THE NEWSLETTER OF THE ACLU
OF **NORTHERN CALIFORNIA**FALL 2025

VOLUME LXXXIX ISSUE 3

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American Civil Liberties Union of Northern California 39 Drumm St. San Francisco. CA 94111



MASS SURVEILLANCE IN THE TRUMP ERA

BY LISA P. WHITE

The second Trump administration is building a mass surveillance state to police online speech and persecute immigrants. We're not even a year into this authoritarian regime and we've already reached the point where if you step out of line or post disfavored opinions on the Internet, you could lose your job, your family, and even your freedom.

In addition to exploiting existing technology, such as automated license plate readers, the administration is monitoring social media and expanding its surveillance capabilities. The spending bill Congress passed this summer included \$6 billion for surveillance infrastructure at the U.S.-Mexico border where the government already deploys drones, license plate

readers, cameras, and trail sensors. In recent months, Immigration and Customs Enforcement has embarked on a surveillance tech spending spree which includes hiring contractors to work round-the-clock combing through posts, messages, and images on Reddit, Instagram,

While the administration has many invasive surveillance tools at its disposal, we are not powerless.

Facebook, and TikTok and crossreference the information with addresses, utility bills, and other records available in commercial databases to develop detailed profiles of arrest targets and generate leads to find them.

While the administration has many invasive surveillance tools at its disposal, we are not powerless. As individuals, we can thwart the government's ability to snoop on us as we go about

our daily lives by disabling location services on our phones. Meanwhile, the ACLU of Northern California will continue advocating for stronger privacy protections and we will hold authorities accountable for following the Constitution and state law.

CONTINUED ON PAGE 8

STOPPING SURVEILLANCE FROM THE SKY

BY ISOBEL WHITE

Imagine you've just gotten out of the shower, and you look out your bedroom window to check the weather. Or you're relaxing in the outdoor hot tub you finally splurged on.

You hear a buzz in the sky. Peering up, you spot a drone in the air above you. "They can't see this close, can they?" you try to convince yourself.

Later you find out they can, and they did. That's also when you find out that the drone belongs to your own county government, and that it was used to spy on you and your property.

Or you have no idea about any of this, and wonder why you suddenly got a code enforcement notice on your front door, for minor violations that will cost you thousands upon



thousands to fix.

In recent years, this story has played out repeatedly in Sonoma County.

In 2019, Sonoma County
Code Enforcement launched a

warrantless drone program that, in the wake of California's legalization of commercial cannabis, was supposed to root out unpermitted cannabis cultivation in hard-to-reach areas. But it has since become a runaway surveillance program focused on wholly unrelated civil code issues. Code enforcement has launched more than 700 low-altitude flights that monitor and record residents, their homes, and the areas surrounding them.

As one CBS Bay Area news story said, "it's mission creep — and it's creepy!"

WHAT KEEPS US IN THE FIGHT FOR JUSTICE

When the federal government is contemptuous of our civil liberties, and justice too often feels out of reach, we need community more than ever. With headwinds this relentless, it helps to share what it is that keeps us active in this fight. We asked a few of our Board members, "What keeps you in the fight for justice?" Here's what they said.

JIM LAWRENCE

Father, Grandfather, Great-Grandfather Retired CFO | Former Mayor of Foster City Foster City



Because I've lived long enough to see how far we've come — and how far we still have to go.

Because I know what it feels like to be judged by the

color of my skin before anyone hears the sound of my voice.

Because I've had to fight, push, and persevere through things no one should have to endure — just to be seen, just to be heard.

I fight so my children, my grandchildren, and their children won't have to carry the same burdens I did.

So they can live in a world that gives them the dignity, safety, and opportunity they deserve — no matter where they come from, what they look like, or what schools they attended.

This isn't just about politics. This is personal. This is about legacy.

This is about love.

And until justice is more than a promise — until it's a reality for everyone — I'm not done.

NANCY STUART

Retired Clinical Law Professor Sacramento

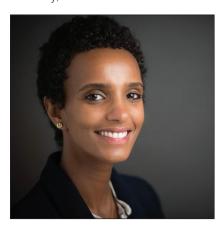


The fight for justice requires all of us to do our part; together we are stronger. I am so inspired by the longstanding commitment and successes

of the ACLU — as advocates for and defenders of constitutional rights of all.

JALLÉ DAFA

Plaintiff Attorney at Lieff Cabraser Heimann & Bernstein LLP Berkeley, CA



My commitment to justice rests on the principle that safety, dignity, and self-determination are not favors granted, but rights inherent

to all. I fight to live in a society free of patriarchy and all oppression.

WHAT KEEPS <u>YOU</u> IN THE FIGHT FOR JUSTICE?

Whatever your reason, here are three ways to put it into action today:

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Thank you for continuing to show up, speak out, and defend the rights of every person. Our democracy depends on all of us.

ACLUNEWS

The publication of the American Civil Liberties Union of Northern

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HISTORY BEING ERASED BEFORE OUR EYES: PUSHING BACK ON ATTEMPTS TO WHITEWASH U.S. HISTORY

BY ELAINE ELINSON

At the height of World War II, ACLU NorCal Executive Director Ernest Besig drove 400 miles to Tule Lake, a desolate stretch of high desert surrounded by barbed wire near the Oregon border, to investigate the brutal conditions endured by Japanese Americans incarcerated there under Executive Order 9066. Prisoners had gone on a hunger strike to protest beatings, months of isolation in the stockade, and midnight raids where they were forced to stand in the snow for hours in their underwear and zoris (traditional Japanese sandals made of straw).

Besig had only been at Tule Lake, the largest of the ten wartime incarceration camps, for two days before the director ordered him to leave. On the road home, he discovered that two sacks of salt had been poured into his gas tank.

Yet he would not be deterred from telling the world about the experiences of the Tule Lake prisoners. He wanted to end the injustice and prevent it from ever happening again.

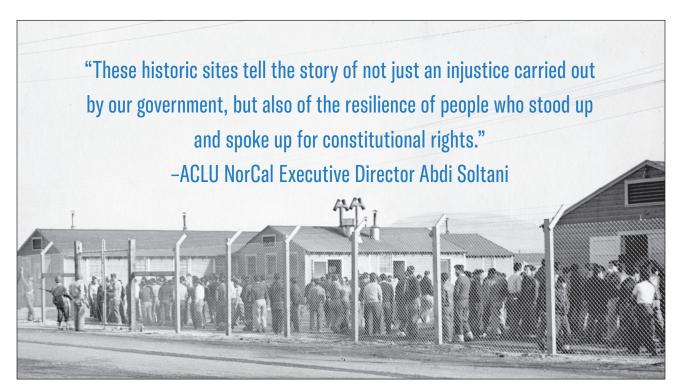
Today, a new executive order is again attempting to silence those voices. Under the Orwellian title of "Restoring Truth and Sanity to American History," the Trump Administration is ordering the removal of all "inappropriate content" at national parks and sites. The signage, already on display at Manzanar National Historic Site, once an "internment camp" for Japanese Americans from 1942-1945, asks visitors to report "information that is negative about either past or living Americans..."

Richard Potashin, a former interpretive park ranger at Manzanar, explains, "These sites ask us to learn from history not to repeat it. Sadly, never again is now."

There are many other sites — honoring Emmett Till in Chicago, Stonewall in New York and Cesar Chavez in Delano — that illuminate people's resistance to oppression. Many exhibits in northern California are also threatened by the executive order.

One has already been removed. In Marin, William Kent, the donor of Muir Woods and a member of Congress, had long been lauded as a generous philanthropist and author of the legislation that established the National Park system, but his calls for the extension of the Chinese Exclusion Act and his anti-immigrant speeches had not been mentioned in the park. That was rectified a few years ago when the full actions of this complicated man became part of the signage at Muir Woods. This summer, information about his advocacy of racist policies was removed under the new executive order.

Alcatraz, the most visited national park in the country, opened *The Big Lockup: Mass Incarceration in the United States* in 2021. This unique exhibit examines Alcatraz as a federal penitentiary within the context of incarceration in the U.S. where currently 2.3 million people — disproportionately people of color — are behind bars, more than



Military Stockade at Tule Lake, one of the locations where Japanese Americans were incarcerated during World War II. Public domain image from the War Relocation Authority National Park Service.

any other country in the world. The exhibit draws heavily on the pioneering work of Michelle Alexander, former director of the ACLU NorCal Racial Justice Project. Will this be considered "negative" and will it survive the chopping block?

These are just a few examples of the important work of the National Park Service in California that are part of the International Coalition of Sites of Conscience, a global network of historic sites connecting past struggles to today's movements for human rights and social justice.

Bruce Embry, Chair of the Manzanar Committee (ManzanarCommittee.org), explains that his mother, a U.S. citizen incarcerated there, insisted when she helped craft the legislation to create the Manzanar site that the Commission include the Paiute and Shoshone people so that Manzanar would truly be "a beacon for democracy and justice for all people," not just Japanese Americans. "The key lesson of these historic sites is that the accurate telling of history requires the guidance of the impacted communities."

Embry explained that the trauma resulting from Executive Order 9066 lasted for decades and continues to this day. "Many victims did not speak of their experiences. Many stories have been lost, so the efforts of the NPS staff at Manzanar is a tremendous archive that must be protected."

Barbara Takei of the Tule Lake Committee

(TuleLake.org) drew the parallels to today. "The Japanese American community has been feeling fearful and traumatized by current events. We see our nation repeating the hate-filled crimes of WWII — scapegoating immigrants and smearing people of color with racist propaganda and false narratives."

Both the Tule Lake Committee and Manzanar Committee, along with the National Parks Conservation Association (NPCA.org), are pushing back on this attempt to whitewash our nation's history and silence people's true experiences by executive order. "Just as it took a thoroughly engaged community to create these sites, it will require a community-wide effort to defend them. We need to create a powerful, nationwide coalition defending all our parks, especially the sites of conscience," added Embry.

Eighty years after Besig's visit to Tule Lake, the ACLU continues his mission. Executive Director Abdi Soltani said, "These historic sites tell the story of not just an injustice carried out by our government, but also of the resilience of people who stood up and spoke up for constitutional rights."

Elaine Elinson is a former communications director of ACLU NorCal and a former researcher for the National Parks Service.

INSIDE ACLU NORCAL'S TRAINING PROGRAM TO EMPOWER IMMIGRANT COMMUNITIES TO TAKE ACTION

BY CARMEN KING

For much of his life, Luis Ojeda, interim organizing director at the ACLU of Northern California, heard the message given to countless immigrants and undocumented people: stay quiet, keep a low profile, and don't draw attention to yourself. Fear, he'd been taught, was the safest strategy. But in college, while working alongside other immigrant youth advocating for the DREAM Act, Luis discovered a new approach — one that prioritized visibility and collective action over isolation and fear. "That was the first instance of me being exposed to a different approach — that the best way forward is to build community, talk to other immigrants, and advocate for the things we want and deserve," he explains.

Meeting other people who felt empowered, who believed they could make a difference, "That was my political awakening," Luis says. "That was the beginning."

Today, that philosophy and spirit of collective power drives the monthly immigration advocacy training series that Luis helps lead for the ACLU of Northern California.

The series launched in March as the Trump administration began unleashing a wave of executive orders targeting immigrant communities. What was initially conceived as a temporary response to the moment has become something more enduring — a monthly gathering drawing an average of eighty participants per session from across California.

The trainings are designed both to inform and empower. Each session begins with updates on news and developments, what's happening in the White House, Congress, and the courts, and how the ACLU is fighting back. "We do these every month, and sadly, every month, there are major headlines around immigration," Luis notes.

Following these updates, each training session dives deeper into a particular topic. The May session reflected on the first 100 days of the administration and the growing deportation machine targeting students, asylum seekers, and undocumented immigrants. In June, members of the ACLU's legal team joined the session to break down *United Farmworkers v. Noem*, an important case the ACLU brought against the Department of Homeland Security and



"We are not powerless

in this moment. We all have a role to play, and we all need to be doing something."

—ACLU NorCal Interim
Organizing Director
Luis Ojeda

Customs and Border Protection. The September gathering focused on local advocacy to hold elected officials accountable. Past sessions have covered everything from advocating at school board meetings to understanding state and federal legislation, to engaging with city councils.

One particularly urgent topic has been preparing schools for potential contact with immigration enforcement. Previous administrations designated certain locations—including schools, churches, hospitals, and health clinics — as "sensitive locations" where ICE activity was generally not allowed. But cruelly, the Trump administration rescinded these

protections through executive order, creating new risks for immigrant students and their families.

While widespread ICE activity at schools hasn't yet materialized at the scale seen in other settings like court houses, Luis emphasizes the importance of preparation. "Now is the time to prepare in the event that those things happen," he says. California has state laws and model policies guiding schools on how to respond when ICE appears on campus, but implementation of these plans varies by district.

The trainings inspire concrete action. The April session on school board advocacy, for example, prompted the ACLU NorCal Santa Clara chapter to launch its own project analyzing district policies around ICE enforcement and identifying areas for improvement.

But beyond the monthly topics, every session highlights critical rapid response networks community organizations that provide immediate support when ICE activity occurs. Participants are encouraged to volunteer or, at minimum, save the hotline numbers to report ICE activity. The trainings also point people to the ACLU's updated Know Your Rights resources, including guidance on what to do if ICE confronts you, at home, at school, or at work. "Being connected to an organization or rapid response network means having access to resources and support," says Luis. "Someone who is isolated and unsure of how to seek help, could go through the deportation process alone, without anyone knowing, without anyone able to help."

If there is one thing Luis wants people to understand, it is this: "We are not powerless in this moment. We all have a role to play, and we all need to be doing something. How do we take care of each other and take concrete action in this moment?"

For those ready to heed Luis's call to get involved, send an email to changemakers@ aclunc.org. Recordings of past Immigration Series webinars are available on the ACLU NorCal YouTube channel, and future sessions continue monthly.

Carmen King is a senior communications strategist at the ACLU of Northern California.



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THE STATE OF U.S. FEDERAL COURTS

A Column from Legal Director Shilpi Agarwal

This fall marks 20 years since Justice John Roberts became the Chief Justice of the U.S. Supreme Court. Over the last few decades, federal courts have transformed from the forum that vindicates civil rights to one that frequently undermines them. That trend has accelerated in the last few years and has been turbo charged since the Trump Administration took office. While the ACLU will continue to advocate in federal courts, we also need to recognize that the ground on which we do that work has shifted.

In the decades following the Warren Court's expansive decisions around constitutional rights, federal courts gradually began to erect barriers to plaintiffs bringing civil rights cases in federal court. Specifically, in the late 1900s, federal courts embraced procedural doctrines that often prevented plaintiffs from even reaching the merits of their claims. Exhaustion requirements, heightened pleading standards, abstention doctrines and jurisdictional traps proliferated. These were classic "gatekeeping" rules: rights remained on the books, but courts ensured that fewer and fewer plaintiffs could enforce them.

Over time, the courts have not been content to police the courthouse doors. In the last two decades, the Supreme Court has turned its attention to the very substance of federal constitutional and statutory protections, dramatically narrowing the scope of the rights themselves. In Shelby County v. Holder, the Court gutted the Voting Rights Act's preclearance regime, effectively dismantling one of the most important civil rights protections of the twentieth century. In Dobbs v. Jackson Women's Health Organization, the Court overturned Roe v. Wade, eliminating constitutional protection for abortion. In Students for Fair Admissions v. Harvard, the Court struck down race-conscious admissions programs, dismantling decades of affirmative action precedent and restricting universities' ability to remedy entrenched racial inequality. What began as procedural narrowing has now become substantive contraction.

Currently, the Court is effectuating the narrowing of constitutional rights not through reasoned opinions after briefing and argument, but through the *shadow docket* — opaque emergency orders that undo lower court rulings and permit unlawful government action to go forward. On the shadow docket, the Court has lifted injunctions ordered by the lower courts and allowed this administration to continue to carry out and enforce challenged executive orders and actions — even as constitutional challenges to these acts remain pending. Through these short emergency orders, the Court is not deciding or even opining upon whether these contested executive orders and actions are lawful — it is simply permitting these

actions to take effect while the litigation drags on. The result is the Court is effectively enabling people to be harassed, silenced, deported, denied healthcare, or even denied citizenship pursuant to gross executive overreach that will likely later prove unlawful or unconstitutional.

Once a minor feature of the Court's practice, the shadow docket now routinely handles the most divisive issues of the day. In Trump's first five months back in office, the Solicitor General filed nineteen emergency applications — more than the Department of Justice filed in the entire Obama presidency. By June 2025, the Court had granted relief in ten of twelve decided cases, including stays allowing mass federal layoffs and the deportation of Venezuelan migrants under the Alien Enemies Act. These decisions were issued without oral argument, often in a single paragraph, and had immediate nationwide consequences. Justice Ketanji Brown Jackson has been the sharpest critic of this practice. In her dissents from shadow docket orders, she has cautioned that the Court's "hair-trigger use" of emergency relief denies affected communities any meaningful judicial review.

Here at the ACLU, we are doing what we have always done — we are assessing the landscape, pivoting our strategies, and figuring out how to continue to fight.

There is much work that remains...
But rest assured that we are
up to the task and prepared to
meet the moment.

The through-line across these eras is striking. First, the Court erected procedural hurdles to make it difficult to enforce civil rights in federal court. Then, it began contracting the rights



ACLU of Northern California Legal Director Shilpi Agarwal

themselves, hollowing out the Voting Rights Act, reproductive freedom, and race-conscious admissions. Now, it uses the shadow docket to allow policies that infringe on what is left of that constitutional core to take effect immediately, without full brief and with no explanation. Each step marks a deeper retreat from the judiciary's traditional role as a check on unlawful government action.

But we will continue to fight. In the midst of all of this, individuals at all levels of institutions have courageously and publicly called out what is happening. Many, many district court judges, including those appointed by Republican Presidents, have continued to evaluate cases and reach the best possible conclusions without regard for political or professional fallout. Many have stated publicly their frustration at the trajectory of the federal courts.

And here at the ACLU, we are doing what we have always done — we are assessing the landscape, pivoting our strategies, and figuring out how to continue to fight. When the Supreme Court struck down the nationwide injunction against Trump's birthright citizenship order, the ACLU the same day filed a motion to certify a nationwide class and eventually got a judicial order granting that motion and pausing the executive order. When it was clear that we couldn't get a strong preliminary injunction in one of our deportation raids cases without triggering the ire of the Supreme Court, we asked instead of expedited discovery to get to a faster resolution on the merits. As the Supreme Court makes it harder to file large impact cases on behalf of detained immigrants, we have begun filing individual habeas petitions that can have widespread effects. Of course, there is much work that remains in assessing how we will continue to have the largest impact we can through the courts. But rest assured that we are up to the task and prepared to meet the moment.

LEGAL ADVOCACY UPDATES

ACLU, COALITION ON HOMELESSNESS WINS SETTLEMENT REQUIRING SAN FRANCISCO TO PROTECT UNHOUSED PEOPLE'S BELONGINGS

LITIGATION

BY CARMEN KING

In September 2025, the San Francisco Board of Supervisors and the mayor unanimously approved a settlement requiring the city to stop unlawfully destroying the belongings of unhoused people during encampment sweeps.

The settlement resolves a 2022 lawsuit filed on behalf of the Coalition on Homelessness (COH) against the city of San Francisco for routinely violating the rights of unhoused people, including property destruction that violated the city's own bag-and-tag policy. Despite this policy, city workers regularly threw away tents, sleeping bags, medication, and identification documents, items unhoused people desperately need to access employment, housing, and social services, during a practice that has rightfully earned the term "sweeps."

The five-year court order establishes robust accountability measures: San Francisco must provide advanced notice of planned sweeps, give people an opportunity to reclaim their property, grant the COH quarterly reports on property seizures and monthly access to the city's storage yard, and train Department of Public Works staff on proper procedures. If San Francisco changes its bag-and-tag policy in the future, it must adhere to strict standards to ensure that any future policy protects unhoused people's constitutional rights.

As the city faces a protracted housing affordability crisis, advocates hope this settlement will shift the focus from punitive enforcement to solutions that actually help people secure stable housing.

HOLDING BORDER PATROL ACCOUNTABLE

LITIGATION

BY LISA P. WHITE



prohibiting the agency from racial profiling.

In April, the federal court for the Eastern District of California issued a preliminary injunction in *UFW v. Noem*, our lawsuit challenging Border Patrol's unlawful practices during immigration raids in Kern County earlier this year. The court order bars Border Patrol from stopping people without reasonable suspicion and arresting them without a warrant if agents

don't have probable cause to believe the person is likely to flee. The order applies to all Border Patrol operations in the Eastern District, which includes Sacramento.

Border Patrol had no reason to suspect the individuals they stopped at Home Depot were in the U.S. without authorization. Agents simply made assumptions based on people's perceived race and the fact that they were in a location where day laborers often gather seeking work.

The court must hold Border Patrol accountable for flagrantly defying its order. Immigration authorities aren't allowed to ignore the Constitution to carry out the administration's racist mass deportation agenda

ACLU URGES CALIFORNIA TO STRENGTHEN PROTECTIONS FOR CONSUMERS IN THE AGE OF AUTOMATED DECISION-MAKING TECHNOLOGIES

ADVOCACY

BY CARMEN KING

In June, the ACLU of Northern California and coalition partners wrote a letter urging the California Privacy Protection Agency to reverse course on proposed weakened regulations that would strip Californians of critical protections against automated decision-making technologies.

When California voters passed the California Consumer Privacy Act in 2020, they were promised meaningful rights to control how their personal information is used, including in automated and algorithmic systems. But the Agency's revised draft regulations represent a departure from that promise.

The letter identifies three critical weaknesses in the revised regulations: a narrowed definition of automated decision-making that will deny consumer notice and opt-out protections; the elimination of criminal justice decisions —

including bail, sentencing, and parole — from regulatory protections; and the removal of prohibitions on processing personal information when the risks to consumers outweigh the benefits.

The stakes cannot be overstated. Automated systems are already making life-altering decisions about housing, employment and hiring, healthcare, and criminal justice — often with devastating consequences for people of color and other marginalized communities. Californians need regulators

who will not cower to industry pressure and instead fulfill the law's promise of meaningful privacy protections for everyone.

By weakening the regulations, the Agency has lost an important opportunity to issue strong regulations before they become final and ensure that California leads the nation in protecting people from the dangers of unchecked algorithmic systems.

MODESTO MASK-BAN ORDINANCE

ADVOCACY

BY LISA P. WHITE



ACLU NorCal and the First Amendment Coalition have called on the Modesto City Council to repeal or amend an ordinance making it a crime to wear a mask at a protest.

The ordinance conflicts with longstanding caselaw affirming the right to protest while maintaining anonymity. Furthermore, the measure's ambiguous language gives police discretion to enforce the mask ban in a discriminatory manner, which can lead to the targeting of groups expressing a disfavored viewpoint and also the targeting of Black and Brown people, who historically have been overpoliced.

Opposition to the ordinance reached a flash point on June 14 when Modesto police arrested five people wearing masks at an anti-ICE rally where most attendees were people of color, while no one was arrested for violating the anti-mask provision at the 'No Kings' protest which drew more white participants. Facing intense backlash, the city attorney's office dropped the criminal charges, and the Modesto Community Police Review Board has recommended that the council repeal the ordinance. But the City Council has so far refused to change the ordinance and the Police Chief continues to threaten to enforce it, chilling speech and violating the rights of peaceful

protesters in Modesto.

California already has a law preventing people from masking their identities while engaging in criminal activity. Modesto does not need this vague, overbroad, and discriminatory ordinance.

At a time when the Trump administration is attacking free speech and right-wing activists are goading employers into firing workers for expressing their opinions, people must be allowed to protest in a way that makes them feel safe.

CONTINUED ON PAGE 7

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IN VALLEJO, CITY ATTORNEY MISCONDUCT ALLEGATIONS DEMAND INDEPENDENT INVESTIGATION

ADVOCACY

BY ISOBEL WHITE

The Vallejo Police Department (VPD) has a long, well-documented history of using deadly force against members of the community. At times, VPD used more force per individual arrest than any

other law enforcement agency in California. An independent investigation confirmed that, for decades, some Vallejo officers engaged in a ritual where they bent the tips of their badges each time they shot someone as a kind of perverse badge of honor.

Now, credible information from many residents, advocacy groups, and city employees suggest that the Vallejo City Attorney's Office has been enabling this abuse.

In July, we sent a letter to the Vallejo City Council calling for an independent investigation over the allegations of serious misconduct by the City Attorney, which include:

- Destroying evidence of police shootings
- Hiding records of officer misconduct
- Retaliating against those who call attention to misconduct
- Hiring officers who are not qualified and covering it up
- Obstructing attempts for community accountability

The people of Vallejo deserve accountability and justice. These serious and substantial allegations must be investigated independently. And when we say independent, we mean not controlled by the City Attorney's office. As of now, the City Council has not yet agreed to this important step towards transparency and reform.

ACLU SUES FRESNO TO DISCLOSE RECORDS ON USE OF POLICE CANINES

LITIGATION

BY CARMEN KING

In May 2025, the Fresno Superior Court issued a favorable decision in a lawsuit filed by the ACLU of Northern California to compel the City of Fresno to release public records about its use of police canines after the city unlawfully withheld critical information about serious injuries and potential civil rights violations. The City of Fresno is challenging the favorable decision in the Court of Appeal.

The lawsuit stems from a March 2023 Public Records Act request seeking documents about Fresno's police canine program. The ACLU submitted the request in response to growing community concerns about the city's use of canine force and the serious injuries these encounters cause.

Fresno took months to respond and produced only heavily redacted documents that concealed essential information, including injuries sustained, officers involved, and any resulting discipline.

Most reports contained such extensive redactions that it was impossible to determine what information was being withheld and for what reasons. Despite multiple follow-up requests from the ACLU, Fresno refused to comply with its legal obligation to disclose public records. The ACLU's lawsuit demands that Fresno produce all non-exempt records and reproduce all previously released documents without improper redaction. Police canines can inflict

serious injuries, and their use raises critical concerns about excessive force. Transparency about when and how police canines are used—and against whom—is essential for holding law enforcement accountable and protecting community members' civil rights.

SOUNDING THE ALARM ON PUBLIC DEFENSE IN ALAMEDA COUNTY __

ADVOCACY

An independent investigation

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some Vallejo officers engaged

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BY ISOBEL WHITE

No one should have to face the criminal justice system without legal counsel. Both the U.S and California constitutions, along with relevant statutes and case law guarantee the fundamental right to counsel when facing criminal charges.

Yet officials in Alameda County were failing to provide timely legal representation to people who need counsel. Due to a months-long shortage of court-appointed attorneys, many defendants were stuck in jail solely due to the lack of legal counsel. This crisis is disproportionately affecting Black and Latino defendants and exacerbating racial disparities in the criminal justice system.

As a result of the critical delays in Alameda County, some people were required to appear in court six or more times without an attorney and remained in custody for more than a month waiting for legal representation. At least one person accepted a jail sentence without first speaking to an attorney.

The facts are clear. Without timely representation, indigent defendants are not able to fully challenge the basis of their arrest nor defend against possibly life-altering charges.

Spending more than one day in pretrial detention also increases the chance of conviction and harsher sentences, erodes well-being, leads to job and income loss, as well as worsening other harms associated with incarceration.

In April, we sent a letter to Alameda County
Superior Court officials and to the director of the
Court Appointed Attorney Program decrying the
County's alarming violation of constitutional rights.
In late September, there were leadership changes
in the Court Appointed Attorney Program. We will
remain watchful to ensure that meaningful and
effective representation is afforded to all.

TEMPORARY PROTECTED STATUS IN JEOPARDY

LITIGATION

BY LISA P. WHITE

Despite setbacks, we continue our fight to preserve humanitarian protections for people who came to the United States seeking refuge and can't return to home countries that remain in crisis.

In a brief order that did not provide any reasoning for the decision, in August the Ninth Circuit Court of Appeals granted the Trump administration's request to stay a federal district court ruling that would have protected 60,000 people from Honduras, Nepal, and Nicaragua — most of whom have lawfully lived and worked in the U.S. for decades — from losing Temporary Protected Status in September. We return to the district court in November to seek protections for these long-term residents.

In our other TPS case, the district court ruled in September that Homeland Security Secretary Kristi Noem did not have the authority to revoke TPS for nearly one million Venezuelans and Haitians with legal status and work authorization. The administration, however, refused at first to comply with the court order and closed a registration portal, causing confusion for Venezuelan TPS holders who had a brief window to re-register for the program. In response, the court ordered the government to update the government's website, and extend the registration period for 24 hours.

After the Ninth Circuit denied the administration's motion for a temporary pause, the government asked the U.S. Supreme Court to halt the lower court's decision while it appeals. In a three paragraph, unsigned order issued on the shadow docket, the court granted the government's request, ending protections for 600,000 Venezuelans who now are at risk of detention and deportation.

As a result, we continue to defend TPS holders and this critical humanitarian protection program in both the district court and the Ninth Circuit, but the actions of the Supreme Court and the Ninth Circuit have rendered hundreds of thousands of TPS holders extraordinarily vulnerable in the interim.

MASS SURVEILLANCE IN THE TRUMP ERA CONTINUED FROM PAGE 1

AUTOMATED LICENSE PLATE READERS

The nationwide network of thousands of automated license plate readers is one of the greatest privacy threats we face during a second Trump administration. These high-speed surveillance cameras capture images of passing vehicles and record the license plate number, location, date, and time and store the information in a database.

With a few clicks, local, state, and federal law enforcement agencies — including ICE, Customs and Border Protection, and the Department of Homeland Security — can gain access to a trove of data revealing millions of drivers' daily movements as they travel to and from home and work. Police from states that criminalize abortion could use the information to monitor vehicles near clinics in states where abortion remains legal and track visiting patients. ICE could use ALPR data to locate, detain, and deport immigrants. These aren't theoretical scenarios; this is already happening.

In May, a Texas police officer reportedly searched 83,000 far-flung ALPR cameras to find a woman who had a self-managed abortion. Also in the spring, researchers discovered that local and state police departments across the country are conducting warrantless searches of license plate location data on behalf of ICE.

In California, many police departments have flouted a 2015 state law ACLU NorCal helped pass that prohibits them from sharing ALPR data with federal and out-of-state law enforcement agencies, including for immigration enforcement purposes. Four years ago, we sounded the alarm when we sued the Marin County Sheriff's Office for illegally sharing millions of drivers' license plates and locations with outside agencies, including ICE and Customs and Border Protection. As part of a settlement, the sheriff agreed to end the practice.

Demand for automated license plate readers has surged and the systems have proliferated in communities across the country and California in the past decade. While police departments control most of these driver surveillance networks, homeowners' associations have put up ALPR cameras to record vehicle traffic in their neighborhoods and some of the groups have given police access to the collected data.

Oakland operates nearly 300 ALPR cameras, and last year San Francisco installed 400, ostensibly to improve public safety and aid in criminal investigations. It didn't take long for the city to run afoul of the law. From August 2024 through February of this year, the San Francisco Police Department reportedly let outside agencies run 1.6 million illegal searches of the city's license plate reader database, and at least 19 of those searches were marked related to ICE.

With the Electronic Frontier Foundation, in September we filed a Public Records Act

request with SFPD seeking proof it has ended this unlawful data sharing. We also called on the department to put safeguards in place to ensure it doesn't happen again.

"The Trump administration could exploit license plate reader data to monitor marginalized communities or groups falsely labeled public safety threats," said Matt Cagle, senior staff attorney with ACLU NorCal's Democracy, Speech, and Technology Project. "Before cities install cameras or approve other surveillance systems, they must consider how the information could be weaponized, and against whom, both by local police and if it fell into the wrong hands."

San Francisco isn't the only California city where police recently misused the ALPR system. In October, Attorney General Rob Bonta sued the Southern California community of El Cajon for sharing license plate location data with authorities in more than two dozen states despite repeated reprimands from his office.

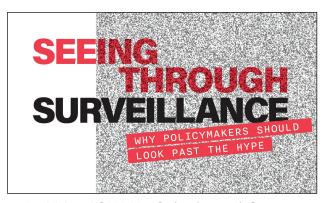
Face recognition software is notoriously inaccurate in identifying Black and Asian people, and we know at least eight individuals have been wrongfully arrested based on false matches.

ICE INVESTS MILLIONS IN SURVEILLANCE TECH

Facial recognition, phone location tracking software, an iris-scanning app, spyware, and a high-powered drone—these are some of the surveillance tools ICE reportedly purchased this year to help agents locate and arrest immigrants. However, the administration might also subject American citizens who lawfully protest ICE or oppose any government action to the same intrusive surveillance under the guise of investigating so-called "antifa."

This technology raises significant constitutional concerns. Face recognition software is notoriously inaccurate in identifying Black and Asian people, and we know at least eight individuals have been wrongfully arrested based on false matches. Spyware would allow agents to remotely hack phones and search photos, messages, and encrypted apps. The tracking software collects location data from hundreds of millions of cellphones every day. One system would allow the government to track a specific person's phone location data without a warrant.

As the administration continues to test the limits of the Constitution, we are prepared to protect our civil rights and civil liberties.



In 2024, ACLU NorCal released Seeing Through Surveillance: Why Policymakers Should Look Past the Hype, a report that brings together dozens of case studies to help communities understand what is really at stake with state and local surveillance decisions. It provides a framework to scrutinize proposals ranging from cameras and license plate readers to drones and new artificial intelligence systems. Read the report at www.aclunc.org/tech.

SOCIAL MEDIA SURVEILLANCE

The unlawful detentions of Mahmoud Khalil and Rümeysa Öztürk were a chilling preview of the government's crackdown on free speech. Initially, the administration singled out international college students who protested the war in Gaza, criticized Israel, or posted pro-Palestinian content, accusing them of antisemitism and flagging them for deportation. But the target list soon expanded to include critics of ICE and Border Patrol.

Although reviewing social media posts has been part of the immigration vetting process for nearly a decade, the Trump administration has supercharged social media surveillance of legal permanent residents, visa holders, visa applicants, and foreign visitors. In June, the State Department announced it will screen student visa applicants' social media accounts for a history of political activism, hostility towards the U.S., and support for foreign terrorist organizations.

The government also plans to subject 55 million current visa holders to "continuous vetting," a comprehensive process that will include trawling their social media accounts using AI-enabled software to search for alleged violations that could warrant visa revocation or deportation. And DHS already contracts with a company that provides location data from phone apps that agents can use to map people's movements.

DHS also seeks to intimidate and silence Americans. In response to viral videos of masked ICE and Border Patrol agents snatching people off the streets and assaulting bystanders, DHS has threatened to prosecute anyone who films and posts footage online of federal officers, which the agency claims constitutes "doxing" and illegal harassment, even though doing so is protected by the First Amendment.

CONTINUED ON PAGE 9

STOPPING SURVEILLANCE FROM THE SKY CONTINUED FROM PAGE 1

That's why in June the ACLU Foundation of Northern California and co-counsel O'Melveny & Myers LLP sued Sonoma County's code enforcement service, its parent agency, and key officials who operate the program. The complaint was filed on behalf of three longtime residents and calls on the Sonoma County Superior Court to block code enforcement from conducting aerial surveillance on someone's home and private life without first getting a warrant.

"In and around our homes, we all have the right to go about our lives in privacy without having to worry about a government drone flying overhead and recording us without a warrant or our knowledge," said Matt Cagle, senior staff attorney with the ACLU Foundation of Northern California. "For too long, Sonoma County code enforcement has used high-powered drones to warrantlessly sift through people's private affairs and initiate charges that upend lives and livelihoods. All the while, the County has hidden these unlawful searches from the people they have spied on, the community, and the media."

One of them is Nicola Schmitz. In October 2023, county inspectors used a drone to monitor and record Schmitz's rural farm without a warrant. Schmitz, who is deaf and lives with her mother and sister, could not hear the drone hovering above and only became aware of it when someone else on her property pointed it out. Schmitz ran inside and closed the blinds, afraid the drone would try to peer in.

Not long after the flight, Schmitz got a notice alleging her property had illegal grading and an unpermitted dwelling. The county told her nothing about the drone surveillance until long after, when she asked point blank. Now, Schmitz says, "I'm afraid to open my blinds



Plaintiff Suzanne Brock and her daughter each used this tucked-away outdoor bath and shower all the time – until they found out Sonoma County code inspectors had been spying on them and capturing images like this one.

Forty years ago, the California
Supreme Court ruled that our
state constitution prohibited
the government from conducting
warrantless surveillance with
a plane above a person's home
and the area around it.

Drones are far more invasive.

or go outside to use my hot tub because who knows when the county's drone could be spying on me. I want to stop this horrible situation from happening to someone else."

Unfortunately, many other Sonoma County residents have faced this violation of their privacy. While the county's drone program was pitched as helping to track "remote cultivation sites," the reality is far different. Most flights occur near the city of Santa Rosa. And many flights searching for cannabis fail to find it — in 2023, 70% of such flights failed to uncover an alleged violation.

Instead, code enforcement agents routinely monitor and record people's homes, fenced-in yards, swimming pools and hot tubs, and areas under awnings or through curtainless windows. They give themselves license to target residents for a wide array of unrelated code violations — everything from an unpermitted shed to rules about swimming in streams.

As our lawsuit illustrates, code enforcement officials were aware that these flights invade privacy, and yet in 2022 they rejected a set of rules that would have helped limit warrantless drone surveillance over people's homes.

Forty years ago, the California Supreme Court ruled that our state constitution prohibited the government from conducting warrantless surveillance with a plane above a person's home and the area around it. Drones are far more invasive than planes or helicopters. They fly much closer to the ground and take surveillance to a whole new level thanks to their small size, extremely powerful cameras, and their ease of operation.

So it's more important than ever that we uphold this basic constitutional principle in Sonoma County and everywhere: when the government wants to search people's homes and invade their private lives, it must first obtain a warrant.

Isobel White is a communications consultant.

MASS SURVEILLANCE IN THE TRUMP ERA CONTINUED FROM PAGE 8

Although tech leaders who clashed with Trump over social media content moderation policies during his first term appear unlikely to resist the administration's assault on civil liberties on their platforms, we are prepared to challenge the government in court. When DHS issued an administrative subpoena seeking to unmask activists behind several Instagram accounts that document immigration raids in the Los Angeles area, we filed a motion in federal court to prevent Meta from complying with the demand for the name, email address, and phone number associated with an account that reposted a video identifying a Border Patrol agent. The court ordered Meta not to disclose our client's personal information while

our motion was decided. When DHS similarly demanded records for an Instagram account that reports on ICE activity in a Philadelphia suburb, we partnered with our colleagues at the ACLU of Pennsylvania to get a similar temporary order to protect our client's anonymity.

"The First Amendment protects the right to record government agents conducting their duties in public, publish their names in print or online, and criticize their conduct," said Jacob Snow, senior staff attorney with the Democracy, Speech, and Technology Project. "The administration's attempt at an end-run around the Constitution is an egregious abuse of power."

Although Americans remain closely divided

on immigration, national polls show that people are growing wary of ICE's violent tactics and anecdotal evidence suggests awareness that the agency is tapping into the ALPR network has raised doubts about installing cameras in some communities. Likewise, muzzling late-night TV host Jimmy Kimmel backfired by galvanizing opposition to censorship. Moving forward, ACLU NorCal remains committed to fighting the administration's lawless crusade to track our movements, pry into our private lives, and suppress free speech.

Lisa P. White is a principal communications strategist at the ACLU of Northern California.

BOARD OF DIRECTORS ELECTION VOTING INFORMATION

WHO CAN VOTE

The bylaws of the ACLU of Northern California call for directors to be elected by the membership. The label affixed to this issue of the *ACLU News* indicates on the top line if you are a current member and thus eligible to vote. Your label states "VOTE" if you are eligible to vote or "INELIGIBLE" if you are not eligible to vote.

If your label states that you are ineligible to vote, but you have recently renewed your membership, please send in your ballot with a note that includes your name and phone number, so we can verify your status. If you are ineligible because you have not renewed your membership but would like to do so at this time, please enclose your membership renewal check in the same envelope as your ballot. (Please note that it is your membership dues payable to the ACLU, not tax-deductible donations to the ACLU Foundation, that make you eligible to vote.)

HOW THE CANDIDATES WERE NOMINATED

As explained in the Spring and Summer issues of the *ACLU News*, our bylaws specify two methods for nominating candidates for directorships. Candidates may be nominated by the current board of directors after the board considers recommendations from its nominating committee. Candidates may also be nominated by petition bearing the signatures of at least 15 of our members in good standing.

INSTRUCTIONS FOR VOTING

The candidates are listed in alphabetical order. We have six candidates running to fill six vacancies on our board of directors. You may vote for up to six candidates.

You cannot cast more than one vote for any candidate. That applies even if you vote for fewer than six candidates. If you share a joint membership with another member, each of you can vote for six candidates. Do so by using both of the two columns provided for that purpose.

After marking your ballot, enclose it in an envelope along with your address label (on the front of this newsletter), which is used to ensure voter eligibility.

ADDRESS THE ENVELOPE TO

BOARD ELECTION
ACLU of Northern California
39 Drumm Street
San Francisco, CA 94111

If you prefer that your ballot be confidential, put your ballot in one envelope, then insert that envelope plus your address label in a second envelope and send to the address indicated above. In that case, we will separate your envelopes before we count your ballot.

In order for your ballot to be counted, we must receive it at the address shown above by Dec.15, 2025.

As required by our bylaws, in order to have a quorum for our election, we need at least 100 timely returned ballots from our members. To help you assess this year's candidates, we're including brief statements submitted by the candidates (see opposite page).

			 ODC DALLOT
ACLU NORCAL BOARD OF	DIKE	6 I	OK2 BALLO
Please vote by marking one square next to each candidate you support. You may vote for up to six candidates on this ballot.			JUSTIN BROWN
If you share joint membership with another member, use both squares.			CARMEN CHEUNG KA-MA
Ballots must be received by December 15, 2025.			THERESA LOFTY JUELCH
SEND THIS BALLOT AND YOUR ADDRESS LABEL FROM THE FRONT PAGE TO:			MAGALI KINCAID
BOARD ELECTION			ZAINAB O. RAMAHI
ACLU of Northern California 39 Drumm Street San Francisco, CA 94111			ANTHONY WAN

ACLU NORCAL BOARD NOMINEE STATEMENTS

Please see the opposite page for information on how to vote in this board election.



JUSTIN BROWN

UNION BOARD NOMINEE

I'm driven by fairness and community. I live in Berkeley and work as Director of Accounting at a multinational clinical trial site organization. I lead the PTA at my two sons' elementary school and have long served as a volunteer and board member, including over

seven years with the ACLU of Northern California.



CARMEN CHEUNG KA-MA

UNION BOARD NOMINEE

I am honored for the opportunity to serve on the Board of Directors. I am a human rights lawyer and activist based in San Francisco, currently serving as the executive director of the Center for Justice & Accountability. Throughout my career, I've litigated cases to advance civil rights, and have worked globally on national security and human

rights issues. I bring a deep commitment to civil liberties and community-led justice, and am excited for this opportunity to support the ACLU's vital work.



THERESA LOFTY JUELCH

INCUMBENT UNION BOARD NOMINEE

I am a Filipina and British/Scottish descendant living on the ancestral lands of the Shabaldano Kai Pomo. I have dedicated my work to community care through Traditional Ecological Knowledge programs, mutual aid networks, and AAPI support initiatives. With

a deep commitment to civil liberties, equity, and inclusion, I would be honored to continue serving on the ACLU NorCal Board and advancing its mission to uphold justice and empower communities across our region.



MAGALI KINCAID

INCUMBENT UNION BOARD NOMINEE

Magali is a passionate community activist who for over 25 years has been fighting on behalf of our most vulnerable and exploited communities including undocumented families and our working-class community. She currently works as a labor and employment attorney with Beeson, Tayer and Bodine. She and her partner are currently

raising their three kiddos, dog Mr. Bruce and two kitties Lola and Tito in Arden Arcade.



ZAINAB O. RAMAHI

INCUMBENT UNION BOARD NOMINEE

I am a Palestinian-Kashmiri attorney living in Oakland and working in San Francisco. My academic research and community organizing centers on settler colonialism, the use of national security arguments to erode civil liberties, global anti-Muslim hostility, and sports as a platform for political expression. Thank you for considering me!



ANTHONY WAN

INCUMBENT UNION BOARD NOMINEE

I would be honored to have the opportunity to continue serving on the Board. Professionally, I own and operate a boutique investment advisory services firm in San Francisco. I currently serve as the Board Treasurer for another legal and civil rights organization in the Bay Area and look to further my involvement in civil rights causes with this opportunity.

LEGISLATIVE UPDATE

ACLU California Action has wrapped up another year fighting for the ACLU's core values in the legislature. We sponsored and supported legislation that protects civil liberties, advances equity, and dismantles systems of oppression. With your support, some of our key bills were signed by the Governor.

AB 1388 (SPONSORED): BANNING POLICE MISCONDUCT NONDISCLOSURE AGREEMENTS

AB 1388, co-sponsored by the Center for Policing Equity, bans police misconduct non-disclosure agreements (NDAs) and voids secrecy clauses in existing NDAs while restoring public access to serious misconduct records.

AB 847 (SUPPORTED): STOP SHERIFF DEPARTMENTS FROM HIDING MISCONDUCT FROM OVERSIGHT BODIES (AB 847)

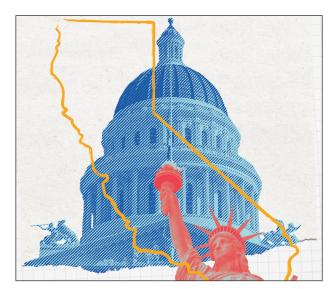
AB 847, sponsored by the LA County Sheriff Civilian Oversight Commission, clarifies state law to ensure oversight commissions and inspector general offices are able to access the misconduct files they need to hold officers accountable to those they are sworn to serve.

SB 634 (SUPPORTED): BANNING PROHIBITIONS ON AID FOR UNHOUSED COMMUNITY MEMBERS (SB 634)

SB 634 would prohibit a local jurisdiction from adopting a local ordinance or enforcing an existing ordinance that prohibits a person or organization from providing support services or assisting a person who is houseless with any act related to basic survival. Sponsored by Disability Rights California, the Inner City Law Center, National Alliance to End Homelessness and the Western Center on Law and Poverty, this bill prevents the unnecessary criminalization of humanitarian actions.

Some of our efforts will continue next year in the second year of the Legislative session, including **AB 690** which would end flat-fee public defense contracts which lead to worse outcomes at every stage of criminal defense.

The ACLU also has to fight back against laws



that create dangerous loopholes or violate the constitutional rights of Californians. This year, this included **AB 715** whose broad language threatens free speech in California's public schools. While the bill's intent is to protect students from harassment and violence, it goes too far to police what can be said in our classrooms, subjecting teachers and students to censorship, and it undermines needed conversations around history, identity, and human rights.

We also continued opposing legislation that would enable weaponized robots to be used against members of the community. While the bill was stalled this year, we remain committed to working to oppose the use of this technology in our communities.

Thank you for all you do to help the ACLU's voice be heard in the Capitol, we are stronger together.

A LETTER FROM ACLU OF NORTHERN CALIFORNIA EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR ABDI SOLTANI

As I write this *ACLU News* letter and it finds its way to you, election results are being tallied around the country and we round the corner to a new year. 2026 will mark the first anniversary of the Trump Administration, a second full year of his authoritarian policies, the 250th anniversary of the Declaration of Independence, and midterm elections that will define the control of the U.S. House, Senate, and many governorships and state legislatures.

The stakes couldn't be higher. As we come to the end of 2025, it is a good time to take stock of recent events and think about what lies ahead for us.

RAIDS ON? RAIDS OFF?

Since inauguration day, the ACLU has been to court over 100 times against the administration's policies. And we have monitored and responded to the deployment of National Guard in Los Angeles, Chicago, Memphis, Washington DC, and Portland. Using immigration raids or fighting crime as pretexts, President Trump has deployed the National Guard over the objection of governors and mayors, and in violation of the law. These deployments have been challenged in lawsuits in court and by spirited, costumed, peaceful protesors in the streets.

When Trump announced in October that San Francisco was the next target, community members, civic leaders, and local and state elected officials spoke out resolutely to reject this deployment. It was a powerful show of unity: Bay Area mayors stood shoulder to shoulder, community organizations led by Bay Resistance organized press conferences and rallies, and community networks were ready to monitor the deployment of ICE and the National Guard on street corners throughout our region.

Ultimately, when Trump called off the escalation, it was a victory by and for the Bay Area. But it was also a victory secured by the earlier public and community response in other cities that were the targets of this deployment before us.

DAILY ASSAULT ON PEOPLE'S RIGHTS

As important a victory as that was, it was only a brief reprieve. We face the reality of the daily assault on due process, free speech and other fundamental rights. As you see in the articles in this newsletter, ACLU NorCal and our partners have sued to stop the practice of courthouse arrests of immigrants who are showing up for their immigration appointments. We are defending free speech rights of people targeted by this administration for expressing dissenting views. The national ACLU is challenging Trump's Executive Order to end birthright citizenship, a case that may well be before the Supreme Court this term.

There are three factors at play right now in our federal government that make this a particularly perilous time for constitutional rights. First, the Trump administration is using authoritarian

There are three factors at play right now in our federal government that make this a particularly perilous time for constitutional rights. First, the Trump administration is using authoritarian means through which it is abusing executive power.

Second, the Supreme Court is condoning many rights violations through its "shadow docket." And third, Congress is amplifying this agenda through expansions of funding to ICE, tax breaks to the wealthy and cuts to vital health care.

means through which it is abusing executive power toward its ends to consolidate power, silence critics, and deport our neighbors. Second, as described by ACLU NorCal Legal Director in her column, the Supreme Court is condoning many rights violations through its "shadow docket." And third, Congress is amplifying this agenda through expansions of funding to ICE, tax breaks to the wealthy, and cuts to vital health care.

OUR COLLECTIVE RESPONSE IS POWERFUL

As difficult as those challenges are, our collective response as Americans in defense of our democracy will ultimately prove to be more powerful. I am resolute in that conviction because I see the ways in which we are showing up to exercise our power.

On October, seven million Americans joined together in the No Kings events in over 2,700 locations. This show of force is important in and of itself, but it is also an indicator of the energy that it represents and that manifests in many other ways.

We are speaking out, joining and donating to organizations in record numbers. Community organizations are organizing mutual aid networks to monitor street corners and notify people of



ACLU of Northern California Executive Director Abdi Soltani

ICE raids. We will vote with such energy and in such numbers to overcome any attempt to suppress the right to vote. Americans are meeting fear with courage, threats with action, and division with unity.

VISITING A CITY NEAR YOU

In that spirit, I feel enormous gratitude to you — both for your support of the ACLU and for everything else you are doing in defense of our democracy.

Over the next several months, please look out for an invitation in the mail from ACLU NorCal inviting you to an in-person conversation and gathering. I will come to each event with four goals:

- 1. To say thank you.
- 2. To build relationships and community.
- 3. To share updates on our plans and hear from you about the path ahead.
- 4. To offer additional ways we can work together and that you can be involved.

Please look for that invitation, but in the meantime, feel free to get on our early sign-up list at **www.aclunc.org/tour** to make sure you receive details about my Defend Democracy tour.

Abdi Soltani, Executive Director ACLU of Northern California

