

CENTER FOR
CONSTITUTIONAL
RIGHTS

ANNUAL REPORT '22



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Cover: Joy and Jo Banner, Co-Founders, The Descendants Project

MESSAGE FROM THE BOARD CO-CHAIRS

Revolutionary change requires radical lawyering, and now, more than ever, we need the bold, innovative, movement-focused vision the Center for Constitutional Rights is known for. As the twin scourges of white supremacy and fascism assault our democratic foundations, as attacks on reproductive and trans rights proliferate, as vulnerable communities continue to suffer, our mission remains clear. Your dedicated partnership and steadfast commitment to justice make our achievements possible; our accomplishments are your accomplishments. Thank you for being by our side in the fight for a just world that centers historically marginalized communities.

Your passion fuels our power. Together, we took on extraordinary new initiatives as part of our Southern Justice Rising initiative, including with the Descendants Project in a lawsuit to prevent the construction of a toxic grain terminal that would create dangerous environmental hazards and threaten the graves of enslaved people in the historic Black community of Wallace, Louisiana.

The Center for Constitutional Rights made great strides this year on issues we've been fighting for years. Among our many victories, we resolved our eminent domain case on behalf of landowners in Louisiana, whom the Bayou Bridge Pipeline Company will now have to compensate for the constitutional violations it committed on their property. When the Ramapough Lenape Nation was being subjected to racial and religious discrimination, we brokered a settlement that protects their right to perform religious and cultural ceremonies on their ancestral lands. We advanced efforts for police transparency and accountability when we successfully defended the repeal of Civil Rights Law § 50-a from New York City police, corrections, and firefighter unions

seeking to block the City from publishing officer misconduct and discipline information. And when our client Mariah Lopez suffered abuse in the New York City homeless shelter system, we reached a groundbreaking agreement with the City that will prevent discrimination against trans and gender-nonconforming people, provide critically needed access to shelters, and, ultimately, save lives.

In addition to these legal wins, we engaged in key advocacy opportunities like participating in the United Nations' review of U.S. compliance with the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination and issuing multiple reports on pressing social justice issues. We deepened our communications work to launch a dozen new podcasts, secure major coverage of our work in the press, and place our experts in the media to share our unique vision. And, of course, we trained the next generation of radical lawyers.

None of these victories are possible without you. We feel deep gratitude for all of our partners, whether new to us or longtime supporters. Special thanks to those who have made gifts to the Michael Ratner Campaign for the Next Generation, Justice Sustainers who contribute monthly, and Thelma Newman Society members who generously included us in their estate plans. Thank you to our fellow board members and passionate staff for bringing this fierce vision to life. Because of your contributions our family is stronger than ever, and we're fired up to take on emerging challenges.

**Lisa Crooms-Robinson
& Leila Hessini**
Co-Chairs, Board of Trustees



MESSAGE FROM THE EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

The Supreme Court has dealt us all a series of massive blows during an otherwise tough year, but because you have been at our side, we have been able to respond with clarity and fortitude.

This challenging moment has only reinforced how essential our work — and your unwavering support of our mission — has become. Despite major setbacks in the courts on the national stage, it has also been a year of vibrant growth for us, and we achieved a slew of major victories. This report is a testament to our vital work together fighting all forms of systemic oppression and building power in marginalized communities.

The U.S. Supreme Court's shameful decision in *Dobbs v. Jackson Women's Health* and legislative acts across the country have set the stage not only to shatter abortion rights but also to criminalize transgender identity and dismantle hard-won gender, LGBTQIA+, and other constitutional rights. These developments only increase the urgency of our efforts to demand access to the full spectrum of reproductive and other health care, and the right to protect the families we choose to have. For example, in addition to our withering critique of the *Dobbs* decision, we filed a Freedom of Information lawsuit in April against New York City's Administration for Children's Services (ACS) for documents that will help us hold it accountable for the firing of activist Joyce McMillan, who had criticized the agency for tearing apart Black families trapped in the child welfare system.

We expanded our legislative and congressional advocacy efforts with a rights-based roadmap of policy priorities rooted in human rights, international law, and our values of social change. In February, we officially relaunched our Southern Regional Office, which will be centered in Jackson, Mississippi, and brought on board fierce litigator Emily Rutledge-Early

to run it as associate director. Our Southern Justice Rising initiative is amplifying the impact of the transformative social justice work being done by movements, activists, and community leaders across the South, where our organization has deep roots in the Civil Rights Movement.



Twenty long years of relentless fighting on behalf of the men detained at Guantánamo resulted in momentous outcomes this year! *All five of our current clients* became eligible for transfer, and two of them — Mohammed al Qahtani and Sufyan Barhoumi — were in fact transferred. After a decade of legal and political strategizing, our client Majid Khan was finally able to tell his story at trial, the first public accounting of torture by a Guantánamo detainee held in secret CIA detention. Mr. Khan was subsequently granted a release date of March 1, and in June we filed a petition to insist that the Biden administration safely resettle him immediately.

We also won a major victory against corporate capture and the corrupting influence of the American Legislative Exchange Council (ALEC) in February when the Arizona Court of Appeals allowed our case challenging closed-door collusion between corporations and state lawmakers to proceed to trial.

The battles are ongoing, but no organization is better poised to face the moment. By partnering with grassroots movements, lawyers, activists, storytellers, communities under threat, and ALL OF YOU, the Center for Constitutional Rights has built a formidable machinery for demanding justice and transforming systems of exploitation. We have only been able to do this because of you—your resilience, your focus, your active compassion for the individuals and communities that most need our help, and your belief in us. Together, we change and save lives. Thank you!

In gratitude and solidarity,

Vince Warren
Executive Director

SOUTHERN JUSTICE RISING: WE RELAUNCHED OUR SOUTHERN REGIONAL OFFICE!

For more than four centuries, white supremacy has shaped U.S. law and society in ways that profoundly harm Black and Indigenous communities and all people of color. The U.S. South is where the most pernicious forms of racial violence and oppression persist, and, consequently, where lived and historical experiences can inform visions of liberation and justice most powerfully. **After years of planning, including conversations with allies and movement partners on the ground asking how we can best respond to this moment, we relaunched our Southern Regional Office in February.** Centered in Jackson, Mississippi, our *Southern Justice Rising* initiative is leveraging our 55 years of movement lawyering experience to advance the goals of Southern-based groups and social movements on the frontlines of the fight for Black liberation.

Together with our allies, we are deploying collaborative, strategic litigation and advocacy campaigns that strike at the roots of white supremacy, patriarchy, homophobia, environmental injustice, and class exploitation. We are partnering with Southern law schools and local law firms to build a pipeline of social justice lawyers and advocates through immersive training in our movement lawyering model of social change. And we are fighting the hateful ideas and policies produced by corporate, state, and private actors that oppress Black, Brown, LGBTQIA+, and poor people.

Our new associate director, Emily Rutledge-Early, is a distinguished litigator committed to realizing Black, Southern-led solutions to the social justice challenges communities in the South are facing. With newly hired staff attorney Jessica Vosburgh

at her side, Emily is hard at work connecting with stakeholders across the South to formulate a shared vision and plan for how the Center for Constitutional Rights can grow our contribution of litigation, advocacy, and strategic communications to the visionary work our partners are already doing.

We were already dedicating the resources and expertise of our New York-based staff to urgent work in the South, including our litigation and advocacy in support of the Descendants Project and our efforts to overturn “Jim Crow jury” convictions in Louisiana. Now, we are successfully supporting Southern-based movement partners on reproductive, mass incarceration and racial justice issues while training movement lawyers, legal advocates, and law students to serve as legal witnesses for the Poor People’s Campaign.



Our current political moment has generated innumerable threats to the communities we fight with and for—Black, Indigenous, and Brown people; women, religious minorities; LGBTQIA+ people; and immigrant communities. By reopening our Southern office, we are resoundingly responding to the call of our allies to redouble our efforts in demanding liberation, justice, and accountability in the South.

WE ARE PROUD TO WELCOME THESE BOARD MEMBERS!

NEW DIRECTIONS

Catherine Coleman Flowers

Montgomery, AL

Environmental justice activist, Founder and Director of the Center for Rural Enterprise and Environmental Justice (CREEJ)

Catherine has dedicated her life's work to advocating for environmental justice, primarily equal access to clean water, air, sanitation, and soil in Black, Indigenous, Latinx, and poor rural communities across the United States. In addition to her work with CREEJ, Catherine serves as rural development manager for Bryan Stevenson's Equal Justice Initiative, sits on the Board of Directors for the Climate Reality Project, and serves as vice chair of the White House Environmental Justice Advisory Council. She received her B.A. from Cameron University and her M.A. from the University of Nebraska at Kearney. The recipient of a MacArthur "genius" grant and the 2022 Harvard Law School Horizon Award for environmental policy contributions, Catherine is the author of *Waste: One Woman's Fight Against America's Dirty Secret*.



Meena Jagannath

Miami, FL

Human rights attorney, Director of Global Programs at Movement Law Lab

Meena is a movement lawyer with an extensive background in activism and international human rights, including work in Haiti and Guatemala. Prior to joining the Lab, Meena cofounded and codirected the Community Justice Project, Inc., a Miami-based organization that supports campaigns for racial justice and human rights. She has used her legal skills to build the power of movements around workers' rights, housing, gentrification, and police brutality. Meena holds a B.A. from Tufts University, an M.I.A. in human rights from the School of International and Public Affairs at Columbia University, and a J.D. from the University of Washington School of Law, where she was a William H. Gates Public Service Law Scholar.



Sylvester Johnson

Blacksburg, VA

Assistant Vice Provost for the Humanities and Professor of Religion and Culture at Virginia Tech, Director of the Center for Humanities

Sylvester’s research has examined religion, race, and empire in the Atlantic world and the impact of intelligent machines and human enhancement on human identity and race. He is the founding director of Virginia Tech’s Center for Humanities, and he leads a series of research symposia, “Future Humans, Human Futures,” funded by the Henry Luce Foundation that focuses on technology, ethics, and religion. He also co-leads a project supported by the Andrew W. Mellon Foundation to develop ethically designed, public-interest artificial intelligence that can benefit an innovation-driven society. Sylvester is the author of *The Myth of Ham in Nineteenth-Century American Christianity*, and he is a founding co-editor of the *Journal of Africana Religions*. He holds a Ph.D. in contemporary religious thought from Union Theological Seminary.



Rukia Lumumba

Jackson, MS

Executive Director of the People’s Advocacy Institute and Co-Director of Electoral Justice of the Movement for Black Lives

Rukia is a legal professional and transformative justice strategist whose work focuses on the intersection of criminal and electoral justice. She believes that increased community agency will build new institutional power that paves the way for a more just system rooted in restoration, resilience, and self-determination. Rukia has clerked for the Juvenile Rights Division of the Washington, D.C., Public Defender Service and served as director of the criminal justice nonprofits the Center for Alternative Sentencing and Employment Services and the Center for Community Alternatives. She currently serves on the boards of Operation Shoestring, the Edward W. Hazen Foundation, Black Voters Matter, and the Abolition Law Center. Rukia holds a bachelor’s degree in political science with an emphasis in international relations from Tougaloo College in Mississippi and a J.D. from Howard University School of Law.



Priscilla Ocen

Los Angeles, CA

Professor of Law at Loyola Law School

Priscilla's work explores the ways race, gender, and class interact to render women of color vulnerable to various forms of violence and criminalization. Prior to her position at Loyola, she was a Critical Race Studies Fellow at UCLA School of Law and served as the Thurgood Marshall Fellow at the Lawyers' Committee for Civil Rights of the San Francisco Bay Area. Priscilla served as a Fulbright Fellow in Kampala, Uganda, and assisted with the development of new programs in domestic violence centers in South Los Angeles. She received her B.A. from San Diego State University and her J.D. from the UCLA School of Law. Priscilla is co-author of the influential policy report *Black Girls Matter: Pushed Out, Overpoliced and Underprotected*.



Makani Themba

Jackson, MS

Chief Strategist at Higher Ground Change Strategies

Makani is a social justice innovator and pioneer in the fields of change communications and community-led policy development. Through Higher Ground Change Strategies, she supports change makers and partners in creating powerful, vision-based change. A longtime organizer, Makani has served in several organizations and movements over the years, starting with the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (Los Angeles) and, more recently, as founder and executive director of The Praxis Project. She has written numerous books and articles on race, class, communications, and policy advocacy including her book *Making Policy, Making Change: How Communities Are Taking Law Into Their Own Hands*. Makani is also a proud Jackson resident who deeply appreciates the city's resilience and rich legacy of resistance.



> STRUCTURAL RACISM:

DISMANTLING WHITE SUPREMACY



“A life sentence means death in this Commonwealth. The more I serve what feels like Death By Incarceration, the more I wonder, how could such a draconian penalty be handed down to those of us who’ve neither killed anyone nor intended to kill. There has to be some room for a chance at redemption.”

—Marie Scott

*Center for Constitutional Rights client and lead plaintiff in
Scott v. Pennsylvania Board of Probation and Parole*

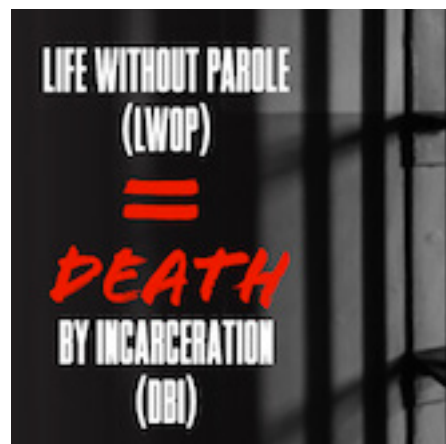
INTRODUCTION

A commitment to racial justice has been the backbone of the Center for Constitutional Rights' mission since our founding in the crucible of the Civil Rights Movement. To dismantle white supremacy, we perpetually challenge laws and policies that enshrine anti-Blackness, settler colonialism, xenophobia, and all forms of racist oppression that harm communities of color and perpetuate systemic inequality. Protecting white supremacy has always been an animating force in the law, and we recognize mass incarceration as one symptom of a society that has failed to account for these historical injustices. Our work focuses on diminishing white supremacy's devastating impact while also promoting Indigenous sovereignty and shining a harsh light on the mistreatment of Black and Brown asylum seekers here at home and around the world. Long-term sustainable change demands that we reroute resources from the mechanisms of state subjugation to the organizations and entities that feed and nurture our communities. We all have a stake in tearing down the pillars of institutionalized white supremacy, and your unwavering commitment to these efforts makes possible a world truly defined by justice and equality. We are filled with deep gratitude for your continued investment in this crucial work.

FEATURED CASES

Fighting Structural Racism in Mass Incarceration

The Center for Constitutional Rights works in solidarity with those who have been imprisoned and supports our partners in dismantling the system of mass incarceration. This year we saw important gains in our work to decarcerate people and abolish prisons.



Striving to End Death by Incarceration

In October 2021, the Center for Constitutional Rights, along with our partners the Abolitionist Law Center and the Amistad Law Project, filed an appeal to the Pennsylvania Supreme Court in *Scott v. Pennsylvania Board of Probation and Parole*, our groundbreaking legal challenge to life without parole – a punishment our allies believe should be referred to as Death by Incarceration (DBI). During oral arguments on April 13, our team outlined the irrationality, injustice, and inhumanity of a carceral system in which people convicted under Pennsylvania’s “felony murder” rule are subjected to a mandatory sentence of life without parole even if they did not take a life, or intend to, during the crime. Extremely long sentences such as those handed to our clients in this case are cruel and dehumanizing and serve no public purpose, and we are fighting to secure a chance at parole that will finally return them to their families and our community.

Like incarceration overall, vast racial disparities exist within Pennsylvania’s Death by Incarceration sentencing scheme: Black people are sentenced to DBI at a rate 18 times higher, and Latinx people at a rate five times higher, than white people. In fact, 70 percent of people serving DBI sentences in the state are Black. As part of our ongoing abolitionist efforts nationally, we filed the *Scott* complaint with our partners in 2020, joining demands around the country for an end to state violence against Black people. The Commonwealth Court of Pennsylvania dismissed our petition in May 2021, but the Pennsylvania Supreme Court allowed our appeal.

Building off years of organizing and advocacy by activists and organizers, including those who are or were incarcerated, this lawsuit highlights just how grossly disproportionate and unconstitutionally cruel Pennsylvania’s mandatory sentencing scheme is. Freeing individuals from the unconscionable racism of an excessively punitive carceral system is an issue of liberation. A win in the *Scott* case could have a powerful ripple effect on mass incarceration across the country, and your partnership makes this transformative change possible. The case and our clients received news coverage in the *Pittsburgh City Paper*, among other places.

Freeing Those Convicted by Jim Crow Juries

As part of our Southern Justice Rising project, the Center for Constitutional Rights is working as part of a mass effort led by the Promise of Justice Initiative to free the many people incarcerated in Louisiana after having been convicted by non-unanimous “Jim Crow juries.” In June, we secured the release on parole of client Rufus Henry, who was finally reunited with his family after 31 years of incarceration. He continues to challenge his conviction. We also filed an amicus brief in *State v. Reddick*, a key case before the Louisiana Supreme Court about whether the U.S. Supreme Court’s 2020 decision in *Ramos v. Louisiana*—that non-unanimous verdicts in felony cases are unconstitutional—should be applied retroactively. Our groundbreaking brief framed Louisiana’s 1896 statute establishing non-unanimous juries as a key weapon created during the post-Reconstruction resurgence of white supremacy and convict labor systems to effectively re-enslave and

economically exploit Black people. As such, we argued, the law is contrary to the abolitionist vision of the Thirteenth Amendment's prohibition on any vestiges of slavery and involuntary servitude.

Our legal team is working to overturn the convictions of clients Mr. Henry and Matthew Allen, two Black men handed life sentences after being convicted by these prejudicial juries (*State v. Henry / State v. Allen*). Jim Crow verdicts perpetuate systems of enslavement, and the abhorrent results can be seen today in Louisiana's disproportionately high rates of incarceration for Black people. With our partners, we will continue to seek justice for those imprisoned by a racist court system.

Fighting for Compassionate Release from Excessive Sentencing

In November, we filed a motion for compassionate release in the Eastern District of New York on behalf of our client Charles Watts, a Black man who in 1992 was excessively sentenced to more than 92 years in prison because of a tough-on-crime statute that required him to serve mandatory minimums consecutively (*Charles Watts v. United States*). The 2018 First Step Act amended the statute to end this practice of "stacking," offering district courts the option to grant motions for compassionate release for someone with Mr. Watts's circumstances: a first-time offender whose crimes caused no physical harm. After the government opposed our motion, we filed a reply brief in January supplemented by a handwritten letter from Mr. Watts, now 51, making the case for his rehabilitation and release. "I want to show the world that it is never too late to start over again and do better," he wrote. Thank you for providing us with the resources to remain steadfast in this fight! A win here will be significant in bending the criminal legal system toward mercy and redemption.

HIGHLIGHTS

Using FOIA to Challenge Systems of Oppression

The Center for Constitutional Rights' Open Records Project uses the Freedom of Information Act (FOIA) and state open records laws as tools for ensuring that our allies have access to the information they need to fight powerful interests and expose official misconduct. Recently, we used a Freedom of Information Law (FOIL) request to seek internal communications from New York City's Administration for Children's Services (ACS) about the firing of a parents-rights activist who, while working for an ACS-funded nonprofit, criticized the agency for harming Black families. After ACS failed to comply with our request, we worked with our

Protecting Black Immigrants and Asylum Seekers

In support of the grassroots coalition Alliance in Defense of Black Immigrants, we filed Freedom of Information Act (FOIA) requests in April 2021 seeking information from U.S. Immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE), the Department of Homeland Security, and other federal agencies about Cameroonian asylum seekers deported in the fall of 2020 despite an ongoing civil war in Cameroon that has displaced nearly 700,000 people. In October 2021, the Center for Constitutional Rights, Project South, and the Southern Poverty Law Center filed a subsequent FOIA lawsuit demanding information about the wrongful deportations and torture of the Cameroonian refugees. In addition, we published a primer, "Cameroonian Immigration in Crisis," whose research informed our domestic policy interventions in pursuit of Temporary Protected Status for Cameroon as well as our international advocacy efforts before the UN Special Rapporteur on Minority Issues. The Secretary of Homeland Security ultimately designated Cameroon for Temporary Protected Status, officially protecting the 40,000 Cameroonian refugees in the United States as of June. We will continue to hold the U.S. government accountable for its brutal treatment of Black immigrants and to protect them from further harm.

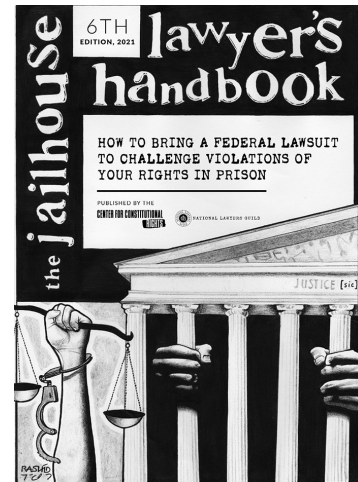
Holding the Biden Administration Accountable

As part of the Black Alliance for Just Immigration's (BAJI) *Until We Are Free* table, we sent a letter to President Biden in August 2021 insisting that his administration adopt a fair and humane immigration system driven by racial justice. The open letter calls for an end to racist, punitive policies that criminalize Black immigrants, the granting of immediate humanitarian parole for all Black asylum seekers trapped on the Mexican side of the U.S.-Mexico border, and a shift from an enforcement approach to one of protection. And in September 2021, the Center for Constitutional Rights threatened the Biden administration with a lawsuit after news reports broke that it planned to detain Haitians seeking asylum at Guantánamo. We will never sit idly by while the administration warehouses people in this brutal island prison as a way to avoid the law. With you at our side, we will continue to ensure that these refugees are protected.

Honoring the Legacy of Jailhouse Lawyers

The Center for Constitutional Rights and the National Lawyers Guild published an expanded and updated edition of the *Jailhouse Lawyers Handbook (JLH)*, a free legal resource for those incarcerated and their family members to mount challenges to mistreatment and abuse and to ensure access to crucial services and support. First published in the 1970s, the *JLH* demystifies prison legal issues and works toward democratizing

partners to file a petition seeking a court order to force the release of additional records. We also filed a FOIA request on behalf of Muslims for Human Rights (MUHURI) to demand information from federal agencies about U.S. involvement in alleged human rights abuses committed by the secretive, CIA-trained Kenyan Rapid Response Team (RRT). And we filed a FOIA lawsuit along with our partners Project South and the Southern Poverty Law Center to uncover details from ICE and DHS about the wrongful deportations of Cameroonian asylum seekers in 2020, as well as their mistreatment while in custody before being returned to a country ravaged by civil war.



Defending Indigenous People

In April, we brokered a settlement between our client, the Ramapough Lenape Nation, and the Ramapo Hunt & Polo Club Homeowners Association that brings their conflict over the use of ancestral Ramapough lands to a peaceful end (*Ramapough Mountain Indians, Inc. v. Township of Mahwah, Ramapo Hunt & Polo Club*). The agreement both protects the Ramapough's right to pray and gather on their land and provides monetary compensation. The Ramapough had filed a federal lawsuit in 2018 after suffering years of fines, racist harassment, and threats for performing religious and cultural ceremonies on their sacred lands, which are adjacent to the Polo Club. The Center for Constitutional Rights, along with the law firm of Weil, Gotshal & Manges, argued that the Township of Mahwah and the Polo Club were engaging in racial and religious discrimination by denying the Ramapough their constitutional right to freely enjoy their land. A favorable settlement was reached with Mahwah in 2019, and the Ramapough entered into more than a year of mediation with the Polo Club that we have finally resolved. We are inspired by the Ramapough's resilience and commitment as we continue to work with our partners defending Indigenous sovereignty over their land.

Putting an End to Discriminatory Policing

The Center for Constitutional Rights continues to fight for an end to racially discriminatory and unconstitutional law enforcement practices via our ongoing federal class action lawsuit *Floyd v. City of New York*. In July 2021, we filed a motion asking the court to

ensure transparency and meaningful input from the communities most impacted by stop-and-frisk policies throughout the mandated reform process being overseen by a court-appointed monitor. In January, the court appointed a new monitor, and subsequent monitor's reports show that the NYPD continues to underreport stops and that there remain severe racial disparities in who is stopped. Along with our co-counsels Beldock, Levine and Hoffman, and Covington & Burling, we filed the *Floyd* lawsuit in 2008 to challenge the NYPD's practices of racial profiling and unconstitutional stop and frisks, which primarily impact Black and Latinx New Yorkers. In 2013, we won a landmark ruling that found the NYPD's practices to be racially discriminatory and unconstitutional, and the court appointed a monitor to oversee reforms. This historic case extends our founding tradition of working with grassroots groups and directly affected communities to fight for racial justice, a mission we could not pursue without your dedicated support. Reporters from *Gothamist* and *The Intercept* covered this story.

Securing Human Rights Around the World

The Center for Constitutional Rights has a strong practice of engaging with international human rights bodies to draw attention to the experiences of those most impacted by the U.S. government's failures to protect and uphold human rights. In November 2021, we prepared a submission and organized a briefing with the UN Special Rapporteur on Minority Issues, Fernand de Varennes, to assist in his visit to the United States. In our submission we gave particular attention to the systemic barriers that minority communities face with regard to effective political participation, including denial of the right to vote and the right to voice dissent, as well as to the U.S. government's failures to guarantee access to justice, including through the criminalization of communities.

In anticipation of the UN's August review of U.S. compliance with its human rights obligations under the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination (CERD), we submitted a List of Themes outlining our key concerns with regard to the laws, policies, and practices that impact racialized communities, including Indigenous, Black, Brown, Muslim, and immigrant communities. In July 2022, we submitted a shadow report together with our partners from Louisiana entitled "The Afterlife of Black Enslavement: Environmental Racism and the Desecration of Black History in Louisiana." We previously played a critical role in the 2008 and 2014 UN CERD Committee review processes by signing onto, contributing to, or authoring reports on police brutality, the suspicionless surveillance of Muslim communities, and the use of Communications Management Units by the Federal Bureau of Prisons. Working in coalition with our partners, we will never stop advocating before these international bodies for the protection and dignity of all peoples.



the struggle against abuse in prison by explaining the court system, providing methods for legal research, summarizing prisoners' constitutional rights, and outlining legal options for those incarcerated. Hard copies were distributed widely to prisoners and prisoners' rights groups, and it can be accessed online. On August 17, 2021, as part of our Black August celebrations, we launched the new edition of the handbook with the free public event "Fighting for Freedom From the Inside: Celebrating the Advocacy of Jailhouse Lawyers," which was headlined by three groundbreaking prison rights activists whose activism has transformed the landscape of jailhouse lawyering.

Staying Accountable to the Black Freedom Struggle

On February 28, 2022, as part of our Black History Month programming, we held our keynote event, "For the Love of Rage: The Power of Rage in Pursuit of Black Liberation," to highlight how the state and its institutions have used violence, incarceration, surveillance, and systemic abandonment to suppress Black rage and any alternative vision of a world repaired. Center for Constitutional Rights board members, representatives from the Dream Defenders, and community healers had a special conversation moderated by Executive Director Vince Warren that sourced Black rage as an expression of love for the community's past, present, and future, and a key element of demanding fundamental change.

> PATRIARCHY:

FIGHTING GENDER-BASED OPPRESSION



“Everyone deserves safe, dignified housing options. With this settlement, I hope the City will take one more step toward creating a city—and homeless shelter system—that can adequately serve and welcome those who find themselves truly in need of support and compassion.”

—Mariah Lopez

Center for Constitutional Rights client, activist, and Afro-Latina trans woman with disabilities who secured groundbreaking reforms for trans, nonbinary, intersex, and gender-nonconforming people in the NYC shelter system.

INTRODUCTION

For more than 50 years, the Center for Constitutional Rights has worked to dismantle the destructive power of gender-based oppression. Thanks to our partnership with you and the movements and communities most impacted by patriarchal violence, we take an intersectional approach to advancing gender justice that recognizes the specific effects on and leadership of those multiply marginalized in terms of race, class, ethnicity, sexuality, gender, and disability, among other identities. We challenge the systemic harms endured daily by women, girls, and transfeminine, transmasculine, nonbinary, and intersex people (including those who embody multiple identities). We also advocate for those in the sex trades; those incarcerated, surveilled, and policed; those fighting for access to sexual and reproductive freedom and gender-affirming healthcare; those impacted by environmental inequality, poverty, and organized abandonment by government institutions and services; and those targeted by the discrimination-to-incarceration pipeline. While the effects can vary based on identity and access, all of us are impacted by patriarchal violence and thus have a stake in building a world without persecution, discrimination, and denial of resources. Your crucial partnership bolsters our commitment to ending all forms of gender-based oppression and violence. Thank you for sharing our transformative vision!



Fighting Against Inhumanity

We continue to keep Ms. Diamond's important case in the public eye. *Xtra Magazine* published a feature about her brutal ordeal and our critical work on her behalf in November 2021. With SPLC, we released video and other social media featuring her for Transgender Day of Visibility on March 31.

Protecting Cameroonian Migrant Women

During Black August – the annual month-long commemoration of Black political prisoners and their freedom struggles – the Center for Constitutional Rights, along with the Cameroon American Council and #CameroonTPS Coalition, sent a letter to women members of Congress urging them to support a Temporary Protected Status (TPS) designation for Cameroon and for Cameroonian refugees in the United States. The action comes amid our filing of Freedom Of Information Act (FOIA) requests and a FOIA lawsuit demanding information from federal agencies about the wrongful deportations of Cameroonian asylum seekers in the fall of 2020 and the torture of refugees. Cameroonian civilians face a humanitarian crisis fueled by five armed conflicts: torture, arbitrary imprisonment, violence, and gender oppression are rampant, with women disproportionately impacted. In U.S. detention centers and ICE facilities, Cameroonian women suffer additional repression, as anti-Black, anti-African, sexist discrimination has resulted in harsh conditions, assaults, and inadequate medical care. Even under duress Cameroonian women have fought to improve detention conditions across the country, and our support for their protection and release will not waver.

FEATURED CASE

Making NYC Shelters Safer and More Accessible for LGBTQIA+ People and People With Disabilities

You played a critical role in helping our client Mariah Lopez, an Afro-Latina transgender woman with disabilities and executive director of Strategic Trans Alliance for Radical Reform, achieve an important victory for LGBTQIA+ people and people with disabilities experiencing homelessness in New York City. The Center for Constitutional Rights, along with the Harvard Law School LGBTQ+ Advocacy Clinic, represented Ms. Lopez in the settlement phase of her hard-fought litigation that forced negotiations and resulted in a groundbreaking settlement with the City in November that will provide critically needed access to shelters and prevent discrimination against trans, nonbinary, intersex, and gender-nonconforming (TGNC) people (*Mariah Lopez v. New York City Department of Homeless Services*). Under the agreement, the City will create dedicated shelter units for TGNC people in New York City by the end of the year; make the intake process safer, more respectful, and easier for TGNC clients; provide staff, contractors, and vendors with training on the rights of TGNC people; and strengthen the shelter complaint investigation process. The settlement also includes a damages award for Ms. Lopez for the discrimination and harms she endured in New York City homeless shelters.

A longtime community activist, Ms. Lopez originally filed her lawsuit in 2017 after being denied access to Marsha's House, the City's only shelter designed for LGBTQIA+ people, with her service animal. She then faced sexual and verbal abuse from staff, who repeatedly misgendered her and referred to her using anti-trans slurs. After complaining, she was transferred to shelters ill-equipped to meet the needs of transgender people, which effectively forced her back into an extended period of street homelessness. Her experience of abuse and discrimination is distressingly common. Like Ms. Lopez, we know that TGNC people, particularly Black and Latinx transfeminine people, are disproportionately vulnerable to violence and criminalization both on the streets and in homeless shelters.

This settlement will implement concrete changes that advance the dignity and safety of unhoused TGNC people. Ultimately, we aim for these transformative, long overdue reforms – part of a fight that trans activists and homeless advocates, particularly Black and Latinx trans women, have

been waging for decades – to serve as a model for other cities. The Center for Constitutional Rights will continue to hold the City accountable to ensure that TGNC people are protected and treated with dignity so they never endure abuse like that Ms. Lopez suffered. Ms. Lopez’s story was featured in a major New York Times profile and we featured disability justice on our podcast in October.

HIGHLIGHTS

Fighting to Protect and Free Incarcerated LGBTQIA+ People

“This fight is not just my fight, it’s our fight. My hope is that this lawsuit forever changes the way transgender people in Georgia are treated, so that the future is brighter for people like me.” —Ashley Diamond

Ms. Diamond is the Center for Constitutional Rights client, prisoners’ rights activist, and Black trans woman whose lawsuits against the Georgia Department of Corrections have challenged its policies regarding the safety and healthcare of transgender people who are incarcerated.

Ashley Diamond, a Black transgender woman and prisoners’ rights activist, was held in a men’s prison in Georgia where she has suffered repeated sexual abuse and denial of vital health care. As part of our Southern Justice Rising project, the Center for Constitutional Rights, along with the Southern Poverty Law Center (SPLC), represents Ms. Diamond in her legal battle (*Diamond v. Ward*) for protection from the repeated sexual assaults she has endured while in Georgia Department of Corrections (GDC) custody, as well as access to appropriate healthcare. Last fall, Ms. Diamond submitted new evidence documenting the brutal treatment she has suffered, and in February she renewed her federal court request for transfer to a female facility or other relief in response to GDC’s utter failure to take any action to protect her. In March, the court both scheduled an expedited jury trial for later in the year and ordered GDC to adopt new safety measures to protect Ms. Diamond in the meantime. We are thrilled that she was released on parole this summer and recognize that in many ways she is facing a whole new set of challenges. We know you are committed to equality and freedom, and we could not do this work without you. Justice takes a fight, and together we will never stop striving for an end to abusive detention policies and gender-based oppression.

Honoring Black Feminist Resistance

During Women’s History Month, the Center for Constitutional Rights highlighted the spirit and powerful legacy of Black feminist organizing with “But Some of Us Are Brave: Honoring Black Feminist Resistance to Patriarchal Violence.”

A mix of political education, oral histories, writing, and archival work, this programming was designed to shift the narrative and disrupt both the traditional prioritization of cisgender white womanhood in Women’s History Month commemorations and the isolation of gender justice from broader struggles for liberation. We also issued an institutional statement reaffirming our duty to support – and asking others to join us in supporting – those fighting to dismantle the patriarchal violence that harms gender-oppressed people in our communities, particularly Black cis/trans women, girls, and nonbinary and transmasculine people. And we compiled both a database of recommendations of relevant film, literature, and podcasts from leading thinkers such as bell hooks, Audre Lorde, and Tourmaline, and a resource list of our historical and current gender justice work centering Black cis/trans women, girls, and nonbinary, intersex, and transmasculine people. In conjunction with these events, the Center for Constitutional Rights released a podcast featuring scholar, lawyer, and organizer Andrea Ritchie where we discussed Black feminist and abolitionist histories, formations, and practices. We challenge ourselves and others to renew a commitment to rallying against the racialized sexism, homophobia, and transphobia that seek to limit bodily autonomy, gender self-determination, and the freedom to demand a just society.

> OPPRESSIVE ECONOMIC SYSTEMS:

COMBATING CORPORATE CAPTURE



“I remember my parents telling us that we were going to have to move. They were told there was nothing they could do and the parish was taking our land. We didn’t think we had a choice. This is a miscarriage of justice that is still causing us tremendous trauma, and it needs to be corrected. We need peace.”

—Jo Banner

Co-founder of the Descendants Project and lead plaintiff in our suit challenging the construction of a toxic industrial project in historic Wallace, Louisiana

INTRODUCTION

The Center for Constitutional Rights works to expose and dismantle oppressive economic systems at home and abroad. We fight to hold accountable a voracious corporate culture that exploits the people and the land, and we vehemently defend those who speak out about abuses committed by U.S. corporations around the world. We support movements for economic, environmental, social, and racial justice while working to restrict corporate influence over government policy and lawmaking that benefits private industry at the expense of the environment, low-income people, and communities of color. Whether preventing land grabs by toxic industries, building global solidarity around human rights protections, or drawing scrutiny to the ways in which private technology companies enable the illegal surveillance of migrants and immigrants, we remain dedicated to protecting people over profit. Your continued investment is a crucial tool in our fight against government and corporate wrongdoing, exploitative economic models, and environmental racism. You have our deep gratitude for enabling us to prioritize the best interests of the global community.

FEATURED CASE

Protecting Historic Black Communities from Toxic Industry

A Louisiana state court judge has repeatedly rejected industry efforts to dismiss our lawsuit to protect a historic Black community from the construction of a toxic grain terminal, allowing our case, *The Descendants Project v. St. John the Baptist Parish*, to proceed. We are close to an important victory to prevent further acts of environmental racism in Louisiana's Cancer Alley, an area already in the top one percent for risk of respiratory cancer in the United States.

As part of our Southern Justice Rising initiative, the Center for Constitutional Rights works to prevent industrial projects that would create dangerous environmental hazards in marginalized communities. In the fall of 2021, we partnered with The Descendants Project to stop the approval of a massive grain terminal proposed by Greenfield Louisiana, LLC, that would threaten residents of Wallace, Louisiana, a historic Black community with homes as close as 300 feet from the terminal's proposed site. Based in Wallace, the Descendants Project was established by our clients Joy and Jo Banner, sisters and local business owners who are themselves descendants of people enslaved in Louisiana.

We are close to an important victory to prevent further acts of environmental racism in Louisiana's Cancer Alley.



L to R: Co-Counsel Jim Quigley, Descendants Project Co-Founders Jo and Joy Banner, CCR Senior Staff Attorney Pam Spees after a victorious hearing in April that paved the way for the Judge to rule on the merits of our case.



Wallace Grain Elevator protest.

In 1990, a rezoning ordinance passed by corrupt means rezoned the relevant large tract of land from residential to industrial. In November 2021, we filed a petition seeking a court order to have the ordinance declared null and void because the parish president who had pushed and signed it into law was subsequently convicted on federal charges of extortion and money laundering in connection with the effort, which included

pressuring residents to sell their property to the company seeking the zoning. Thirty years later, Greenfield seeks to develop the land for a “high hazard industry” that would increase the risk of fires and explosions; potentially destroy burial sites of people who had been enslaved on the property and endanger two landmarked former plantations; and elevate health risks such as asthma, chronic bronchitis, and recurrent conjunctivitis.

Greenfield has repeatedly tried to have the lawsuit dismissed, but the state court judge has twice rejected its requests, clearing the way for him to rule on the case’s merits. In May, we filed a motion requesting a temporary restraining order and preliminary injunction to prevent Greenfield from starting any ground-breaking activity, as research had identified the likely presence of unmarked burial sites on the land. On June 3, the court denied the injunction, but the hearing provided an important forum for the Banner sisters to speak to the legacies of slavery and to get archaeological experts on record confirming that the graves of enslaved people exist on these sites. We are planning to file for summary judgment since the judge has already held that the ordinance is unlawful and it would preclude any commercial operations.

In addition, our widespread advocacy work with the Descendants Project has involved organizing over a dozen meetings with members of Congress in January 2022, supporting a partnership with Representatives Raul Grijalva (AZ) and Donald McEachin (VA) to inform the Environmental Justice for All Act, sponsoring a congressional delegation in Cancer Alley in June that included a ceremony on Juneteenth, and facilitating a public forum in July. We featured the Banner sisters on our podcast in April.

Your investment in this work has been critical to our ability to support organizations like the Descendants Project, which was founded to “reverse the contemporary legacies of slavery faced by the local descendant community.” Our success here could have a protective effect for similarly endangered Southern communities that have been ravaged by environmental racism for generations.

We filed a petition seeking a court order to have the ordinance declared null and void because the parish president who had pushed and signed it into law was subsequently convicted on federal charges of extortion and money laundering in connection with the effort, which included pressuring residents to sell their property to the company seeking the zoning.



HIGHLIGHTS

Fighting Secretive Corporate Influence

The Center for Constitutional Rights has secured an important victory in our fight against corporate capture, the practice of private industry exercising undue political influence on government decision-making that benefits corporations while threatening communities and the environment. In February, the Arizona Court of Appeals vacated the Superior Court’s dismissal of our case *Puente, et al. v. Arizona State Legislature*, rejecting all the legislature’s arguments and allowing our case to proceed to trial. We had sued in 2019 on behalf of the Arizona Palestine Solidarity Alliance, Mijente Support Committee, Puente, and Black Lives Matter Phoenix Metro to establish that attendance by a majority of members of several Arizona state congressional committees at closed-door meetings of the American Legislative Exchange Council (ALEC) violates Arizona’s Open Meeting Law. ALEC is notorious for its outsized influence over the drafting and introduction of hundreds of “model bills” that eventually become state laws, typically at the expense of marginalized communities. The court’s decision affirms that the legislature cannot exempt itself from its own Open Meeting Law. It’s a ruling with national implications for our work exposing the ways in which corporations collude with state lawmakers to safeguard white supremacy and corporate power outside of public view.

Promoting Global Solidarity via Transnational Advocacy

Internationalism and global solidarity is a key political commitment of our advocacy team. In October, Center for Constitutional Rights Advocacy Program Manager Dominic Renfrey attended the seventh session of the open-ended intergovernmental working group on transnational corporations and other business enterprises with respect to human rights (the “IGWG”) at the United Nations in Geneva. The United States had been obstructing the process of developing what would be the first international treaty to address corporate-related human rights abuses so as to protect the interests of U.S. corporations. In response, we sent an urgent letter to President Biden demanding constructive engagement with the IGWG and called out corporate capture of UN and U.S. climate protections during the proceedings. In December, Mr. Renfrey was a panelist, along with representatives from Indigenous and trade union organizations, at an event we co-sponsored with the International Corporate Accountability Roundtable (ICAR) during which they discussed the major takeaways from the treaty negotiations. By strategically engaging international human rights mechanisms and forging alliances with movement partners, particularly in the Global South, we are helping to build and shift power on a global scale.

Exposing Technology Companies’ Human Rights Abuses

On February 28, the Center for Constitutional Rights made a submission to the UN Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights drawing attention to the dangerous and exploitative activities of technology companies. Our submission on behalf of the Immigrant Defense Project’s (IDP’s) Surveillance Tech and Immigration Policing project addresses the growing ecosystem of public-private surveillance of migrants and immigrants in the United States and the ways that the state and business enterprises consistently violate all three core UN Guiding Principles on Business and Human Rights. We focus on the ways that tech companies fuel the U.S. government’s surveillance, invasive biometrics collection, and policing, detention, and deportation of migrants. State actors such as the U.S. Department of Homeland Security (DHS) and technology companies jointly threaten and violate citizens’ and noncitizens’ rights to equality and nondiscrimination, freedom of expression, freedom of peaceful assembly and association, and privacy. We recognize that private companies’ enabling of ongoing violations of international human rights law warrants enhanced scrutiny, regulation, and national and international action. Your partnership is key to our ability to expose new and emerging digital technologies whenever they intersect with and violate human rights.



Submission to the Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights on the practical application of the United Nations Guiding Principles on Business and Human Rights to the activities of technology companies

This submission is on behalf of the Immigrant Defense Project’s (IDP’s) Surveillance Tech and Immigration Policing project, and the Center for Constitutional Rights (CCR), in response to the Office of High Commissioner’s call for stakeholder input on Resolution 47/23, “New and emerging digital technologies and human rights.” We address the growing ecosystem of public-private surveillance of migrants and immigrants in the United States, and the ways that the State and business enterprises consistently violate all three core Guiding Principles on Business and Human Rights.¹ Our submission focuses on the ways that technology companies fuel the US government’s surveillance, invasive biometrics collection, policing, detention, and deportation of migrants. To draw on the risks that the resolution itself highlights, State actors including the US Department of Homeland Security (DHS) and technology companies jointly threaten and violate citizens’ and noncitizens’ “right to equality and non-discrimination, the right to freedom of opinion and expression, the rights to freedom of peaceful assembly and freedom of association, the right to an effective remedy and the right to privacy.”² Particularly in the absence of effective remedy, private companies’ enabling of ongoing violations of international human rights law warrants enhanced scrutiny, regulation, and national and international action.

IDP is an NGO based in New York that works to ensure fairness and justice for immigrants at the intersection of the criminal legal and immigration systems.³ CCR, a New York-based organization, works with communities under threat to fight for justice and liberation through litigation, advocacy, and strategic communications.⁴ We are extremely concerned about the massive investment in and use of digital technologies by US Immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE) and other DHS agencies, and the ongoing violations and continued threats to human rights arising from that collaboration. ICE and other DHS agencies have a well-documented history of abuse and human rights violations including medical neglect, forced family separation, use of solitary confinement, and psychological torture.⁵

¹ The UN Guiding Principles (UNGPs) are grounded in the following general principles, which underpin the “protect, respect, remedy” three-pillar framework:

- a. States’ existing obligations to respect, protect and fulfill human rights and fundamental freedoms;
- b. The role of business enterprises as specialized organs of society performing specialized functions, required to comply with all applicable laws and to respect human rights;
- c. The need for rights and obligations to be matched to appropriate and effective remedies when breached.

² General Assembly resolution 47/23, *New and emerging digital technologies and human rights*, A/HRC/RES/47/23 (13 July 2021), available at <https://undocs.org/A/HRC/RES/47/23>.

³ For more information on IDP, visit <https://www.immigrantdefenseproject.org>. For more info on IDP’s Surveillance Tech & Immigration Policing Project, visit <https://www.immigrantdefenseproject.org/surveillance-tech-immigration-policing>.

⁴ For more information on CCR, visit www.ccr.org.

⁵ *Abuse, Assault, and Solitary: How State and Sheriff States “Used by Design” Violates of Residents from Immigration Detention*, Immigrant Defense Project and Center for Constitutional Rights (February 2022), <https://www.immigrantdefenseproject.org/abuse-assault-and-solitary>; *Immigration Detention: A Human Rights Crisis and a Call for Reform*, Center for Constitutional Rights (July 2020), <https://www.ccr.org/immigration-detention>; *Immigration Detention: A Human Rights Crisis and a Call for Reform*, Center for Constitutional Rights (July 2020), <https://www.ccr.org/immigration-detention>; *Immigration Detention: A Human Rights Crisis and a Call for Reform*, Center for Constitutional Rights (July 2020), <https://www.ccr.org/immigration-detention>.

We focus on the ways that tech companies fuel the U.S. government’s surveillance, invasive biometrics collection, and policing, detention, and deportation of migrants.

> ABUSIVE STATE POWER:

CHALLENGING UNJUST GOVERNMENT POLICIES



“I want to be clear that my intention today is simple. I have one purpose. To tell my story with the hope that you better understand who I was and who I have become. I want you to know what I did, what happened to me, and what I hope for the future.”

—Majid Khan

Longtime Center for Constitutional Rights client, victim of the CIA Torture Program, and Guantánamo detainee for 16 years testifying before a military sentencing commission

INTRODUCTION

Since its founding, the Center for Constitutional Rights has fought against authoritarian ideologies in the United States and around the world. We work to eradicate laws and policies that protect and bolster white supremacy and terrorize vulnerable communities. In service to this mission, we defend immigrants, Muslims, people incarcerated in the U.S., and those who have endured torture, war crimes, and violations of their human rights. With our many partners and supporters, we build power with those at the margins and fight back against state abuses of power in the areas of foreign policy, immigration, and racial and religious profiling, such as the so-called War on Terror and the unlawful detention camps at Guantánamo Bay. Your crucial investments are key to our ability to defend individuals and communities from the deadly politics of domination and impunity driven by U.S. imperialism, xenophobia, and racism. Thank you for partnering with us in our work to hold government officials and institutions accountable, here and abroad.

FEATURED CASE

Holding the U.S. Government Accountable for Torture

As we marked the 20th anniversary of the terrorist attacks of 9/11 and the opening of the military prison at Guantánamo Bay this year, we saw our efforts on behalf of those detained indefinitely at Guantánamo come to extraordinary fruition. With your help, after 18 years in U.S. custody, our longtime client Majid Khan was finally granted the opportunity to tell his story of torture and abuse to a jury of senior military officers at his sentencing hearing October 28-29, 2021. The Center for Constitutional Rights and our co-counsel were there with Mr. Khan at Guantánamo as he read his full 39-page personal statement, historic testimony that marked the first time a CIA torture survivor and Guantánamo detainee had spoken publicly about his abuse.

In a remarkable turn of events, seven of the eight military officers on the jury wrote a handwritten letter to the Department of Defense urging clemency for Mr. Khan and describing his cruel and inhuman treatment as “a stain on the moral fiber of America.” He was subsequently scheduled for release on March 1, 2022. As the Biden administration still had not safely resettled Mr. Khan in a third country so he could be reunited with his wife and daughter and begin the next chapter of his life, on June 7 we filed a new habeas case to force the administration to take more substantial steps. At the same time, we are pressuring the administration to make sure that he will receive appropriate medical and other rehabilitative care as part of his resettlement arrangements.

The sentencing trial marked the culmination of a legal and political strategy devised and implemented methodically by the Center for Constitutional Rights and Mr. Khan’s legal team over the last decade. A citizen of Pakistan with political asylum status in the United States, Mr. Khan was forcibly disappeared by U.S. officials in March 2003 and tortured at overseas “black sites” operated by the CIA. In September 2006, he was rendered to Guantánamo, where he has been detained ever since. We have represented him in four cases – *Khan v. Biden*, *Khan v. Obama*, *Khan v. Gates*, and *United States v. Khan* – and worked tirelessly to uncover details of his brutal torture in CIA custody. He fought his detention in federal court until 2012, when he was charged by military commission, pled guilty, and agreed to be a cooperating witness for the government. Following three historic and precedential rulings, the government agreed to renegotiate Mr. Khan’s plea agreement, and, in July 2021, the judge approved a revised agreement providing for Mr. Khan to receive a reduced sentence that made him eligible for release as early as February 2022.

The public attention to Mr. Khan’s brutal ordeal generated extensive media coverage and significant reflection related to the policies and practices engendered by the United States’ response to 9/11. We appeared on, or were cited in, dozens of media outlets related to the testimony and letter as well as the 20th anniversary of Guantánamo’s establishment, including *The New York Times*, Associated Press, and CBS Morning News. Our legal director discussed the developments on *Democracy Now!*, and we shared the powerful poetry Mr. Khan wrote while imprisoned on our social media channels. The testimony and letter were also referenced in two hearings by the Senate Judiciary Committee, including one entitled “*Closing Guantánamo: Ending 20 Years of Injustice*” at which we offered testimony about Mr. Khan. You have been a critical contributor to our two-decade fight to close Guantánamo and hold the U.S. accountable for torture. Our work continues until all our clients are free and Guantánamo is shuttered for good.

Summary of Majid Khan's Torture		
	Torture Method	Occurrences/Duration
1	Water Boarding	x1 (Continuous for 15 minutes)
2	Dipped in Ice Tub	x1 (Continuous for 15 minutes)
3	Water Torture (Surround by Plastic)	x1 (Continuous for 20-30 minutes)
4	Freezing Cold Shower	10-12 Months
5	Freezing Cold Cell with think blanket	5 Months
6	Freezing Cold Cell without blanket	3 Weeks
7	Both Feet Shackled (24 hours a day)	12 Months
8	One Foot Shackled/Chained to the Ground	4 Months
9	Pitch Dark Cell	3 Weeks
10	Semi-Pitch Dark Cell	12 Months
11	Nothing to Read	1 Month
12	Nothing to Read (Except Quran)	12 Months
13	No Food (at all)	10 Days
14	No Food (except Ensure)	2 Weeks
15	No Clothes (Naked)	2 Weeks
16	Beaten/Rough'ed Up	x12 or more
17	Stress Positions	3 Weeks
18	Solitary Confinement	3 Years
19	Sleep Deprivation	2.5 Months
20	Speaker Noises	2 Years
21	Strapped to Chair (Extreme Position)	12 Hours
22	No Sunlight	3 Years
23	Noise Feeding / Forced Feeding	2 Months
24	Rectal Feeding (Rape)	x4 (or more)
25	No Basic Amenities (toilet, heating, air conditioning, pen, paper, mattress, prescription glasses)	2 Years (intermittently)

HIGHLIGHTS

Freeing Those Detained at Guantánamo on the Prison's 20th Anniversary

In addition to Mr. Khan, we represented four other men detained at Guantánamo in habeas cases and Periodic Review Board (PRB) hearings, before military commissions, and in civil cases as part of our Guantánamo Global Justice Initiative, who were all found to be eligible for transfer this year.

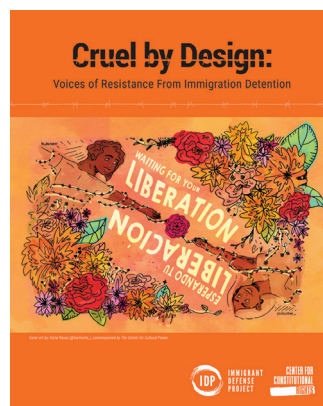
On January 10, 2022, on the eve of the prison's 20th anniversary, our client Guled Hassan Duran was publicly approved for transfer, the first so-called High-Value Detainee previously held in secret CIA detention approved for transfer through the administrative PRB process. He has been detained at Guantánamo without charge since 2006, and we are still pushing the administration for his resettlement. Our client Sharqawi Al Hajj, detained without charge since 2004, was cleared for release on June 8, 2021, after a PRB hearing. His health condition remains critical after harsh treatment and multiple incidents of self-harm, and we are engaging with the State Department to negotiate his immediate safe transfer to a third country with appropriate support for rehabilitation. Our work was featured in *The New York Times*.

Sending Detainees Home

Our client Mohammed al Qahtani, who was unlawfully rendered to Guantánamo in February 2002, became the third detainee to be transferred under the Biden administration when he was moved to a psychiatric facility in Saudi Arabia on March 7, 2022. His clearance through the PRB process reflected a tenacious, 17-year effort by the Center for Constitutional Rights and co-counsel to secure his transfer and enable him to receive proper medical care for his schizophrenia, a condition exacerbated by systematic torture by the U.S. government. Mr. Al Qahtani is the only Guantánamo detainee the government has openly admitted was tortured. And our client Sufyian Barhoumi, also detained at Guantánamo in 2002, was finally repatriated to his home country of Algeria and reunited with his family on April 2, 2022, after being approved for transfer in August 2016.

Confronting the Cruelty of Immigration Detention

In February, the Center for Constitutional Rights, in partnership with the Immigrant Defense Project (IDP), published “Cruel by Design: Voices of Resistance from Immigration Detention,” a report highlighting the narratives of people who have suffered the cruelty of ICE detention practices. The report shows how the inhumane conditions of the U.S. immigration detention system, exacerbated during the pandemic, are meant to inflict harm on immigrants so they will abandon their efforts to live in the United States. Drawing from dozens of declarations filed in legal proceedings and firsthand interviews with formerly detained people, the report details physical abuse, racism, unsafe and unhygienic conditions, the use of prolonged solitary confinement, and denial of medical and mental health treatment. Together with IDP, we enacted an advocacy plan to leverage the report that included events and a film series as well as the sharing of the report with key decision-makers. We share a collective commitment to release those detained and to end the abusive systems of U.S. border policing and immigration detention.





Reckoning With the 9/11 Effect 20 Years Later

In the lead-up to the 20th anniversary of the terrorist attacks of 9/11, the Center for Constitutional Rights published a host of materials detailing our two decades of work battling the injustices of the global “war on terror” and the lingering impact of the United States’ campaign of human rights abuses at home and abroad. This resources site, *The 9/11 Effect*, highlights the many cases we’ve brought with the people, communities, and movements that have been hurt the most, and links to client stories, reports, videos, opinion pieces, and blogs, including “The Legacy of 9/11: Reckoning with a 20-Year Ideology of War, Nativism, and Authoritarianism” written by our legal director, Baher Azmy.

Beginning in September 2021, the Center for Constitutional Rights and our partners organized a four-part virtual series with Haymarket Books entitled “Just Resistance: 20 years of global struggle against the post-9/11 human rights crisis.” The series was an opportunity to bring together our colleagues and comrades from impacted communities across the world, to center stories of survival, and to contextualize the last two decades of U.S. policy within a history of imperialism, domination, and impunity. Over the course of the series, we also invited audiences to imagine the next 20 years of demilitarization and decolonization.

Fighting to Close Guantánamo Once and for All

In building a movement to close Guantánamo, we supported a letter to President Biden from members of Congress calling for the prison’s immediate closure. We organized a joint petition with Daily Kos, MPower, and others urging Biden to close Guantánamo, and, on September 20, 2021, we joined efforts with Amnesty to deliver the 350,000+ signatures to the president.

Over the past year, we also implemented a wide-ranging series of advocacy events around the 20th anniversary of Guantánamo’s opening as we reflected on the profound injustice and inhumanity endured by our clients and their families. We collaborated with the DePaul Art Museum and the Tea Project on *Remaking the Exceptional: Tea, Torture, & Reparations | Chicago to Guantánamo*, which was covered by *Chicago City Wire*. Together with our partner organizations and allies, we organized an annual rally to Disrupt, Confront, and Close Guantánamo. In January, we held an event, “Guantánamo, Off the Record: 20 Years in the Fight,” at which members of our Guantánamo team shared stories from two decades of work. Our legal team also contributed to “Rupture and Reckoning: Guantánamo Turns 20,” a new publication by our friends at the European Center for Constitutional and Human Rights. Boston Review ran a piece by Legal Director Baher Azmy, “20 Years Later, Guantánamo is Everywhere,” TruthOut ran Senior Staff Attorney J. Wells Dixon’s op-ed “Guantánamo Isn’t Ancient History. It Has Become a ‘Forever Prison,’” and Senior Managing Attorney Shayana Kadidal wrote an op-ed published in *Just Security*. We also received coverage in *PBS NewsHour*, *Middle East Eye*, and *New York Magazine*.

With you at our side, we have persisted for two decades in fighting for accountability and repair. Together, we will keep fighting to free those wrongfully detained and shutter Guantánamo because we know that a world defined by justice is possible.

Upholding the Rights of Incarcerated People

In February, a federal judge ruled that the California Department of Corrections and Rehabilitation (CDCR) continues to violate the due process rights of imprisoned men despite a settlement agreement in which the agency agreed to sweeping changes in its use of solitary confinement. Citing these violations, the judge extended the agreement to end indefinite solitary confinement in California prisons for a second additional one-year term. The historic 2015 class-action settlement resulted from *Ashker v. Governor of California*, a case the prisoners brought themselves and the Center for Constitutional Rights and co-counsel joined in 2012. We continue

to monitor the treatment of those incarcerated and to attend hearings about ongoing violations as we persevere in our efforts to limit solitary and improve conditions in California prisons.

As part of our efforts to challenge mass incarceration, discrimination, and abusive prison policies, we have been seeking justice for clients isolated in secretive federal Bureau of Prisons (BOP) “Communications Management Units” (CMUs) (*Aref v. Garland*). In October 2021, the D.C. Circuit Court of Appeals held oral argument in our appeal that the BOP violated due process in a way that has had a disproportionate impact on incarcerated Muslim men. While the court unfortunately rejected our appeal in February, our fight continues.

Pursuing Justice for Those Brutalized by the 9/11 Effect

After seeking justice for 20 years, a group of Muslim, Arab, and South Asian men rounded up and detained at the Metropolitan Detention Center in Brooklyn after 9/11 have finally received compensation (*Turkmen v. Ashcroft*). The Center for Constitutional Rights, along with Covington & Burling LLP, and attorneys Michael Winger and Alexander Reinert, represented the six men, who were severely abused, racially and religiously profiled, and declared “terrorists” while under the supervision of warden Dennis Hasty. In a rare move, the Federal Bureau of Prisons acknowledged the abuse and provided funds to settle the lawsuit after several courts, including the U.S. Supreme Court, denied the men justice and we had filed an appeal in district court in February.

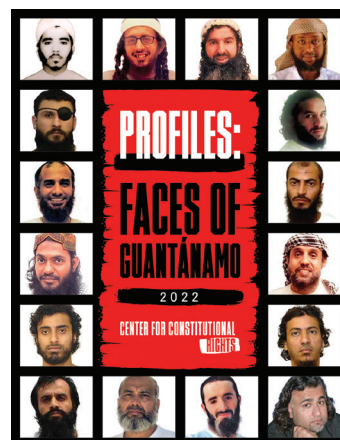
We continue to pursue justice and accountability for war crimes and crimes against humanity committed in Afghanistan and arising out of the armed conflict there, including the U.S. torture program to which our clients Sharqawi Al Hajj and Guled Hassan Duran were subjected; both men remain detained at Guantánamo. The Center for Constitutional Rights fought hard to persuade the International Criminal Court to open an investigation into crimes committed in Afghanistan by U.S. forces and through the CIA torture program. In September 2021, the ICC prosecutor announced that the investigation would proceed only with aspects related to the Taliban and the Islamic State and not related to the U.S. torture program or crimes by Afghan National Forces. In January, victims filed representations that the investigation should include crimes arising out of the U.S. torture program and continue to press the Prosecutor and Pre-Trial Chamber to hear from victims and investigate the serious crimes against them.

Defending Activists and Asylum Seekers

As part of our work on behalf of activists and immigrants, in April we helped file a second amended complaint for our clients Vicky Chávez,

Facing the Human Toll of Guantánamo

On January 15, we published “Profiles: Faces of Guantánamo (2022)” to honor all those brutally detained at the military prison in the 20 years since its opening in the wake of 9/11. Since President Bush’s declaration of the so-called War on Terror, 780 Muslim men and boys have been imprisoned at Guantánamo. Nine men died there; 30 more have died since release. Thirty-six men remain incarcerated, all of them subjected to torture by the United States and many never charged with any crime. In “Profiles” we share the personal stories of the human beings and clients impacted by this monstrous experiment in cruelty that assaults our shared humanity. As lawyers and advocates, we resist the injustice and inhumanity of indefinite detention, and continue the fight to free these men and close Guantánamo permanently.



María Chavalán Sut, Edith Espinal, and Hilda Ramírez—immigrant rights activists and sanctuary leaders—in their lawsuit against U.S. immigration agencies and officials for targeting them with excessive civil fines (*Austin Sanctuary Network v. Mayorkas*). The Center for Constitutional Rights, along with the NYU Law Immigrant Rights Clinic and Just Futures Law, filed the suit in January 2021 after records obtained through Freedom of Information Act litigation confirmed that the fines are part of a years-long effort by the Trump administration and ICE to penalize sanctuary leaders to stop them from speaking out. In the new complaint, the activists and their partners added claims alleging that the immigration agencies and officials intentionally and recklessly inflicted emotional distress on the sanctuary leaders. The groups also sent a sign-on letter to Secretary Alejandro Mayorkas of the Department of Homeland Security calling for redress.

In September 2021, we scored an important victory that will protect thousands of vulnerable people at the border when a federal judge declared unlawful the U.S. government's turnbacks of asylum seekers, ruling that the United States is required by law to inspect and process asylum seekers when they present themselves at ports of entry. The day before, we had presented oral arguments in *Al Otro Lado v. Mayorkas*, a lawsuit brought by our clients Al Otro Lado, a bi-national advocacy and legal aid organization, and a group of 13 individuals seeking asylum in the United States whom U.S. Customs and Border Protection turned away at ports of entry along the southern border. We challenged the policy along with the Southern Poverty Law Center, American Immigration Council, and the law firm Mayer Brown. In concert with our efforts, immigrant rights advocates released a statement urging the court to declare unlawful and permanently end the Trump-era turnback policy.

We scored an important victory that will protect thousands of vulnerable people at the border when a federal judge declared unlawful the U.S. government's turnbacks of asylum seekers.

Seeking Accountability for Torture, War Crimes, and Militarism

The Center for Constitutional Rights continues to fight for accountability for international crimes committed in Palestine. In May, along with the International Federation for Human Rights (FIDH), we filed a submission to the International Criminal Court (ICC) on behalf of imprisoned Palestinian lawyer and activist Salah Hammouri asking the court to accelerate its investigation of war crimes and crimes against humanity perpetrated by Israeli officials, particularly the forcible transfer and expulsion of Palestinians from East Jerusalem. Mr. Hammouri has suffered years of harassment by the Israeli government, including the revocation of his East Jerusalem residency, forced separation from his wife and children, and, as of March, “administrative detention” without charge under the threat of deportation. The Center for Constitutional Rights has represented other Palestinian victims before the ICC since 2020 and continues to engage in broader advocacy around the ICC, including meeting with court leadership and participating in webinars and convenings with partners in The Hague.

In April, we filed an amicus brief on behalf of four Afghan civil society organizations opposing efforts by a group of 9/11 families and other U.S. victims to recover \$3.5 billion in Afghan Central Bank assets held in the United States to satisfy judgments against the Taliban in *Havlish v. Taliban*. Our clients argue that the assets, which the Biden administration froze after the Taliban's takeover of Afghanistan in August 2021, belong to the people of Afghanistan and should be used to alleviate the humanitarian catastrophe there rather than to allow the Taliban to pay its debts using the people's money.

Protecting Rights to Freedom of Expression and Association in the Movement for Palestinian Freedom

In June, the Center for Constitutional Rights and Palestine Legal filed an amicus brief in *A & R Engineering & Testing, Inc. v. Paxton*, a lawsuit brought by the Council on American-Islamic Relations (CAIR) on behalf of a company owned by Rasmy Hassouna, a Houston-based engineer originally from the Gaza Strip. A & R Engineering contracts with the state of Texas, and Mr. Hassouna refuses to sign what is effectively an Israel loyalty oath required by a state law that mandates that some state contractors pledge not to participate in Boycott, Divestment, and Sanctions (BDS) campaigns against Israel. A federal judge ruled in favor of Mr. Hassouna's company in January 2022, blocking enforcement of an amended version of Texas's 2017 law, and we are arguing that the appellate court should affirm the lower court's decision. Following challenges to an earlier version of the law, in which we also filed an amicus brief, Texas had already changed the law so that it would not apply to individuals or smaller companies. Our brief describes how, regardless of the changes, these kinds of laws continue to fit into a broader campaign to silence the movement for Palestinian freedom, and is part of our work to challenge efforts to suppress First Amendment-protected activities in support of Palestinian justice.

We continue to support the US Campaign for Palestinian Rights' (USCPR) First Amendment-protected advocacy for Palestinian freedom in *Jewish National Fund v. US Campaign for Palestinian Rights*. After a federal court granted our motion to dismiss the JNF's outlandish lawsuit seeking to chill USCPR's organizing for justice and criticism of Israel's unlawful use of force against Palestinians in Gaza, the JNF appealed to the D.C. Circuit Court of Appeals. We filed our opposition brief in March and are awaiting scheduling of oral argument.

In October, after the Israeli government's attempt to outlaw and criminalize six prominent Palestinian human rights organizations by designating them as "terrorist" under Israel's draconian Counter-Terrorism Law, we coordinated a letter to the Biden administration signed onto by over 300 organizations. The letter was signed by a range of social justice and civil rights organizations including Human Rights Watch, Amnesty USA, the Movement for Black Lives, Sunrise Movement, Detention Watch Network, the National Lawyers Guild, and Oxfam America, representing the groundswell of public support for the Palestinian human rights movement and rejection of Israel's authoritarian attempts to shut down Palestinian civil society. The letter demanded that the Biden administration publicly condemn Israel's decision and offer support to the organizations in line with its stated commitments to human rights. While international human rights groups, the United Nations, and governments that did investigate Israel's claims found them to be baseless, Israel has continued to target our Palestinian partners, and we remain firm in our solidarity.

Our brief describes how, regardless of the changes, these kinds of laws continue to fit into a broader campaign to silence the movement for Palestinian rights.

Defending Support for BDS Campaigns

In September, we succeeded in asking the D.C. Court of Appeals to vacate a lower court ruling in *Bronner v. Duggan*, where we represent former American Studies Association (ASA) board member Dr. Steven Salaita in fighting a lawsuit filed in response to the ASA's 2013 resolution in support of the call from Palestinian civil society to boycott Israeli academic institutions. The academic boycott is part of the global campaign for BDS against Israel to pressure it to cease violations of international law and the denial of Palestinian rights. Following the D.C. Court of Appeals decision, the D.C. Superior Court will reconsider our motion to dismiss the case under D.C.'s anti-SLAPP (Strategic Lawsuit Against Public Participation) law, which allows for quick resolution of meritless lawsuits filed to suppress First Amendment-protected activity, and oral argument will take place in the fall. The case furthers our efforts to support activists, academics, and organizations facing legal attacks for their advocacy on behalf of Palestinian solidarity and freedom.

THE CENTER FOR CONSTITUTIONAL RIGHTS IN THE NEWS



The Center for Constitutional Rights Communications Department has had a great year, sharing our radical perspective with readers and viewers on traditional and social media. Our clients have been featured in stories across the globe, from the United Kingdom to India, France to New Zealand, Israel to Spain, and beyond. With the goals of shifting the narrative and bringing awareness to our clients and work, we have expanded our use of social media with events that reach new audiences and produced compelling client-centered videos, press and community events, and webinars.

Our strategies include:

- Press releases and statements on breaking news that get to reporters' inboxes first.
- Streaming press conferences that allowed journalists to join in from anywhere in the world.
- Our monthly podcast, "The Activist Files," which features the stories of people on the front lines fighting for justice, including activists, lawyers, and artists, and has been downloaded approximately 40,000 times since we started – with listeners tuning in from all over the world, including the United Kingdom, Brazil, Australia, and Madagascar!
- Staying connected with reporters, producers, and bookers to keep them informed on our range of issues through relationship building and media briefings.
- Op-eds from our clients and the legal and advocacy teams offering radical thought leadership on the pages of major national publications like *The New York Times*, *Teen Vogue*, and *The Boston Review*.
- Coverage of our clients, cases, and issues in national outlets like *The Washington Post*, *The Intercept*, *The New York Times*, *VICE*, and *The Root*; local outlets like *NOLA.com*, the *Pittsburgh City Paper*, *The New Jersey Record*, and the *San Francisco Chronicle*; progressive press like *The Nation*, *Counterpunch*, *Truthout*, and *Shadowproof*; and legal press like *Courthouse News*, *Jurist*, *Law360*, and *Just Security*.
- Frequent appearances on MSNBC, NPR, and Democracy Now! as well as CNN, PBS, CBS, NBC, and more, bringing our distinctive analysis to network, cable, and radio audiences.



- Growing engagement on Twitter, Facebook, LinkedIn, and our Instagram accounts.
- Facebook Live streams to bring our supporters and allies into the conversation during and after hearings, press conferences, and advocacy actions.
- Frontlines of Justice, our weekly email newsletter that brings you the Center for Constitutional Rights' latest news every Monday.
- The Daily Outrage, the Center for Constitutional Rights' blog.
- Emails on breaking news, upcoming events, and more.

Your continued support enables the Center for Constitutional Rights to keep amplifying our clients' voices and our radical perspective through diverse media channels, shift public opinion on our critical issues, and expand our audiences.

We are so proud of our client, Ashley Diamond, a Black trans woman who was held in men's prisons in Georgia – in the midst of her ordeal, she was able to work with us to put out a powerful op-ed in Conde Nast's LGBTQIA+ magazine, *Them* last year. It was so powerful that she won a national award for it this year from NLGJA: The Association of LGBTQ Journalists, which named Ashley the winner of their Excellence in Opinion/Editorial Writing Award 2022.

In her piece, "I'm a Trans Woman Locked in a Men's Prison. I'm Fighting to Be Free," she wrote:

"Standing up for my community is hard – our society devalues and discards Black trans women – and the people who have power over my life punish me for speaking out. But with all the threats and injustices facing trans people, and especially trans people of color right now, we have no choice but to fight."

Ashley was released this past summer, and has vowed to continue to use her voice to fight for her community.

BUILDING THE NEXT GENERATION OF MOVEMENT LAWYERS

ELLA BAKER INTERNSHIP PROGRAM

Launched in 1987, the Ella Baker Summer Internship Program honors the legacy of civil rights movement hero Ella Baker by training the next generation of social justice lawyers. Interns gain practical litigation experience while sharpening 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.

We are proud to introduce you to two of the 2021 Ella Baker interns who are dedicated to advancing justice through movement lawyering.

“The Center for Constitutional Rights’ decades-long commitment to movement lawyering ... deeply resonates with how I intend to practice law.”

Sadaf M. Doost, *University of California, Irvine School of Law '22*

“My passion for combating the abuse of our disenfranchised communities by the government and legal system stems from my identity—as a Muslim, first-generation Afghan American and daughter of two refugees, I come from a family and community who has increasingly faced discrimination and persecution on a global scale,” Sadaf wrote.



At the Center for Constitutional Rights, Sadaf gained experience in cases involving transgender and disability rights, abusive immigration policies, crimes against humanity, and electoral injustice. She is grateful that her internship also strengthened her ability to “challenge power structures, mobilize effectively, and develop legal, political, and educational strategies to confront the consequences of U.S. militarism and occupation.”

We are thrilled that Sadaf will continue her journey as an emerging movement lawyer as a Bertha Justice Fellow with us this year.

“The resiliency shown by the Center for Constitutional Rights ... inspired me to continue to resist the various oppressive systems of power and ‘push the law to meet the demands of justice.’”

Jalen D. Porter, *Rutgers Law School '22*, sought an Ella Baker Internship to contribute to our work on discriminatory policing, the rights of detained immigrants, and mass incarceration.



“As the son of three generations of incarcerated Black men, I have witnessed the long-reaching effects of the prison system and the criminalization of vulnerable communities,” Jalen wrote. “The sense of fear and unease I felt as a child has become one of my main sources of strength and motivation to address systemic oppression through movement lawyering and advocacy.”

As an intern, Jalen learned “how to use litigation and advocacy as a tool for liberation” while working on a variety of issues, including unconstitutional police practices, the mistreatment of those incarcerated, and the rights of those detained and tortured during the so-called War on Terror.

Jalen’s next role will be as a staff attorney in Criminal Defense Practice for the Bronx Defenders.

BERTHA JUSTICE FELLOWSHIP PROGRAM

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 our issue areas and a theoretical understanding of how legal advocacy can create social change. The program is sponsored by the Bertha Foundation, which hosts emerging lawyers at legal organizations across the world. We are pleased to welcome our incoming cohort, who started their tenures in September.

Jeremy Burton graduated from New York University School of Law, where he was a law student fellow at the Center on Race, Inequality, and the Law and editor-in-chief of the *Review of Law and Social Change*. As a law intern and a clinical intern for the Civil Rights Clinic and the Legal Aid Society, he worked on issues relating to education equity, mass incarceration, and the use of excessive force by the police.



Sadaf M. Doost graduated from the University of California, Irvine School of Law, where she was a founding board member and co-chair of the Muslim Law Student Association and worked on issues relating to Guantánamo Bay detainees, human rights violations in China, government surveillance, and discrimination against Muslims. A cofounder of Global Advocates for Afghanistan, she also worked for Refugees International and served as a legal advocacy intern on the National Security and Police Practices Team at the ACLU of Southern California. Sadaf was previously an Ella Baker Intern at the Center for Constitutional Rights, and we are happy to welcome her back in this new capacity (see p. 35).

Mikaila Hernández is a graduate of the University of San Diego School of Law, where she worked as a law counselor for the Workers’ Rights Clinic, the Domestic Violence Clinic, and the Name and Gender-Marker Clinic. She has also clerked for the Federal Defenders of San Diego and has worked as a law clerk on issues relating to employment law, re-entry and post-conviction, and justice for tenants living in uninhabitable spaces.



Zee Scout is a graduate of the University of Tennessee College of Law in Knoxville, where she was a member of the Lambda Legal Society and worked in the legal clinic on expungements and voter registration issues. She has clerked for the Federal Defender Services of Eastern Tennessee and the Knoxville County Public Defender’s Community Law Office. Prior to that, she was an investigative criminal justice reporter for the *Chattanooga Times Free Press* covering state and federal courts and incarceration issues. Zee worked with us as an Ella Baker Intern in 2021, and we look forward to continuing our important work together in this new role.



EVENTS

Throughout the year, we created a variety of opportunities to stay connected to our supporters and the larger community while raising awareness of key issues by hosting panels, screenings, public discussions, and other online events, and by continuing our powerful podcast series.

A Conversation with Vince Warren

In December 2021, supporters joined Vince and other staff to learn how the Center for Constitutional Rights is amplifying our longstanding work fighting systemic racism in the South through the Southern Justice Rising project. “What’s powerful about this moment,” said staff attorney Pamela Spees during the event, “is that after decades of having fought these fights, what’s emerging is a more holistic vision to move forward and a growing demand to account for the past. The real joy in all this is working with folks who’ve stood against the injustices a long time, who are now envisioning the great turning. It’s a beautiful and powerful moment.”

In May, Board of Trustees Co-Chairs Lisa Crooms-Robinson and Leila Hessini joined Vince to speak with donors about the crucial role that incredible women have played on the frontlines of the fight for justice and the important role we envision going forward. “An organization like the Center for Constitutional Rights that combines litigation, advocacy, narrative change, and literacy for the next generation of lawyers and movement leaders is key to this fight and envisioning a world where abortion is legal, safe, and accessible for all,” said Hessini at the event.

Insiders

Our tradition of hosting leading supporters for Insiders with movement lawyers and advocates continued in its COVID-era virtual format. In November 2021, we hosted one focused on “Taking the Long View: The Timeline on Which Movements Occur,” where guests were invited to a lively discussion centered on the advice that our partner Mariame Kaba (Project NIA Director) gives to young organizers: “Your timeline is not the timeline on which movements occur. Your timeline is incidental. Your timeline is only for yourself to mark your growth and your living.”



HIGHLIGHTS FROM COMMUNITY EVENTS

Inside Out: Fighting for the Freedom of Incarcerated People

As part of our Black August programming, we hosted a virtual event to promote the release of the Sixth Edition of the *Jailhouse Lawyers Handbook* (see pages 12-13 in *Structural Racism*). And to commemorate the 50th anniversary of the Attica Uprising in September, we held a two-part series of discussions that focused on the struggle for abolition, decarceration, defunding, reparations, and equal justice.

Breaking Down Two Decades of the 9/11 Effect

To commemorate the 20th anniversary of 9/11, we held a series of events to grapple with the human rights crisis that remains its enduring legacy. In September 2021, we organized a moving virtual theatrical performance of “Letters from Detention,” a play by Jessica Blank and Erik Jensen adapted from a series of letters exchanged between two brothers and Center for Constitutional Rights clients during their time in detention.

To learn more about other related events, (see page 28 in *Abusive State Power*).

In Support of Indigenous Water Protectors

In honor of Indigenous Peoples Day and in support of the Indigenous-led week of action “People vs. Fossil Fuels,” in October 2021, we co-hosted a talk with frontline Indigenous Water Protectors, including our client Anne White Hat, about the effort to pressure the Biden administration to stop federal approval of all new fossil fuel projects.

Freedom Flicks: Channeling the Transformative Power of Art and Culture

We harness the power of film to educate, activate, and build community via our film series Freedom Flicks. In February, we co-hosted a virtual screening of *WHO WE ARE: A Chronicle of Racism in America* followed by a talkback. In May, we launched our Spring/Summer Film Series “By Design,” screening films that shared stories of a carceral society and a criminal legal system that is cruel, unjust, and racist, *by design*. Together with Immigrant Defense Project and artists at the Dream Unfinished Orchestra, we hosted an evening of live music, award-winning short films, and discussion centering collective resistance to the cruelties of the U.S. immigration regime. And in June, we hosted a virtual screening of the documentary *A Crime on the Bayou* followed by a discussion about the struggle against racism in the Jim Crow South.

The Power of Rage: Staying Accountable to the Black Freedom Struggle

In February, we organized a month of programming in celebration of Black History Month (see page 13 in *Structural Racism*).

Podcast: “The Activist Files”

All 49 episodes of our monthly podcast, which features movement partners, our clients, and people using storytelling to create change, are available online. We produced 10 episodes this year on topics including jailhouse lawyering, the 20th anniversaries of the “War on Terror” and the opening of Guantánamo, and environmental racism in Louisiana’s Cancer Alley.

THANK YOU

DONOR SPOTLIGHT — SHAN A. KHAN

“The Center for Constitutional Rights is special because of its genuinely radical past and present,” said Shan Khan. “Today, its bold and wide-ranging cases in support of the Palestinian cause, against Muslim surveillance, in defense of Guantánamo detainees, against the American war machine, and against the criminalization of dissent show that it remains unique in its willingness to defy the political orthodoxies of the day and go where few other progressive organizations dare to tread.”

Shan A. Khan was still a student at Columbia Law School when he began his support of the Center for Constitutional Rights. He met a few of our lawyers and felt “inspired by both the Center’s courageous history and its intrepid present-day work.”

A corporate partner in the Dallas office of Kirkland & Ellis LLP focusing on debt financing transactions, Shan takes particular interest in global leftist politics—especially in the United States and Pakistan—labor rights and economic justice, and Urdu poetry. He appreciates our mix of compassion and defiance, as exemplified by former board chair Katherine Franke, who was an “inspiring and generous” law professor of his at Columbia.



Shan is particularly interested in our current work related to torture, war crimes, and militarism. “I began supporting the Center for Constitutional Rights because of its unflinching support of the most important causes of the day,” he said. “I continue my support because it never rests on its laurels, but rather remains ever thoughtful, strategic, and uncompromising in its work year after year.”

Thank you, Shan, for your strong commitment to our work, year after year.

DONOR SPOTLIGHT — MOM’S ORGANIC

“What makes the Center for Constitutional Rights unique is the breadth of social justice and constitutional rights issues [it works on] and the creative approaches they take to expose and challenge injustices nationally and internationally.”

Founded in 1987, **MOM’s Organic Market** has grown to become the mid-Atlantic region’s premier chain of family-owned and operated organic grocery stores, including a recently opened location in Dobb’s Ferry, New York. As part of its mission to create, facilitate, and encourage change that has a tangible effect in the community, the company seeks out, partners with, and assists in funding nonprofits that are impactful in the social justice movement.



MOM's CEO **Scott Nash** learned about the Center for Constitutional Rights while searching for organizations that work on issues of mass incarceration and prison reform, constitutional rights, and environmental justice. He has a particular interest in our work on criminal justice reform and environmental racism, and included us in the company's annual Juneteenth Day 5% campaign.

"We admire the Center for Constitutional Rights' innovative use of law as a vehicle for social change."

We are grateful to MOM's for its commitment to social justice through its support of our work.

DONOR SPOTLIGHT — **ALBERT RUBEN**

"The Center for Constitutional Rights is special because its primary criterion for taking on cases and causes is to educate."

Albert Ruben's distrust of authority bloomed early when a high school classmate and friend was abruptly interned in the days after the attack on Pearl Harbor. His later support for the Center for Constitutional Rights was a manifestation of his commitment to challenging government injustice and repression.

Albert got his first taste of our work when founder Morton Stavis regaled him with tales from the Center for Constitutional Rights trenches during an impromptu sailing trip off the shores of Long Island. Immediately hooked, Albert became an annual donor.

A journalist and screenwriter, Albert wrote *The People's Lawyer*, a history of the Center for Constitutional Rights. Michael Ratner's support of his research on the book made it clear to Albert that "his organization's people were dedicated to the principles I embrace."

Albert is a longtime supporter of ours—he has been a donor for more than 30 years—and a member of our Thelma Newman Planned Giving Society, having included the Center for Constitutional Rights in his estate plan.

Our heartfelt thanks go to Albert for his unwavering embrace of our work.



DONOR SPOTLIGHT — **SUSAN CRILE**

"The Center for Constitutional Rights has been a watchdog against U.S. abuses of the world's people and resources, and it has vigilantly done all that it can to protect the Constitution and the people here at home and around the world."

Susan Crile is an award-winning, New York-based artist who has long used her creative work to comment on war and militarism, human rights abuses, environmental disasters, and the detention of immigrants. Susan became involved with the Center for Constitutional Rights after the photos were leaked of prisoners being abused at Abu Ghraib and a friend suggested she get in touch with Michael Ratner, a fellow Cleveland native.



“Through him, I came to know a good deal more about the amazing work that the Center for Constitutional Rights had done and was doing,” Susan said. “My own work moved in sync with theirs when I took on Guantánamo as a subject at about the same time that habeas corpus, a grounding principle of our democracy, was on trial at Guantánamo. I was drawn in even further.”

Susan has supported us for 15 years, much of that time as a Justice Sustainer donating a recurring monthly gift, which is essential to our ability to do our work. “Now with the disregard for law and the underpinnings of democracy, and the endangerment of fundamental freedoms we have taken for granted—our country is in jeopardy. The work that the Center for Constitutional Rights does is more important than ever.”

We could not be more grateful for Susan’s dedicated support of our work.

DONOR SPOTLIGHT — SAMUEL RUBIN FOUNDATION

The Samuel Rubin Foundation has been a dedicated and consistent partner to the Center for Constitutional Rights for over 50 years. While the longevity of this relationship is remarkable in and of itself, the family has also played an important role in the Center for Constitutional Rights’ litigation and governance. Foundation Board Member Peter Weiss became active early in our history and served on our board for nearly five decades. In addition to his pro-bono work for the Center for Constitutional Rights, Peter and his wife Cora — who is Samuel Rubin’s daughter and also a Director of the Foundation — have worked tirelessly for international human rights, nuclear disarmament, and the abolition of war, and are among the few couples ever to have received a nomination for the Nobel Peace Prize. Cora, a stalwart of the peace movement, has received multiple nominations in her own right.

Informed, in part, by his experience as a refugee from Nazi-occupied Austria, Peter spurred the Center for Constitutional Rights to develop its docket of international human rights cases. While Peter litigated other cases with us, he is best known as the visionary behind *Filártiga v. Peña-Irala*, one of the most influential international human rights lawsuits of the past 50 years. The case involved the torture and death of the teenage son of a Paraguayan dissident at the hands of a Paraguayan official. Using an obscure federal law from 1778 — the Alien Tort Statute (ATS) — Peter and Center for Constitutional Rights colleague Rhonda Copelon successfully established the precedent that non-American citizens could be held accountable in U.S. federal courts for acts of torture committed outside the U.S. In 1982, the case resulted in a \$10.4 million judgment for the Filártiga family (never paid) and ushered in a new era in human rights litigation.

In more recent years, the Supreme Court has limited the scope of the ATS. However, with support from the Center for Constitutional Rights, human rights attorneys in the U.S. and other countries continue to build on the *Filártiga* case, developing new legal theories to hold perpetrators of torture accountable.

The Samuel Rubin Foundation continues to support the Center for Constitutional Rights’ work in international human rights, including our successful efforts to free prisoners in Guantánamo, and litigation against corporations for international human rights abuses. The Foundation also was an early funder of our Gender Justice program, initiated by Rhonda Copelon and currently under the extremely capable leadership of Senior Staff Attorney Chinyere Ezie. Chinyere has deepened Rhonda’s pioneering work through the intersection of LGBTQI issues, poverty, and race. The Board and Staff of the Center for Constitutional Rights are grateful to the Samuel Rubin Foundation for their longstanding partnership and support!



The Center for Constitutional Rights honored Samuel Rubin Foundation Board Members Peter and Cora Weiss at our 2017 Donor Appreciation Event, the Not My President’s Reception.

IN MEMORIAM

LEO FRUMKIN

While we mourn the loss of Leo Frumkin in June 2022, we are enduringly grateful for the example he set as a steady warrior for peace and justice.

Born into a political family, Leo was an East Los Angeles native who began his activism early – as a high school senior, he was arrested for leading a student walkout to protest an appearance by a fascist agitator. Never one to back down from his political beliefs, Leo was a fierce pro-union and anti-war activist who fought the blacklists of the McCarthy era while being tracked by the FBI.

Leo's political development was influenced by the diversity and multiculturalism of the Boyle Heights neighborhood in which he grew up, and he encouraged our work fighting against LGBTQIA+ persecution, mass incarceration, and Muslim profiling. His hope-filled spirit was buoyed by the mass 2020 demonstrations against racial injustice, as he cheered on the young activists carrying on the fight.

Leo and his wife, Sherry Frumkin, have supported the Center for Constitutional Rights since 2005, and Sherry served as a board member. We are privileged to carry on Leo's dedication to creating a more just and equitable world for all.



LEONARD KURZ

The Center for Constitutional Rights family is deeply saddened by the loss of Leonard M. Kurz in November 2021. He was a longtime champion of our work and a generous friend in the fight for equality.

Born in Brooklyn and later a longtime resident of Rockland County, NY, Leonard was committed to education and philanthropy as he pushed for justice, social change, and an end to violence. His parents, Herbert and Edythe Kurz, had set a powerful example with the launch of the Kurz Family Foundation, through which they supported our efforts for 25 years.

Leonard eventually took over leadership of the foundation, endowing the Herbert Kurz Chair in Constitutional Rights and Civil Liberties at Brooklyn College and investing in our work to combat racial injustice. An accomplished filmmaker and producer, Leonard was a creative force who believed in fighting hard to make the world a better place.

His gentle spirit will continue to fuel our commitment to those ideals.



EDWARD AND CHORALE PAGE

We mourn the loss of Edward Hamilton Page, Sr., who passed away in June 2020. Edward and his wife of 60 years, Chorale (Cook) Page, who passed away in 2008, were devoted supporters of the Center for Constitutional Rights for more than 20 years.

Friendly and curious, Ed had a deep desire to foster a world of peace and justice. He loved music and singing, racket sports, volunteering, and staying active with his family. He was a committed volunteer in many places including his church and the United World Federalists. Named after a musical composition by J.S. Bach, Chorale was a lover of life and justice. After receiving her degree in counseling, she worked to help others, including as a career counselor and a hospital ombudsman.



We are very grateful that Ed and Chorale, who were committed philanthropists, left us a generous bequest, and we intend to honor their inspiring legacies as we carry on the fight for justice for years to come.

JEAN ENTINE

We are terribly saddened by the loss of Jean Entine in May 2022, and we honor the unfailing devotion to racial, economic, and gender justice that she displayed throughout her life.

Jean grew up in Memphis in the years following World War II, and early experiences with anti-Semitism sparked her robust commitment to justice and opposition to oppression. Later, she lived for many years in Cambridge, Massachusetts, where she was involved in a range of Boston-area organizations.

Jean spent a lifetime supporting social justice movements as both a volunteer and a professional. She fought for justice for Palestinians, women's rights, and climate justice. She was executive director of both the Boston Women's Fund and Women for Economic Justice.



Jean began supporting us as a donor in 2013 and became both a board member and chair of our development committee. She was committed to diversity in organizing and in philanthropy, and she contributed to the Center for Constitutional Rights in ways meant to encourage others to give.

Jean's dedication and generosity were inspiring to many, and her legacy lives on in our work as we work to create a world centered on radical justice and dignity. We are so grateful to have known her.

FINANCIAL REPORT



REVENUE

GRANTS AND CONTRIBUTIONS:	\$10,160,187	
ATTORNEY FEES:	\$2,216,690	
INVESTMENT INCOME:	\$132,480	
OTHER INCOME:	\$363,632	
TOTAL:	\$12,872,989	

THE CENTER FOR CONSTITUTIONAL RIGHTS IS A NONPROFIT CHARITABLE ORGANIZATION THAT RELIES ON INDIVIDUAL AND FOUNDATION SUPPORT.



EXPENSES

PROGRAM SERVICES:	\$8,863,985	
SUPPORTING SERVICES:	\$2,954,662	
TOTAL:	\$11,818,647	

(PRE-AUDIT)

STAFF

**This list is inclusive of all staff who worked with us during our 2022 fiscal year.*

MANAGEMENT TEAM

Vincent Warren, *Executive Director*
Baher Azmy, *Legal Director*
Nadia Ben-Youssef, *Advocacy Director*
Chandra Hayslett, *Communications Director*
Theda Jackson-Mau, *Director of Development*
Donita Judge, *Associate Executive Director*
Maria LaHood, *Deputy Legal Director*
Grace Lile, *Director of Operations*

OPERATIONS

Melinda 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, *Technology Support Manager*
Jeffrey Weinrich, *Finance Director*

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maya finoh, *Advocacy Associate*
Aliya Hussain, *Advocacy Program Manager*
Tabitha Mustafa, *Advocacy Program Manager*
Obiajulu Nwabuzor, *Strategic Events Manager*
Dominic Renfrey, *Advocacy Program Manager*

COMMUNICATIONS

Emily Ballas, *Graphic Design Associate*
Charles Greene, *Web Communications and Multimedia Manager*
David Mizner, *Communications Associate*
Jen Nessel, *Communications Coordinator*
Alessandra Perotti, *Digital Engagement Manager*
Lexi 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*
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*
Emily C. R. Early, *Associate Director, Southern Regional Office*
Sadé Evans, *Legal Worker*
Chinyere Ezie, *Senior Staff Attorney*
Omar Farah, *Senior Staff Attorney; Associate Director of Strategic Initiatives*
Katherine Gallagher, *Senior Staff Attorney*
Angelo Guisado, *Senior Staff Attorney*
Ian Head, *Senior Legal Worker*
Shayana Kadidal, *Senior Managing Attorney*
Pardiss Kebraie, *Senior Staff Attorney*
Luna Martinez, *Bertha Justice Fellow*
Rachel Meeropol, *Senior Staff Attorney; Associate Director of Legal Training and Education*
Elsa M. Uter-Mota, *Bertha Justice Fellow*
Afrika Owes, *Administrative Associate, Legal*
Ibrahim Qatabi, *Senior Legal Worker*
Ghita Schwarz, *Senior Staff Attorney*
Diala Shamas, *Senior Staff Attorney*
Samah Sisay, *Bertha Justice Fellow*
Pamela Spees, *Senior Staff Attorney*
Leah Todd, *Senior Legal Worker*
Rafaela Uribe, *Bertha Justice Fellow*
Jessica Vosburgh, *Staff Attorney*

2022 ELLA BAKER INTERNS

Sadaf Doost
Raisa Etihad
Ariana Grant
Elena Hodges
Joubin Khazaie
Celina Malave
Jahme Martin
Zee Peterson
Jalen Porter
Asiyahola Sankara
Lucy Trieschmann
Reynaldo Wilson

INTERNS

Danna Abraham
Sophia Alissa
Suad Abdel aziz
Zeinab Bakayoko
Arabella Colombier
Sara Dagher
Michelina Ferrara
Yomidalys Güichardo
Werdeh Hassan
Sara Osman
Sara Poursafar
Ifra Shah
Alec Soghomonian
Sabrina Suliman
Diego Villalobos
Monae White
Reynaldo Wilson

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