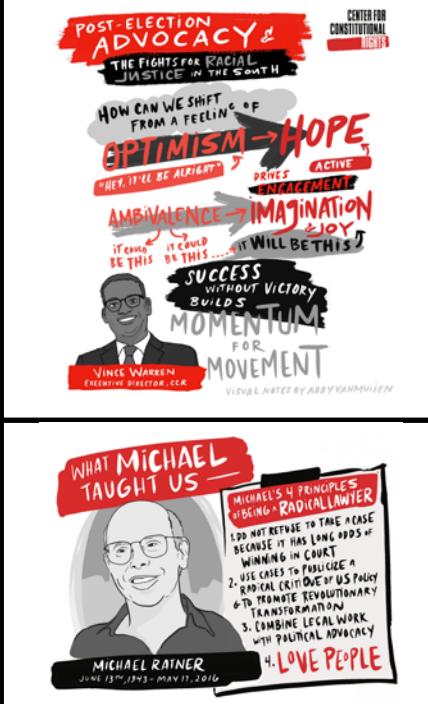
On November 17, 2020, donors heard from Vince Warren, Senior Staff Attorney Chinyere Ezie, and Baher Azmy about how our work will continue in the face of a new presidency.

On March 30, 2021, Vince Warren, Senior Staff Attorney Pamela Spees, and Bertha Justice Fellow Rafaela Uribe spoke with donors about women on the frontlines of the fight for justice historically and today, in honor of Women's History Month.

### Insiders

Before COVID, we enjoyed hosting small, family-style dinners in NYC where leading supporters could hear from our movement lawyers and advocates in an intimate setting. We had to re-envision "Insider Dinners" during the pandemic, and we held our first-ever virtual Insider on December 1, 2020.

Vince Warren, Advocacy Director Nadia Ben-Youssef, and Senior Staff Attorney and Associate Director of Strategic Initiatives Omar Farah shared inside perspectives on our preparations for a new Southern regional office and our bold post-election strategy. Board Member Colette Pichon-Battle, Executive Director of the Gulf Coast Center for Law and Policy, shared profound insights about the role of the South, bridging community-level conversations and the global impact of Southern movements. The extraordinary graphic recorder Abby VanMuijen translated the discussion into visuals, and guests shared reflections with one another and with the Center for Constitutional Rights team.



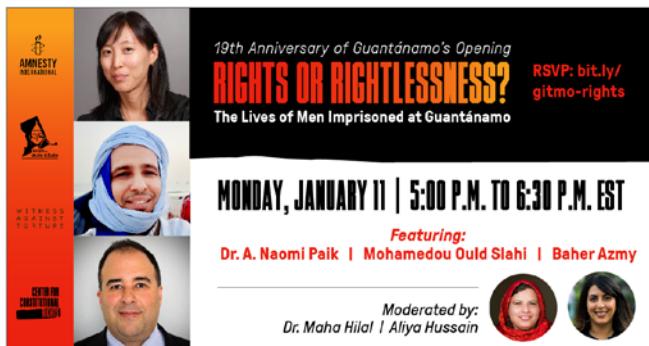
### What Michael Taught Us

Michael Ratner devoted four decades of his life to the Center for Constitutional Rights before his untimely death in 2016. He handled some of the most significant human rights cases of his time and lived and breathed radical lawyering. On June 16, 2021, Vince Warren, Baher Azmy, former Staff Attorney and Board Member Ellen Yaroshefsky, and Senior Staff Attorney and Associate Director of Legal Training and Education Rachel Meeropol participated in a panel that discussed Michael's autobiography *Moving the Bar* (published earlier this year) and to reflect on his indispensable lessons for the next generation. Abby VanMuijen joined us again to translate the discussion into visuals.

**"WHERE YOU FOUND INJUSTICE,  
MICHAEL FELT YOU MUST STAND  
AND SPEAK OUT."**

**-ELLEN YAROSHEFSKY AT  
WHAT MICHAEL TAUGHT US**

## EVENTS (CONT'D)



### **Highlights from Community Events**

#### **From the Streets to the Supreme Court: Protecting Our Communities from Federal Repression**

On September 16, 2020, a few weeks ahead of oral arguments before the Supreme Court in *Tanvir v. Tanzin* ([see page 23](#)), we held a panel with *Tanvir* plaintiff Naveed Shinwari, Staff Attorney Diala Shamas, Law Professor and CLEAR Founding Director Ramzi Kassem, Thenjiwe McHarris of Blackbird and the Movement for Black Lives, and journalist Rozina Ali (moderator). Rights or Rightlessness: The Lives of Men Imprisoned at Guantánamo

On January 11, 2021, we marked the 19th anniversary of the opening of the prison at Guantánamo Bay with a discussion between Guantánamo prison survivor Mohamedou Ould Slahi, Baher Azmy, and scholar Dr. A. Naomi Paik, moderated by Dr. Maha Hilal (Justice for Muslims Collective) and Advocacy Program Manager Aliya Hussain. Mohamedou joined from Mauritania to share his experience of being detained without charge for over a decade and of his life after release. (*Read about our ongoing legal fight for the rights of people incarcerated at Guantánamo on [page 26](#).*

#### **Brick by Brick: A Community Forum on Ending Death by Incarceration in Pennsylvania**

On January 26, 2021, we co-presented a community forum with Abolitionist Law Center and Amistad Law Project to raise awareness about the fight to end Death-By-Incarceration (commonly known as life without parole) sentences in Pennsylvania. The event allowed attendees to hear from formerly incarcerated people and family members of people currently serving these cruel sentences. (*Read about our work on this issue in *Scott v. Pennsylvania Board of Probation and Parole* on [page 12](#).*)

We also organized a month of programming in celebration of **Black History Month** honoring the radical agendas for Black liberation put forth by our ancestors and raising up the voices of our comrades who are shaping our Black futures ([see page 12](#)).

#### **What Is the Role of Lawyers During Crisis?**

On March 23, 2021, we held a panel discussion to celebrate the launch of the book *Crisis Lawyering: Effective Legal Advocacy in Emergency Situations*, which is dedicated to former Center for Constitutional Rights lawyer and President Michael Ratner. Speakers included Baher Azmy and other *Crisis Lawyering* contributors, with moderator Dahlia Lithwick, a legal commentator and senior editor at *Slate*.

#### **Podcast: "The Activist Files"**

Like our events, which are recorded and live online to be viewed any time, all 40 episodes of our podcast remain available. Our **monthly podcast** features movement partners, our clients, and people using storytelling to create change. We produced 12 episodes in FY 2020 on topics including abolition, Black trans liberation, Bolivian indigenous resistance, lessons from recent SCOTUS decisions, the BREATHE ACT, decriminalizing sex work, and dismantling Jim Crow juries.

# DONOR SPOTLIGHT



**Julie F. Kay** is a well-known litigator and a voice for using law to promote abortion rights and gender equity in the U.S. and Ireland. She was the lead attorney on the landmark abortion rights case *ABC v. Ireland* before the European Court of Human Rights. She is also the co-author, with Kathryn Kolbert, of the new book *Controlling Women: What We Must Do Now to Save Reproductive Freedom*.

"Organizing to advance reproductive freedom as an issue of gender and racial equity is at the heart of our book and has been strongly influenced by the work I've seen and supported at the Center for Constitutional Rights over many years," she said.

Julie is a longtime supporter of ours—and even served on our board. She is currently a Justice Sustainer, having set up a reoccurring monthly gift with us, and a member of our Thelma Newman Planned Giving Society, having included the Center for Constitutional Rights in her estate plan.

Thank you, Julie, for staying with us for the duration, too.

"THE CENTER FOR CONSTITUTIONAL RIGHTS NEVER GETS STALE," JULIE SAID, "BECAUSE ITS HISTORY OF SMART RADICALISM INFORMS ITS WORK AND ENHANCES THE ORGANIZATION'S VISION OF A MORE JUST WORLD. THEY USE THEIR RESOURCES WELL AND LOOK TO ADVANCE THE RIGHTS OF THREATENED COMMUNITIES IN MANY VARIED WAYS... IT'S EASY TO SUPPORT THE POPULAR CAUSES OR TO COLOR WITHIN THE LEGAL LINES, BUT THE CENTER FOR CONSTITUTIONAL RIGHTS IS ABLE TO BRING LEGAL FIREPOWER AND HUMAN RIGHTS ARGUMENTS TO THOSE WHO ARE DISENFRANCHISED AND TO STAY WITH THEM FOR THE DURATION."



**Miriam Pollet** was born in 1923, in Brooklyn, the youngest child of immigrants from Eastern Europe. Though her sisters never went to college, Miriam followed her brothers, studying economics and history at Brooklyn College, and biology and chemistry at the City College of New York. After working various jobs in labs and a stint in administration at the Metropolitan Opera, she earned

a degree in library science, leading to her career as a science librarian at Brooklyn College, Downstate Medical Center, and the NY Public Library.

After retirement, Miriam volunteered at several organizations. At some point, she heard that the Center for Constitutional Rights needed help with a mass mailing. She signed up, and was struck by the commitment of the staff she worked with. She had long been engaged politically and involved with social justice organizations, starting in high school when she raised money for anti-fascist groups in Europe. The Center for Constitutional Rights was a perfect fit.

Miriam next volunteered with us to respond to requests from incarcerated people. She learned about the problems of the carceral system and was proud to be part of an organization that addressed the needs of a severely isolated and under-represented population.

Today, at 98, Miriam is as concerned for the world as ever. She can no longer volunteer, but is happy to support social justice through donations. Our heartfelt thanks go to Miriam for her substantial and multifaceted support of our work.

*Thank you!*

# DONOR SPOTLIGHT



**Carolyn Purcell** worked for many years as a family nurse practitioner in community clinics in California, with a focus on immigrant groups. These days, she delights in being a grandmother. In all her roles, she cares deeply about equitable healthcare, quality education for all, and the expansion of human rights for the most vulnerable in this country and abroad.

She learned about the Center for Constitutional Rights when a friend brought her to a dinner with Michael Ratner in 2005: "We talked about the struggles in Central America in the 1980s and raising children. From that moment on, the connection with the Center for Constitutional Rights began and has held firm ever since."

Carolyn supports our work because we continue to "expand the vision of justice for all" and ask strategic questions like "Where do we go next? How will our choices raise all voices?" She appreciates being involved in our "beloved, welcoming, and dynamic community" and being invited to join the conversation.

"THE CENTER FOR CONSTITUTIONAL RIGHTS HEALS WOUNDS OF INJUSTICE SO THAT ALL PEOPLE MAY TAKE THEIR RIGHTFUL PLACE IN SOCIETY AND FULLY PARTICIPATE," REFLECTS SUPPORTER CAROLYN PURCELL.

**"In conversation, we are moved to find our true and authentic response and learn to be in solidarity."**



"It is with deep satisfaction that we can send money to the Center for Constitutional Rights. Not only does the Center play an unwavering, essential litigation role for human rights and justice, it also supports direct action for communities in peril."

**Irwin and Martha Spiegelman** are committed to anti-war, justice, human rights, labor rights, environment, anti-nuclear, and other causes. In the 1950s, Irwin was a founding member of Students for a SANE Nuclear Policy. In the '60s, they were inspired by civil rights activists and the Poor People's Campaign. They were in march after march against the Vietnam War.

Among the stalwarts the Spiegelmans met in those days was Martin Brod, who generously gave to groups for peace, justice, labor organizing, environmental justice, and human rights—especially Palestinian rights. "For over 50 years, we were often with

Marty in the deep activist and political left-liberal trenches." It is from him that the Spiegelmans learned of the Center for Constitutional Rights and its defense of those who are protesting Israeli oppression and U.S. complicity. After Marty's death, they became his successor fundholders, following in his footsteps with their pledge to donate his money as he wished. "Marty Brod belongs in this donor spotlight," they wrote.

"In old-age now, we cannot canvas door-to-door, we cannot march. But we are fortunate to be able to use funds to take another pathway to help out worthy causes."

# DONOR SPOTLIGHT



## CS Fund/Warsh-Mott Legacy

Among the many events that transpired in 1981, some of the most notable include the swearing in of Ronald Reagan as president of the United States, the global spectacle of Lady Diana Spencer's marriage to Prince Charles, and the identification of the first cases of the syndrome that later became known as AIDS. 1981 was also the year that philanthropists Maryanne Mott and Herman Warsh decided to do even more in their efforts to shift the needle toward justice, and they established the CS Fund to support non-profit organizations whose missions were devoted to defending civil liberties and human rights. At that point, the Center for Constitutional Rights—which, at 15, was itself still a young organization—was already on the Fund's radar.

"From the CS Fund's inception, the Center for Constitutional Rights has encapsulated everything that we stand for," said CS Fund's Executive Director, Bailey Malone. "CCR works on the leading edge of protecting civil liberties, and its unfailing work on the hard cases that create change have led us to put many of CCR's issue areas — repression of dissent, government surveillance, torture and war crimes, and, more

recently, abusive immigration practices — at the forefront of our grantmaking."

The CS Fund, and its sister foundation, the Warsh-Mott Legacy (established in 1985), have proudly stood with the Center for Constitutional Rights from their first grant to us in 1981 until today—a rare and extraordinary tenure for a partnership between a foundation and a grantee. In 2021, as the Fund marked its 40th anniversary, its board awarded the Center for Constitutional Rights an unprecedented five-year grant, further cementing this longtime collaboration.

"The range of issues challenging society today are far-reaching and almost overwhelming in their scope," said Bailey. "CCR's mission to dismantle oppressive power and build the power of social movements allows them to bring their expertise in litigation, advocacy, and narrative shifting where it is needed most — and often where other organizations fear to go. It is that courage, paired with their devotion to principle and to uplift the most marginalized, that continues to inspire us to stand with them."

**"FROM THE CS FUND'S INCEPTION, THE CENTER FOR CONSTITUTIONAL RIGHTS HAS ENCAPSULATED EVERYTHING THAT WE STAND FOR."**

**— CS FUND'S EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR, BAILEY MALONE**

cs fund

*Thank you!*

# IN MEMORIAM

## David Kaiser & Don Lichy

IT IS ALWAYS SAD TO LOSE A MEMBER OF OUR COMMUNITY,  
BUT THEIR IDEALS WILL LIVE ON IN OUR WORK.

Anonymous (1)

Paul J. Allen

Florence Bloom

Martin M. Brod

Helga Busemann

Michael A. Cooper

Jeffrey M.  
Dickemann

Herbert Epstein

Louise Frankel

Marvin Gettelman

Ellen Harris

Richard T. Jeroloman

Robert K. Johnson

David Kaiser

Amy Kaplan

Sue Levering

Donald Lichy

Maria L. and Stanley  
Lofchie

Muriel E. Neufeld

Chorale P. Page

Leon Pomerance

Amy B. and  
Sameer Bashiti

Lawrence Rivkin

Manuel Schonhorn

Nadine Taub

George Wallerstein

Richard M. Wiebe

John H. Wilson



David Kaiser and his partner Rosemary Corbett who serves as the Secretary of our Board

The Center for Constitutional Rights family is deeply saddened by the untimely loss of David Kaiser in July 2020; we are so grateful to have known him and his relentless compassion.

David was a fierce fighter for what he cared about, especially combating climate change and transforming the criminal justice system.

**A great-great-grandson of John D. Rockefeller, he was willing to upend “the generally polite world of philanthropy,”**

*The New York Times* reported in his obituary, by challenging the very industry from which his family had drawn its wealth. As president of the Rockefeller Family Fund, David led the foundation’s divestment from fossil fuels and confronted Exxon Mobil’s destructive track record on climate change head-on.

He was the kind of radical philanthropist who supported bold organizations like the Center for Constitutional Rights. His partner, Rosemary Corbett, has played a longtime leadership role on our Board of Trustees.

David fought hard for justice and we will remember his vision and commitment as we keep fighting.

While we mourn the loss of Don Lichy in May 2020; we are inspired by his life.

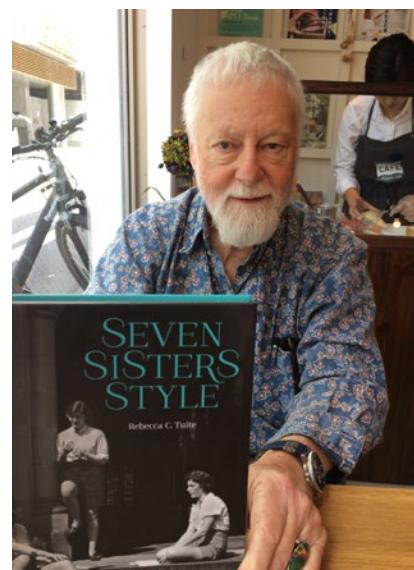
Don was introduced to our work by his friend, former board member Michael Smith, and past Center for Constitutional Rights President Michael Ratner. He stayed involved because of our principled progressive approach, our international scope, and our refusal to compromise in the fight for justice.

Born in Wisconsin, Don spent many years in New Mexico and then Hawaii. He was passionate about art and politics, and committed to social and

environmental justice—commitments that will have enduring impacts at the Nature Conservancy’s Lichy Ecological Research Center and at the Center for Constitutional Rights, which has been fueled by the Lichys’ generous support for decades.

**Don and his wife of 50 years, Pamela Goodman Lichy, have supported our work since 1982.**

We are grateful and privileged to continue Don’s heartfelt devotion to the fight for a more just world.



The Center for Constitutional Rights is a nonprofit charitable organization that relies on individual and foundation support.



## TOTAL EXPENSES

- Program Services  
(*Litigation and Advocacy*) .....\$7,851,966
- Supporting Services  
(*Administration and General*) .....\$2,087,231



## TOTAL REVENUE, GAINS, OTHER SUPPORT

- Grants and Contributions .....\$15,592,145
- Court Awards and Attorney Fees .....\$854,479
- Investment Income and Realized Gains .....\$636,407
- In-Kind Income .....\$4,521
- Other Income.....\$1,309,877

FINANCIAL REPORT



YOUR DEDICATION  
AND GENEROSITY ARE  
INDISPENSABLE IN THE  
FIGHT FOR JUSTICE.

# BOARD, STAFF, INTERNS

## Board

Katherine Acey | Treasurer

Amna Akbar

Lumumba Akinwole-Bandele

Laila Al Arian

Leonardo M. Aldridge (through June 2021)

Amanda Alexander

Natasha Lycia Ora Bannan (through January 2021)

Colette Pichon Battle

Rosemary R. Corbett | Secretary

Lisa Crooms-Robinson

Michelle DePass (through June 2021)

Marjorie Fine | Development Committee Chair

Katherine Franke | Chair (through June 2021)

Justin Hansford

Leila Hessini | Vice Chair (through June 2021)

Nsombi Lambright (through October 2020)

Gay McDougall

Jumana Musa

Vincent Southerland

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Vincent Warren | Executive Director

Baher Azmy | Legal Director

Nadia Ben-Youssef | Advocacy Director

Chandra Haylett | Communications Director

Theda Jackson-Mau | Director of Development

Donita Judge | Associate Executive Director

Maria LaHood | Deputy Legal Director

Grace Lile | Director of Operations

Jeffrey Weinrich | Finance Director

## Operations

Gregory Butterfield | Finance Manager

Orlando Gudino | IT Manager

Meriam Haider | Receptionist/Administrative Assistant

Lisa Levy | Senior Human Resources Manager

Ken Montenegro | Technology Director

Wan Yin Lui | Operations Manager

Edwin Santana | Administrative Associate, Operations

Lynette Seymour | Executive Associate

Anderson Taveras | IT Associate

## Advocacy

maya finoh | Advocacy Associate

Aliya Hussain | Advocacy Program Manager

Tabitha Mustafa | Advocacy Program Manager (as of February 22, 2021)

Obiajulu Nwabuzor | Strategic Events Manager

Dominic Renfrey | Advocacy Program Manager

## Communications

Emily Ballas | Graphic Design Associate

Lauren Gazzola | Communications Associate for Publications (through May 20, 2021)

Charles Greene | Web Communications and Multimedia Manager

Jen Nessel | Communications Coordinator

Alessandra Perotti | Digital Engagement Manager

Alex Webster | Communications Assistant

## Development

Michelle Anthony | Donor Relations Associate

Mimi Clara | Senior Major Gifts Officer

Doug Edelson | Foundation Relations Officer

Fernando Garcia | Capital Campaign Associate

Amy Greenstein | Associate Director of Development

Olivia McIntosh | Database and Online Giving Manager (as of November 23, 2020)

Rob Santiago | Senior Major Gifts Officer

Charisse Waugh | Grant Writer

## Legal

Darius Charney | Senior Staff Attorney

Claire Dailey | Senior Legal Worker

J. Wells Dixon | Senior Staff Attorney

Sadé Evans | Legal Worker (as of June 1, 2021)

Chinyere Ezie | Senior Staff Attorney

Omar Farah | Senior Staff Attorney; Associate Director of Strategic Initiatives

Katherine Gallagher | Senior Staff Attorney

Angelo Guisado | Staff Attorney

Ian Head | Senior Legal Worker

Shayana Kadidal | Senior Managing Attorney

Pardiss Kebriaei | Senior Staff Attorney

Luna Martinez | Bertha Justice Fellow

Rachel Meeropol | Senior Staff Attorney; Associate Director of Legal Training and Education

Elsa Mota | Bertha Justice Fellow

Afrika Owes | Administrative Associate, Legal

Ibrahim Qatabi | Senior Legal Worker

Ghita Schwarz | Senior Staff Attorney

Diala Shamas | Staff Attorney

Samah Sisay | Bertha Justice Fellow

Pamela Spees | Senior Staff Attorney

Leah Todd | Senior Legal Worker

Rafaela Uribe | Bertha Justice Fellow

## 2021 Ella Baker Interns

Dana Jabri

Darius Johnson

Fatoumata Diabate

Joanne Choi

James Johnson

Mahroh Jahangiri

Maira Velazquez

Pooja Shivaprasad

Ramis Wadood

Shaiba Rather

Farishtay Yamin

Zoe Ridolfi-Starr

## Interns

Hudson Clulow

Ivey Dyson

Aryn Frazier

Lisa Garcia

Laura Herrera-Sarabia

Philip Issa

Hannah Kohn

Phoebe Lytle

Alex Matak

Taliah Mirmalek

Udodilim Nnamdi

Niteka Raina

Anna Ruiz

Leena Sabagh

Laura Silva

Serena Taj

Lauren Wilfong

Ayyan Zubair

# OTHER WAYS TO SUPPORT THE CENTER FOR CONSTITUTIONAL RIGHTS



WE ARE CALLING ON YOU

JOIN FORCES WITH ACTIVISTS, LAWYERS, AND STORYTELLERS TO FIGHT OPPRESSION AND BUILD POWER.  
YOU HAVE A ROLE TO PLAY: DONATE. ACT. SHARE.

## JOIN THE JUSTICE SUSTAINERS

These gifts provide us with a reliable, steady source of income, making it possible for us to plan, leverage and allocate resources in a way that means more hope for our clients, more support for movements, and more justice and accountability. Sign up online for a monthly recurring gift at [www.CCRjustice.org/Donate](http://www.CCRjustice.org/Donate).

## ATTEND A VIRTUAL EVENT – AND BRING A FRIEND!

If you are on our email list, you will receive invitations. Public events are listed on our calendar at [www.CCRjustice.org/calendar](http://www.CCRjustice.org/calendar).

## MAKE AN ONLINE GIFT AT [WWW.CCRJUSTICE.ORG/DONATE](http://WWW.CCRJUSTICE.ORG/DONATE)

It's fast, easy, and secure, and your gift will go to work right away. Online gifts are a quicker and greener way to give.

## DONATE STOCK

If you sell depreciated stock and give the proceeds to the Center for Constitutional Rights, you may be able to claim the loss on your taxes, as well as the charitable deduction. If you donate appreciated securities to us, you may avoid capital gains taxes and receive a charitable deduction. For stock transfer information, go to [www.CCRjustice.org/gifts-stocksfunds](http://www.CCRjustice.org/gifts-stocksfunds).

## INCLUDE THE CENTER FOR CONSTITUTIONAL RIGHTS IN YOUR WILL

Including us as a beneficiary in your will is an excellent way to make a statement about the values you held during your lifetime while ensuring that we will be here for the long haul. You may choose to make a bequest to us of a specific dollar amount or a percentage of your estate.

## MAKE THE CENTER FOR CONSTITUTIONAL RIGHTS YOUR BIRTHDAY GIFT!

Ask friends and family to make gifts to the Center for Constitutional Rights in your honor as your holiday/birthday/anniversary/no-reason-at-all gift OR make gifts to us in honor of the people on your shopping list. These gifts will pay tribute to our shared social justice values and build our audience, while fueling our efforts to fight for the most vulnerable while building the power of social movements.

## STAY UP-TO-DATE AND SHARE OUR NEWS!

Follow [@theCCR on Twitter](#), [CCRJustice on Instagram](#), and Center for Constitutional Rights on [Facebook](#) and [LinkedIn](#), and bookmark our website: [www.CCRjustice.org](http://www.CCRjustice.org). Sign up for our weekly newsletter, the Frontlines of Justice, at [ccrjustice.org/up-to-date](http://ccrjustice.org/up-to-date). Share our newsletters, action alerts, and appeals with your friends.

FOR MORE INFORMATION ON WAYS TO SUPPORT US, PLEASE CONTACT: THEDA JACKSON-MAU, DIRECTOR OF DEVELOPMENT AT 212-614-6448 OR [TJACKSON-MAU@CCRJUSTICE.ORG](mailto:TJACKSON-MAU@CCRJUSTICE.ORG)

*Thank you!*

# THANK YOU!

The Center for Constitutional Rights is grateful for your dedication and partnership. You make it possible for us to think big and stake out daring positions.

Because of you, our litigation and advocacy are holistic, fearless, and relentless.

Together, we are transforming the power structures that oppress vulnerable communities, building the strength of social justice movements, and training the next generation of movement lawyers and activists.

**CCRJUSTICE.ORG**

## ATTRIBUTIONS

Art by Art Twink + Forward Together + Trans Student Wellness Initiative | page 16

Micah Bazant | Artist | page 15

Christine Brown | Cfreedom Photography page 45, top left

Jaffa Graves | page 21

Vic Hinterlang from Shutterstock | page 24

Louisiana Bucket Brigade | cover, top right

Tom Manning | Courtesy of Certain Days | page 12

Maddy Miller | cover, bottom left

Christopher Noxon | Artist | pages 26

Abby VanMuijen | Artist | pages 8, 30

Witness Against Torture | cover, top center

Jessica Hoffmann | Research and Writing | jess@jessicahoffmann.com

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**JUSTICE  
TAKES  
A FIGHT.**