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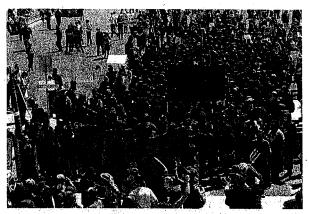
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CITY

Antifa: What is behind the masks in Berkeley?

226

By Natalie Orenstein, Sept. 11, 2017, 10:06 a.m.



Antifascist organizers had a visible, and at times violent, presence in Berkeley on Aug. 27, 2017. Photo: Emilie Raguso

It seemed like something had to give.

On one side were the Berkeley police, standing in formation along the western edge of Martin Luther King Jr. Civic Center Park, outfitted in riot gear. Opposite them, in the street, were 100-200 antifascist, or "antifa," activists. Dressed fully in black, "masked up" and carrying shields and sticks, antifa had come to the park expecting to find neo-Nazis and force them to leave. But first, they faced off with the police.

"Cops and Klan go hand-in-hand!" the activists chanted, as some officers began to pull on tear gas masks.

Some antifascists in the front of the crowd lunged forward at the police. A few officers pointed weapons at the group. Reporters and other protesters lingered on the sidelines, sensing violence was going to break out at any moment.

Then, abruptly, the police turned to their right and walked out of the park in a single-file line.

Antifa in turn flooded into the park, toppling some of the orange barriers the city had placed there the night before in anticipation of a farright "No to Marxism" rally and counterprotest. But while the antifascists were among thousands who turned out in Berkeley that day, Aug. 27, to rally, mostly peacefully, against racism and bigotry, only a couple dozen right-wing protesters ultimately showed up. Those who did were chased out of the park to a chorus of "Nazi scum!" and "fascist!" and, in a handful of cases, physically attacked, mainly by the antifa demonstrators who swept in en masse that afternoon.

That evening and the following day, there was no shortage of reports on the black-clad mob that had busted into the park "disrupting" a peaceful protest and beating people bloody.

While there has long been curiosity and criticism surrounding their actions, "antifa" became a household term in Berkeley that day. Who exactly were those hordes of masked protesters, observers wondered, and what were their motives? What is with the secrecy? And the violence?

Those who identify as members of the "antifa," in Berkeley and beyond, are not necessarily part of a fixed group but are often activists who work in smaller groups or who come together for specific actions, like the rallies that have been roiling Berkeley since February. They all share the belief, however, that fascism is burgeoning — and that it must be squashed before it is too late. They reject the idea that discourse and debate can do the job. Instead, they believe far-right voices must be prevented, not just muted, through violence if necessary. Many antifa members are anarchists, and many are involved in other leftist organizations.

Antifascists point to history to support their belief that standing by and allowing fascists their "free speech" is what contributed to the rise of fascism before World War II. They are quick to point out that Adolf Hitler and Benito Mussolini were brought into power through conventional, legal means, writes Mark Bray, a Dartmouth historian, in his new book "Antifa: The Anti-Fascist Handbook."

"For militant anti-fascists, those historical facts have cast doubt on the liberal formula for opposing fascism," writes Bray, himself an Occupy Wall Street alum. "That formula essentially amounts to faith in reasoned debate to counteract fascistic ideas, in the police to counteract fascist violence, and in the

institutions of parliamentary government to counteract fascist attempts to seize power. There is no doubt that sometimes this formula has worked. There is also no doubt that sometimes it has not."

It is thus unsurprising that Bay Area antifascist organizer Henry Taylor's take on the events of Aug. 27 differs from the many media reports of intimidation and terror. Taylor, who has participated in multiple local antifa actions in recent years, agreed to talk to Berkeleyside about the local antifascist scene, the tactics and the motives, and why he believes antifa's violence has been taken out of context. His name has been changed per his request.

Taylor believes the violence was blown out of proportion: "It was a totally broad cross-section from all walks of life. There were a handful of scuffles but I've seen much worse when the Giants won the World Series," he said.



Members of antifa hold up a flag at the April 15, 2017 rally in Civic Center Park. Photo: Frances Dinkelspiel

Taylor was wearing a nondescript sweatshirt the day of the rally so he could blend in. Rather than cloaking himself in black clothing, "I've found it's easier to be invisible wearing a college hoodie" at protests, he said. But he was on duty nonetheless, taking photographs to document the protest, with the blessing of antifa.

Many in Berkeley first became aware of antifa during the Occupy movement in 2011-12, then at Black Lives Matter protests, on UC Berkeley's campus where demonstrators shut down a planned speech by Milo Yiannopoulos in February, and at the ensuing clashes downtown, where antifascists have brawled with protesters on the right and far right.

But their striking presence and violence in the park on Aug. 27 — and their extraordinary secrecy — left many more wondering exactly who is behind the bandanas and under the hoods.

Antifa: "Stereotype of white boys playing at revolution" is inaccurate

Antifa may be suddenly gaining visibility, but antifascist action is hardly a new phenomenon.

The current antifa tradition is an offspring of the antifascist movement against the followers of Hitler, Mussolini and Franco in Europe in the 1920s and beyond, according to Bray. His new book made the San Francisco Chronicle's best-seller list this week.

In the 1980s in the U.S., a group called Anti-Racist Action formed in the same tradition, to fight neo-Nazi skinheads, particularly in the punk scene. The members of that movement were more inclined toward mass organization and were more public about their actions than today's antifa, which took root at the end of the George W. Bush presidency amid wariness of government surveillance, said Alexander Reid Ross, a Portland State lecturer and author of "Against the Fascist Creep," in an interview with Berkeleyside.

Though tactics and ideologies differ a bit between antifa localities and groups, most subscribe to something like the "points of unity" laid out by the Torch Network, a self-described coalition of "militant antifascists," according to Ross. Among those principles is the disruption of fascist activity, resistance to all forms of oppression and lack of reliance on the police and legal system. In short, antifa members believe they must take matters into their own hands, preventing the spread of tyranny and bigotry without the help of the police, who they see as arms of the state and enablers of fascism.

Although antifa literature often talks about "self-defense" and "defending the community," antifa protesters in Berkeley have often thrown the first, and hardest, punches.

"We believe in being proactive when it comes to fascist violence, which means confronting fascist organizing before they have a chance to put their ideas into action, and taking fascist threats seriously," the Torch Network says on its website.



An antifa member at the Berkeley rally on March 4, 2017. Photo: Daniel McPartlan

In the aftermath of the August protest, Berkeley Mayor Jesse Arreguín said antifa should be classified as a gang. On a basic level, Ross said, that designation is just not "descriptively" accurate. Antifa tends to operate in small groups with ties to broader radical webs, and shuns hierarchical structures, unlike gangs.

"That's a point that is important to antifascists," Ross said. "Since the beginning of antifa, the organizing structure of groups that took on that name was explicitly against being gangs. They said, 'We're going to be smallish groups that do a lot of research and have pretty extensive networks in communities that can spread information, develop information and use information. The antifa groups per se are more like hubs in broader networks."

Antifa's amorphousness, as well as its extreme resistance to the press, makes it difficult to determine who is involved in, and the demographic makeup of, the local antifascist scene. But many have their suspicions.

"The usual stereotype is out-of-town, well-to-do white boys playing at revolution," Taylor said. "In case of antifa I've never seen anything to say that's true. They are mostly young, but they tend to be local. A lot are black or Latino, a lot are LGBT, a lot are women. It's really very diverse, and it tends to be lower-income."

Unlike members of the far right, who often post their plans and expose their identities on social media and internet forums, often hoping to gain followers, antifa is much more secretive. The activists often communicate through encrypted messaging apps like Signal. They typically refuse to speak with the press and ripped cameras out of the hands of photographers at the Aug. 27 rally.

However, there are several online antifascist publications that do reveal their thinking, though the articles are typically posted anonymously. One of the most prominent is It's Going Down. Locally, Berkeley Antifa has an active Twitter account.

"The internet, for all the evil it does, also provides a direct avenue for antifascist groups to put out their statements," Ross said.



Antifa demonstrators march from Ohlone Park to Civic Center Park on Sunday, Aug. 27, 2017. Photo: David Yee @2017

The vast majority of the work antifa does, said Taylor, is gathering intelligence on the far right, often by scraping white supremacist internet forums for identifying information and plans for actions. They use the information to plan counter actions or wage campaigns against individuals. They have posted fliers around Berkeley warning about particular people and their alleged collusion with the police. When the white nationalist group Identity Evropa posted posters around Berkeley in May 2016, antifa activists took them down.

Although antifa is often used interchangeably with the black-clad, masked crews that showed up on Aug. 27, there is some internal disagreement about whether such "black bloc tactics," which date back to the autonomous movements in Germany and the Netherlands in the 1970s and 80s, are wise, said Taylor. Some believe black blocs attract too much attention, and others think they are too vulnerable to infiltrators.

"The cases where it does work is where there's widespread community understanding and support," he said.

Antifa achieved that community support in Berkeley on Aug. 27, according to Tayor. From one view, the antifascists did attract a much larger and more diverse alliance than has been visible at past protests. They organized in a coalition with many other counterprotest groups and were joined by a wide range of activists, from other community members to clergy, on a large victory march to Ohlone Park after the event.

Before the rally, organizers from various leftist groups met several times to craft a shared set of rules, Taylor said. All agreed to respect "a genuine diversity of tactics, within a broader framework of only defensive action," though "it was not a green light to do whatever you want" he said.

Berkeleyside obtained a copy of an agreement hashed out with other organizers by an interfaith group that marched to the scene from the First Congregational Church. Those organizers agreed not to use violence except to prevent bodily harm, not to destroy property and not to take photos of antifa, among other prohibitions. "Participants agree to stand in solidarity with all counter-protestors resisting fascism on this day. While we may not personally like all the tactics we witness, we will not talk to the police or the media about any action taken by our fellow counter-protestors," the document said.

The next day, after images of antifa beating up protesters had become the dominant media message around the country, a few local progressive leaders who had been part of the counterprotest coalition held a press conference to say antifa was not the unrestrained vicious mob it was portrayed to be.

"Our experience on the streets was that we were defended by people who came, as antifascists, to do that," said Sara Kershnar, a legal observer with the National Lawyers Guild.



Antifa pushes over barriers in Civic Center Park on Aug. 27. Photo: Kelly Sullivan

"Why is antifa all of a sudden becoming labeled as the most violent element when they were literally here with a buffer between those who were here to harm us?" said Berkeley pastor Michael McBride of The Way Christian Center.

In a New York Times op-ed written with other black Christian leaders, McBride said, "There has never been a time in American history in which movements for justice have been devoid of violent outbreaks."

Plus, they wrote, not much credence should be given to opposition to antifa, since moderate liberals have long abhorred violence and civil disobedience as tactics for social change. He pointed to Gallup polls from the Civil Rights Movement that found a majority of Americans opposed sit-ins and the now celebrated March on Washington.

Along with new allies, new critics

Despite the increase in voices speaking up on behalf of antifa after Aug. 27, there was also a loud, diverse chorus criticizing the violence. Many residents told Berkeleyside ahead of the rally that, especially in light of a massive, successful counterprotest in Boston, they would have liked to show up to protest bigotry on Aug. 27, but stayed away for fear of violence instigated by, or involving, antifa. After the rally, many condemned the attacks, which left some with bloody faces and torn shirts, some saying the lawful right-wing protesters did not deserve such brutal treatment. Others worried about the backlash to the leftist violence, saying the tactic plays into the right's hands, making them look like victims.

Josh Marshall, the editor of Talking Points Memo, wrote that the militant left should not be compared to the militant right: "Embracing violence to combat political and moral evils like racism and fascism is simply not equivalent to embracing violence to advance these evils." However, he said, fascist groups "have historically used the presence of civil violence to justify 'law and order' crackdowns which usually empower and propagate authoritarian politics."

Other critics were concerned antifa's violence and intimidating demeanor alienated too many potential allies.

Antifa organizers, while angered by what they view as extreme mischaracterization by the media and local leaders, are not necessarily concerned with gaining solidarity from mainstream liberals. Though some want to build a larger coalition, they at the very least do not expect people to understand them, Ross said.

The current manifestation of antifa was developed with the intention of "preserving this sort of distance from mass organizing, based on the understanding that the state wouldn't be on their side," he said. "Antifa was sort of born of the security culture."

Indeed, the Department of Homeland Security has classified their actions as "domestic terrorist violence," Politico reported recently.



Antifa lunges at a man carrying a camera on Aug. 27. He was later beaten. Photo: Kelly Sullivan



Police lead away a man who was chased and beaten by antifa on Aug. 27. Photo: Thomas Hawk

After the white nationalist and neo-Nazi march in Charlottesville, where a counterprotester was killed, antifa enjoyed a fleeting moment of acceptance by the mainstream. President Donald Trump was derided, even by his Republican colleagues, for blaming violence "on many sides." Before the Aug. 27 rally, Bay Area officials focused on condemning the potential appearance of white supremacists in Berkeley. The change in the target of their criticism after the event was striking.

Days after Rep. Nancy Pelosi told the National Park Service to pull a permit for a "white supremacist rally" in San Francisco on Aug. 26, she put out a statement blasting the "violent actions of people calling themselves antifa in Berkeley." And Rep. Barbara Lee, considered to be one of the most progressive members of Congress, said that the violent acts in Berkeley were "unacceptable and undermine the work of the vast majority of protestors who came to peacefully denounce hatred, bigotry, and discrimination." Arreguín made his oftrepeated comment about gangs then too.

Last month Arreguín explained to Berkeleyside why the left was now the target of his criticism. Whereas at past rallies, antifa and protesters on the right and far-right, including some white supremacists, attacked one another, that was not the case on Aug. 27, where few on the right even showed up, he said.

Some with antifa say they successfully scared away the Nazis, but, said Arreguín, "What I saw is [antifa] were the aggressors."

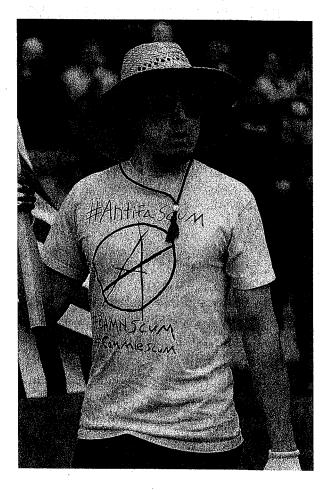
Peaceful right-wing protesters?

According to Reveal, Antifa arrived at Civic Center Park on Aug. 27 with a portfolio of people to target. Though most did not materialize, those on the right who were there, as well as others, were shouted at and chased out of the park or kicked and punched.

Some at the rally were local supporters of Trump, who engaged in conversation with counterprotesters on Allston Way before antifa showed up. Several have said they have done nothing to deserve being called Nazis, let alone to be beaten up for their beliefs. Among that contingent was Jourdin Davis, a Berkeley High graduate and member of a group that calls itself the Original Berkeley Warriors for being veterans of the March 4 and April 15 clashes. Davis, who was chased out when antifa

arrived, said, "If I didn't get into my Jesse Owens mode I'd probably have a black eye."

Others were wider-known figures, some of whom have advocated violence themselves. The most well-known right-wing protester at the rally was Juan Cadavid, also known as Johnny Benitez, a former member of the Proud Boys, a self-described "Western chauvinist" group. The Orange County GOP severed ties with Benitez after seeing a video of him talking about "Jewish problems." Benitez has also said Holocaust remembrance organizations are anti-European. On a nowdeleted Instagram account, Benitez posted a photo of himself carrying a Tiki torch, like those carried by white nationalists in Charlottesville, before coming to the Aug. 27 rally, where he was shouted down by counterprotesters. (See Berkeleyside's report on some of the right-wing protesters at the event.)



A protester on the right declares antifa "scum" on March 4, 2017. Photo: Daniel McPartlan

According to Ross, it is common for far-right and white supremacist organizers to show up to events masquerading as what they call "normies" or more moderate conservatives.

Their thinking, Ross said, is "the optics will be in our favor because it will be cool caddies from the golf course being attacked by horrible-looking antifascists crawling out of a sewer." In Charlottesville, he said, "that obviously failed miserably because they can't hold themselves back from murder."

An antifa account recently posted alleged screenshots from a far-right forum displaying this tactic in action.

However, black bloc participants might have different ideas about what qualifies as an appropriate target, and it is easy to imagine an unintended victim of a large group of people who show up prepared for battle but find fewer enemies on the field than they expected. This reporter witnessed a young man, who appeared to be a counterprotester as well, approach antifa on Aug. 27 and yell at them to be peaceful and take off their masks. A few antifa members began lunging at him and yelling, "fascist scum" and "Nazi." His friend came and put his arm around him, ushering him away.

Antifa tactics, conceded Taylor, are not foolproof. But "walking right up to a black block line in a situation where they have to be defending themselves" is not wise, he said. "There are times and places to be having those discussions. Right in the heat of the moment when things might be getting hairy" is not one.

"It's a chaotic and messy situation," Taylor said, but he posited that potential small casualties are better than the "alternative," a right-wing paramilitary showing like in Charlottesville.



Counterprotesters surround Johnny Benitez (center, in black) on Aug. 27, 2017. Irma Hinojosa, a well-known right wing commentator who is with Latinas for Trump, is on the right in the red shirt. Photo: Daniel McPartlan

He also said there is room for improvement in the relationship between antifa and the media.

"There's definitely overreaction that happens," said Taylor. He said he always asks permission before taking photographs because some activists cannot risk losing their jobs or facing threats if identified by the right.

Both the far right and far left "doxx" liberally, meaning they do research to identify their enemies, post their personal information online and often call their employers in hopes of getting them fired. The high-profile arrest of alleged antifascist organizer Eric Clanton after the April 15 rally, leading to charges for assaulting four people with a bike lock, can likely be traced back to thorough doxxing efforts on a far-right Internet forum, where users combed through photos from the rally and social media, using his perceived hairline position and height as clues. More recently, a worker at Top Dog who attended the rally in Charlottesville was "outed" on Twitter for his participation, leading to his resignation from the Berkeley restaurant.

A man who has filmed multiple Berkeley rallies said he is currently being doxxed by antifa. The man, who did not want to provide his name out of fear for his safety, has a Youtube channel where he posts satirical videos which he said have "no political message — just, look at these dummies doing dumb things." While he said, "I don't blame the antifa guys for being wary of people with cameras," most of his videos feature antifa. Others make fun of far-right protesters.

The man said he tries to dress in neutral outfits at rallies and had not been bothered until Aug. 27, when a By Any Means Necessary (BAMN) activist came up to him and took his photo. BAMN is adjacent to antifa, sharing some of the same beliefs and practices, but it has its own principles, considers itself a democratic group, and its organizers make no effort to mask their identities.

The man said the photo made its way to another antifa activist, who posted it online and is telling everyone he said anti-Semitic slurs to her, a "horrific lie," he insisted.

"I'm worried this is going to get back to my boss and I'll lose my job," said the man, who grew up in Berkeley and works as a salesman for a food distributor.

He tried to contact the alleged doxxer, but she blocked him on social media, he said.



Antifa protesters smashed property and started fires at UC Berkeley, ultimately leading to the cancelation of

Milo Yiannopoulos' speech on Feb. 1, 2017. Photo: David Yee

Antifa gained followers after election of Donald Trump

While BAMN and an allied group, Refuse Fascism, actively recruit new members — as do many of the right-wing groups that have come to Berkeley — groups involved in intelligence-gathering and black bloc tactics try to thoroughly vet anyone interested in joining their ranks, Taylor said. That is not always easy to do, especially during violent events, where anyone can join in the melée, Ross said.

"That's kind of a big issue. How can one maintain these networks and systems with regards to knowing everyone who's in them, when they're so amorphous and horizontal?" he said.

Screening process or no, there is a growing number of people eager to take part.

"Just like there was an upsurge in far-right interest since the election, there certainly has been a spike in interest in antifascism," Ross said.

And he believes it is the left's duty to at least support antifascist action.

When asked whether antifa violence could backfire and give ammunition to the right, Ross said the left is complicit in allowing that to happen.

"This is kind of schoolyard stuff," he said. "If you push me while the teacher's back is

turned, and I push you as soon as the teacher turns around, and the teacher grounds me, does someone who sees the whole thing tell the teacher to ground me or say, 'I see what that bully did?"

Liberals "share a responsibility to say, no, this is the guy that started it. Passivity is contributing to the oppression in society today," Ross said.

Interestingly, while speaking to ABC, Arreguín also used a playground analogy to describe the political clashes that have rocked his city this year.

But he had a different perspective: "You don't fight bullies by being a bully."

Ed. note: This story's headline was edited after publication to better reflect the content of the article.

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CITY

Jury finds 5 men not guilty of assault during 2017 Berkeley protest

227

By Emilie Raguso, June 18, 2018, 9:48 a.m.



At a pro- and anti-Trump protest in Berkeley on March 4, 2017, one of the defendants in an ongoing trial — Nathan Perry, at right — can be seen struggling over a flagpole held by Moshe Daniel Quillinan, at left in a brown kilt. Photo: Daniel McPartlan

March 4, 2017, brought a day of violent political clashes to downtown Berkeley's Civic Center Park. The event, dubbed the "March on Berkeley" by its pro-Trump organizers, was the first of several large protests in the city in 2017 that would pit pro- and anti-Trump activists against each other. There were verbal altercations and street brawls. And despite efforts by some to keep events peaceful, nearly every rally resulted in violence and arrests. Both sides have blamed the other for provoking the fights.

Scroll to the bottom of this story for an update

Wednesday, a trial began in Alameda County Superior Court where jurors have been asked to

decide if five self-described "anti-fascist" defendants are guilty of attacking Trump supporter Moshe Daniel Quillinan during his evaluation by Berkeley firefighters for a large cut on his head that ultimately required 10 staples to close, according to testimony last week.

Prosecutor Jim Logan, with the Alameda County district attorney's office, told jurors Friday during closing arguments that he wouldn't blame them if they found Quillinan's political views repulsive. But Logan said that didn't mean Quillinan deserved to be attacked as he sat near firefighters, with a bandage wrapped completely around his head, waiting for a friend to take him to the hospital: "Just because the victim is dislikable doesn't mean the rules don't apply," Logan said. "The defendants don't get to decide ... punishment on the street. That's what the courtroom is for."

Defense attorney Shanta Driver told the jury it was Quillinan who provoked an argument with

a group of passers-by that included some of her clients. She said they only tried to defend themselves, as Quillinan tried to strike them with a wooden shield, and argued that Berkeley police were "treating Mr. Quillinan as a victim, and as somebody whose rights were denied, while treating these five [defendants] as villains and perpetrators of violence."

Driver — who is representing Taylor Fuller, Scott Hedrick, Nathan Perry, Jeff Armstrong and Dustin Sawtelle — told jurors during her closing arguments Friday that they had witnessed "a political trial that's being conducted in a political era, the Trump era: an era in which lies and fantasies can be substitutes for the truth and reality."



Some of the defendants with what appears to be Quillinan's flag, which seems to have been burned, after a struggle in Civic Center Park on March 4, 2017, before the events that are the focus of this case. Photo: Daniel McPartlan



From left: Taylor Fuller, Scott Hedrick, Nathan Perry, Jeff Armstrong and Dustin Sawtelle. Photo: BAMN

From Wednesday through Friday, jurors and Judge Alison Tucher heard testimony from a parade of witnesses for the prosecution and defense. Dozens of supporters of the five

defendants have been in court for the bulk of the trial. They have made their feelings known, with laughter and sighs of derision, hissing, applause and other outbursts. At one point, a member of the audience held up a political flier, facing the jury, urging the court to "drop the charges" against the activist group.

Tucher repeatedly admonished the crowd to keep on their "poker faces," or risk ejection, telling them it was a "courtroom, not a political rally." She said there should be "no snickering, laughing, catcalling" or any other reactions in response to the witnesses: "You can think whatever you want to think inside your heads," she said. But the proceedings continued to be marked by interruptions and audible reactions, despite her numerous announcements for order.

It wasn't the only logistical challenge. Throughout the first day and much of the second, during breaks, jurors stood outside the courtroom and rode the elevator within earshot of defense supporters who loudly discussed their views and criticized the prosecution. Jurors are under strict orders to focus only on evidence presented in court, and to have no outside discussions or external exposure to the case to ensure an unbiased process. Eventually, during the second day of testimony, Judge Tucher ordered jurors to spend all breaks inside the jury room, and had the bailiff keep them separate from the crowd.

Driver, who is a national organizer for the political activist group By Any Means Necessary, or BAMN, put all five of her clients on the stand to testify about March 4. She also called on fellow BAMN leader Yvette Felarca, as well as another Berkeley activist, to testify. Much of the testimony on the defense side related to events at Civic Center Park during the March 4 rally — in the hours before the alleged assault in this case - including

physical altercations and intimidation that witnesses and defendants attributed to Quillinan.



Daniel Quillinan, after he was injured in an unrelated melee before he left Civic Center Park. Quillinan said a group attacked him in the park, causing his head injury. Photo: Daniel McPartlan

Prosecutor Logan repeatedly drew the jury's focus to the incident on Milvia Street shortly after 3 p.m. where two firefighters and a Berkeley police officer said they watched the group swarm Quillinan, as he sat on a concrete ledge near Berkeley High School, then unleashed 10-20 punches and 10-15 kicks over an estimated 15 seconds to a minute. They left when police and firefighters interrupted the alleged attack. Logan asked the jury to decide whether they believed the first responders to be liars, or the defendants who have said they are innocent.

Logan also told jurors to be skeptical of the testimony of the defendants, who all described the altercation with the "same six facts." He asked the jury to recall the demeanors of the defendants during the three-day proceeding, their smiles and their laughter: "These defendants think it's a joke," Logan said.

Driver said the prosecutor's description of events was "a real challenge to imagine." She said her clients had shown up to Berkeley to provide medical aid during the rally, and to ensure the "free speech rights of everyone." She said there were too many inconsistencies among the witness testimony on the prosecution side. Driver said her clients had simply tried to walk by Quillinan on their way to their car — and had not attacked him in plain view of nearby firefighters.

"You would have to be an idiot to do something like that," she said.

The defense team had filed a motion before the trial began to ask the judge to exclude "references to 'black bloc,' 'anarchists,' 'antifa,' or 'people wearing masks' and statements about violent actions taken by anti-Trump non-defendants on that day.... Such references have no probative value and cause substantial danger of undue prejudice, confusing the issues, and misleading the jury."

Last week, throughout the week, the defense team sent out email updates to supporters and the media describing the defendants as "the Berkeley Anti-Fascist 5." They blamed police and prosecutors for engaging "in a conspiracy" with Quillinan, and described all charges as "false." The goal of the prosecution, they wrote, was "to advance Trump's agenda in the direction of a police state."

Some of the defendants testified they had known of Quillinan and his views before the March 4 rally. Others said they saw him in the park being aggressive. They testified that they had been walking to their cars when they found themselves crossing Milvia Street from Kittredge Street, and were surprised to see Quillinan sitting near some firefighters. They said they hadn't been able to see Quillinan from Kittredge because a fire engine was blocking their view. Defendants said three other men, who had joined their group a block or so earlier, walked with them, but ran off before their arrest. They also said defendant Hedrick had split off from the group before

the interaction with Quillinan, then ran back to them afterward to see if they were all right.

Defense attorney Driver at one point filed a motion to ask the judge to allow her clients to sit among the audience so witnesses would have to identify them from among the crowd. Judge Tucher said that would be "unusual," and that she was "not inclined to grant that," in part because Driver had cited no related case law.

The prosecution

Berkeley Police Sgt. Jesse Grant testified that he was sitting in an unmarked vehicle at Milvia and Kittredge when he heard words exchanged between the seated Quillinan and a group of pedestrians. Grant saw Armstrong punch Quillinan in the head and Perry kick Ouillinan in the leg, he said. Several others then "closed in" around Quillinan, as Grant saw "arms and legs flying." Grant, the only police officer at the scene, jumped out of the car and called for back-up, then ordered the group to leave. Firefighters also yelled, to break up the fight, and the group "took off" south on Milvia. The defendants were arrested by other BPD officers a short distance down the street.

Grant said he asked Quillinan if he wanted his assailants arrested — which is required by law in any misdemeanor case — and took a statement after Quillinan said he did.

Grant watched the group as they walked a block or so south, as did Berkeley fire captains David Sprague-Livingston and Jonathan Fischer. Fischer testified that he first saw the group walking from the north on Milvia from about 20 feet away. When the group got close, Fischer said one of the pedestrians said something to his patient, who responded. There was a punch and a kick, then more

punching and kicking. Fischer said the group of pedestrians "threw the first punch."

Fischer also testified that he didn't "recognize anybody" among the defendants in the courtroom, noting it had been more than a year since the incident had taken place. But he said the five people who were detained March 4, whom he had identified during their detention, were the same ones he had seen attack his patient.

Sprague-Livingston testified that he was "certain" the five defendants were the men he saw commit the March 4 assault. In court, he identified each of them as someone who had taken part in the attack, and said the people stopped by police were the ones who assaulted his patient. "I had clear views of the incident the whole time," he told the jury. "They're the folks that came by."

Sprague-Livingston said, during crossexamination, that he could not recall any specific actions he could attribute to any particular defendant due to the nature of the attack. But he said he did see a punch thrown, then an attempt by Quillinan to defend himself by holding up his wooden shield as punches and kicks continued. He said, when he identified the defendants after police detained them, he remembered them because of their faces and their clothing.

Quillinan, a Berkeley antique dealer, testified Wednesday that he wore hockey kneepads and a motorcycle helmet to Berkeley on March 4 "for protection." He carried with him a yellow-and-black flag on a wooden pole, and a thick wooden shield, which he called "my poster board," that he said Kyle Chapman made for him. The crowd laughed when Quillinan said, "Sometimes violent people show up, so I wanted to be safe."

He said he had been in the park along with "conservative pro-Trump Republicans" and "communists, Marxists [and] antifa" when someone grabbed him from behind. He was "thrown the ground, mobbed and beaten," and sustained a "large gash" in his head when someone removed his motorcycle helmet. Quillinan said that attack happened when he was "trying to break up another fight" by swinging his flagpole at people in the park. (That incident is separate from the one that is before the jury.)

After he was taken out of the park, firefighters moved Quillinan down the street on Milvia to make sure they were a safe distance away from the crowd. He said he saw a group approaching, and then one person said something to him that was "probably mocking." One person kicked him, and then others held him and beat him for 15-20 seconds. He said the five men police stopped nearby — the five defendants — were the ones who attacked him. He said he recognized at least four of them "for sure," but one of them — Hedrick — was "familiar but I don't recognize for sure."

Quillinan testified, during cross-examination, that he had tried to attend a talk at UC Berkeley in early February last year by Milo Yiannopoulos. Counter-protesters shut down the event, and Quillinan said he saw someone attacked in front of him while he was streaming video live to Facebook. Driver asked Quillinan if he was a fascist, and if he was a white nationalist. He said he was neither.

As the hearing ended for the day, the crowd spilled into the hallway.

"I can't believe he lied about being a Nazi," one member of the group of supporters told another.

The defense

After Quillinan's testimony ended, the five defendants took the stand along with BAMN leader Felarca and another local activist. Sawtelle, an Oakland tattoo artist, said he'd attended many political rallies, and came to the March 4, 2017, event in Berkeley because a lot of the promotional materials leading up to it had indicated there could be violence against leftists. He said he was aware of Quillinan and Chapman, and their posts online, before the rally.

The defendants said they knew each other through the music scene, and that some perform in local bands.

Sawtelle said he and Perry had picked up medical supplies to help with basic first aid because "police and firefighters don't typically go rushing into the scene" during contentious political events. Sawtelle said he did not bring any weapons with him to the rally but, according to court papers, police recovered a knife among his possessions during a search when he was arrested.

The defendants said they were prepared for fights that day, based on what they had seen at prior events of a similar nature.

"I knew for a fact there would be an altercation or violence," Hedrick, a machine operator who lives in Oakland, testified. "I don't think it would bring out someone wanting to debate."

Sawtelle said initially there was political debate between the two sides, and "some heated talking," but then Chapman, Quillinan and some others showed up and the dynamic changed. Sawtelle said the new arrivals shoved people and shot pepper spray into the crowd. People on both sides began yelling.

Sawtelle said he helped several people who were injured. He said he and his four friends "got between a lot of things" to stop assaults that day, and to defend people who could not defend themselves. He said, at one point, he saw a group that did not include Quillinan going after Felarca, and he intervened. He later saw Quillinan dragged out of the park after people kicked and punched him, and pulled off his helmet.

Eventually, the pro-Trump crowd began a march toward downtown, and Sawtelle said he and the others decided to leave.

"We were all tired and covered in pepper spray, and had been there all day," he said. Armstrong, a union organizer who lives in Oakland, said it had been "a very violent day," and that they were all ready to be done.

As they headed back to the car, three strangers joined them, Sawtelle said, and they "grouped together for safety." They walked west on Kittredge, he said, and crossed to the west side of Milvia. Hedrick turned right to go to his car, which was parked elsewhere. Sawtelle said they only noticed Quillinan after crossing the street, from about 100 feet away. But the sidewalk was about 8 feet wide, he said, and the group didn't see any reason to steer clear.

"Aw shit, here we go again," Armstrong recalled thinking. "We can't get rid of these people."

"Lots of hands flying all over the place"

Sawtelle said the group agreed to ignore Quillinan as they passed, but Quillinan "started staying stuff," then made a "high-pitched squeal" that Sawtelle said Quillinan had used at the park earlier as a "war cry."

Armstrong said he saw Quillinan "kick his leg up" on one of the other men.

Sawtelle, who had passed Quillinan, turned back around and saw him making "chopping motions" as he swung his shield, Sawtelle said. Armstrong said he "shot my arms up and got out of the way." He said he "absolutely" tried to take away Quillinan's shield, and was trying to hold onto it: "I didn't want to get hit with that thing."

Sawtelle said he tried to grab the shield, but failed, then a police officer — Sgt. Grant — shoved him from behind.

"He attacked us," Sawtelle said he told Grant, of Quillinan.

"No, he didn't," he said Grant responded.

"He shoved me and told me to leave," Sawtelle said, of Grant.

Fuller, a bar-back and door man at area bars, who lives in San Francisco, said "it was hard to tell what started the altercation." But he saw Quillinan swing his shield and thought he may have hit someone. Someone tried to take the shield, he recalled, but no one kicked or punched him. He said he saw what looked like movement "to restrain" Quillinan, but he was behind the others during the "brief little struggle," with mace still in his eyes from earlier in the day.

"I couldn't tell who touched who where," he told Logan, on cross-examination. "I'm not sure whose hands were doing what."

Perry said he saw "lots of hands flying all over the place" as people tried to grab the shield. But he was 5 feet away and was not involved, he said. Fuller said it had been "kind of a surprise" to see Quillinan sitting on the ledge, but "with him busted up, I didn't think he was too dangerous." "I kind of figured all the violent shit had ended for the day," Armstrong testified.

Hedrick said he ran back to the group and saw Quillinan looking tense and upset, crouched over, "but I didn't see him hit anybody." He had come from the corner of Milvia and Allston Way when he saw his friends "backing up," and "it looked like something was going on."

After the incident, Sawtelle said the three strangers who had joined their group ran off to the east down Milvia and turned a corner. He and his four friends continued south. They were detained nearby by police.

On cross-examination, Sawtelle told Logan he is "not a fan of pro-Trump people" but said it would only be OK to punch them "if they're being violent." He said, even before the March 4 event, he believed Quillinan to be "a gross human being." He said he saw Quillinan during the event swinging his "giant stick" and "giant wooden shield" randomly into the crowd "a lot." He said he didn't see any of his friends hit or punch Quillinan during the alleged attack on Milvia, however.

Felarca testified that Quillinan had "pointed his stick at me" during the rally, and that people were yelling her name: "It was absolutely a threat," she said. She said she was part of a "community mobilization to defend Berkeley" so people didn't get "hurt or killed." On cross-examination, Logan briefly questioned Felarca for several minutes. He asked her to confirm that she has a felony criminal case pending, and she said she does. When she said she did not see the incident on Milvia, however, he said he had no further questions.

Sawtelle testified that he strongly opposes racism and fascism, and expresses his beliefs at rallies. Logan asked him if he thought it would be appropriate to punch someone holding a banner featuring a swastika, and Sawtelle said no. Logan asked whether filing a lawsuit might be a reasonable way to fight back.

"I don't believe in calling the police," Sawtelle replied. "The American justice system promotes a system of white supremacy."

Closing arguments

In her closing argument Friday, Driver spoke to the jury about the "proud tradition" of political protest "that is in danger of being eviscerated through these proceedings." She asked jurors to consider how the protests have been "radically different from anything we've seen in the Trump era" — hopeful, and positive, and a sign that "human progress can be achieved."

She said many people might take issue with people like Quillinan, "but not a lot of people act on it," she said. "It's very difficult to imagine what it is to build a political movement that is a resistance to what is taking place now."

The courtroom burst into a hearty and extended round of applause at the conclusion of her remarks.

Logan told jurors Friday that they should be "pissed off" at Driver's argument, describing it as "a half-hour of politics."

"Your job is not to think about politics, not to think about the audience," he told them.

"Anything that happened in the park ... that's outside of your job," Logan said. "Set aside

what happened earlier in the day. Does that mean he deserves to get his ass kicked when he's out of the fight?"

Update, 3:45 p.m. The jury has found all five defendants not guilty of misdemeanor assault, and not guilty of assault causing great bodily injury, also a misdemeanor. About 30 supporters of the defendants were in the courtroom for the reading of the verdicts, which began at about 3:40 p.m. Some cried quietly as the clerk read the decisions for each person. After the reading, there was a brief round of applause before the judge released the jury.

One of the defendants, Scott Hedrick, said it was a relief for the case to be over.

"It's been over a year of this," he said. "It was intense. We're all just ready to move on with our lives."

The men, who met through the underground punk scene, said they now plan to hold benefit concerts to help raise money for their attorneys.

Several jurors told Berkeleyside the group found itself in agreement relatively early on regarding the not guilty verdicts. But they wanted to make sure they worked through the process carefully. They deliberated for nearly a day. Ultimately, they said, they were not convinced a crime had occurred. There were other viable explanations for what took place, they said.

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The alt-right is in decline. Has antifascist activism worked?

Antifascist tactics have led not only to failed events and dwindling cadres but to infighting and blame games in an increasingly fractious far-right movement

Jason Wilson Contact author @jason_a_w

Mon 19 Mar 2018 17.02 EDT Last modified on Wed 21 Mar 2018 11.26 EDT

The alt-right appears to be falling apart. The Traditionalist Workers party disintegrated this week after a <u>lurid interpersonal drama</u> among its leadership. Richard Spencer <u>says</u> his alt-right rallies aren't "fun" any more, and is rethinking his college tour in the aftermath of his <u>fizzer of an event</u> in East Lansing, Michigan, two weeks ago.

It's a good time to offer an observation: on the terms it set itself, antifascist organizing in the United States has worked.

Consider the failure of Spencer's long-planned address at Michigan State University. Though it was spring break, students and organized antifascist groups showed up to protest, and Spencer gave his pitch for a white ethnostate to an almost empty auditorium. He issued 150 tickets, but only managed to get 20 people along. Spencer himself blamed the protesters for the event's failure, just as he is blaming them for his movement's declining ability to muster any numbers in public.

And that non-event was not an outlier. The same weekend, a planned alt-right conference in Detroit <u>fell apart</u> after venues pulled out under public pressure and one of the organizers, lawyer Kyle Bristow, announced he was leaving the movement. Various "March 4 Trump" events around the country, featuring alt-right contingents, were also small, and met with significant counterprotests.

Other events in the latter half of last year were also poorly executed and sparsely attended. On a recent podcast, Spencer said the movement was "in a dark place". And it has been put there by those determined to oppose it.

Throughout 2017 and into 2018, antifascists have consistently showed up to, and disrupted, public far-right gatherings. After I saw its numbers peak at Charlottesville, Virginia, last summer, the openly white supremacist and fascist segment of the far right has been consistently opposed and usually outnumbered by counterprotesters at events around the country.

From my perch in Portland, Oregon, I have seen antifascists show up <u>month in</u>, <u>month out</u> to publicly oppose far-right organizing. In some instances, such as in <u>Boston last 19 August</u>, rightwing rallies have faced opposition numbering in the tens of thousands.

The far right's online organizing has also been targeted. Websites like <u>Unicorn Riot</u> have obtained logs from servers used to organize events like Charlottesville. As well as using them in their own reporting, they have <u>made them available</u> to mainstream news organizations. (ProPublica's recent <u>reporting</u> on secretive neo-nazi group AtomWaffen was based on similar leaked chat logs.)

These materials, as well as media reporting, have been used to identify and expose far-right activists to their families, teachers and employers, in the communities they live in.

For many on the alt-right, this has led to serious legal consequences. Rightwing Charlottesville participants are awaiting trial on charges ranging from murder to felony perjury. Cases like that of Oregon's Andrew Oswalt, who was in student government until exposed as a far-right activist, and was charged with a felony hate crime, show that this kind of work is going on away from highly publicized events.

And major tech platforms and their advertisers have been pressured to exclude far-right voices, and they have been responding. From <u>late last year</u>, Twitter began excluding alt-right accounts en masse, and recently <u>YouTube has appointed more moderators</u> to police beefed-up policies on hate speech. Far-right users have increasingly retreated to <u>smaller</u>, <u>more accommodating platforms</u>.

Antifascist groups have been the target of criticism from across the political spectrum during the first year of the Trump presidency. The right has made them the basis both of moral panics about violence, and <u>conspiracy theories of subversion</u>. And other leftists have <u>questioned the wisdom</u> of antifascist tactics and strategy.

The morality of political violence is a weighty, and always important topic, which we need to constantly scrutinize and revisit. That said, most of the antifascist tactics described above are nonviolent. And a lot of antifascist violence has been defensive, <u>notably in Charlottesville</u>.

As to tactics, the proof is in the pudding. All of the measures described have led not only to failed events and dwindling cadres, but to infighting and blame games in an increasingly fractious far-right movement. Seriously divided, the alt-right looks like it is crumbling.

The broader hard right is still active, and energized. The growth of groups like the <u>Proud Boys</u> shows that you don't need to tote swastikas to engage in political violence, and <u>Turning Point USA</u> shows how attacking the left can be given a veneer of respectability.

There's also the fact that during the Trump era, a lot of far-right political beliefs have been partially mainstreamed – the <u>resurgence of public antisemitism</u> is just one indicator of that.

But it seems that the white supremacist alt-right will not survive the Trump era as a coherent movement. If so, antifascist activists can take a large measure of credit.

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CITY

Jury finds 5 men not guilty of assault during 2017 Berkeley protest

227

By Emilie Raguso, June 18, 2018, 9:48 a.m.



At a pro- and anti-Trump protest in Berkeley on March 4, 2017, one of the defendants in an ongoing trial — Nathan Perry, at right — can be seen struggling over a flagpole held by Moshe Daniel Quillinan, at left in a brown kilt. Photo: Daniel McPartlan

March 4, 2017, brought a day of violent political clashes to downtown Berkeley's Civic Center Park. The event, dubbed the "March on Berkeley" by its pro-Trump organizers, was the first of several large protests in the city in 2017 that would pit pro- and anti-Trump activists against each other. There were verbal altercations and street brawls. And despite efforts by some to keep events peaceful, nearly every rally resulted in violence and arrests. Both sides have blamed the other for provoking the fights.

Scroll to the bottom of this story for an update

Wednesday, a trial began in Alameda County Superior Court where jurors have been asked to

decide if five self-described "anti-fascist" defendants are guilty of attacking Trump supporter Moshe Daniel Quillinan during his evaluation by Berkeley firefighters for a large cut on his head that ultimately required 10 staples to close, according to testimony last week.

Prosecutor Jim Logan, with the Alameda County district attorney's office, told jurors Friday during closing arguments that he wouldn't blame them if they found Quillinan's political views repulsive. But Logan said that didn't mean Quillinan deserved to be attacked as he sat near firefighters, with a bandage wrapped completely around his head, waiting for a friend to take him to the hospital: "Just because the victim is dislikable doesn't mean the rules don't apply," Logan said. "The defendants don't get to decide ... punishment on the street. That's what the courtroom is for."

Defense attorney Shanta Driver told the jury it was Quillinan who provoked an argument with a group of passers-by that included some of her clients. She said they only tried to defend themselves, as Quillinan tried to strike them with a wooden shield, and argued that Berkeley police were "treating Mr. Quillinan as a victim, and as somebody whose rights were denied, while treating these five [defendants] as villains and perpetrators of violence."

Driver - who is representing Taylor Fuller, Scott Hedrick, Nathan Perry, Jeff Armstrong and Dustin Sawtelle — told jurors during her closing arguments Friday that they had witnessed "a political trial that's being conducted in a political era, the Trump era: an era in which lies and fantasies can be substitutes for the truth and reality."



Some of the defendants with what appears to be Quillinan's flag, which seems to have been burned, after a struggle in Civic Center Park on March 4, 2017, before the events that are the focus of this case. Photo: Daniel McPartlan



From left: Taylor Fuller, Scott Hedrick, Nathan Perry, Jeff Armstrong and Dustin Sawtelle. Photo: BAMN

From Wednesday through Friday, jurors and Judge Alison Tucher heard testimony from a parade of witnesses for the prosecution and defense. Dozens of supporters of the five

defendants have been in court for the bulk of the trial. They have made their feelings known, with laughter and sighs of derision, hissing, applause and other outbursts. At one point, a member of the audience held up a political flier, facing the jury, urging the court to "drop the charges" against the activist group.

Tucher repeatedly admonished the crowd to keep on their "poker faces," or risk ejection, telling them it was a "courtroom, not a political rally." She said there should be "no snickering, laughing, catcalling" or any other reactions in response to the witnesses: "You can think whatever you want to think inside your heads," she said. But the proceedings continued to be marked by interruptions and audible reactions, despite her numerous announcements for order.

It wasn't the only logistical challenge. Throughout the first day and much of the second, during breaks, jurors stood outside the courtroom and rode the elevator within earshot of defense supporters who loudly discussed their views and criticized the prosecution. Jurors are under strict orders to focus only on evidence presented in court, and to have no outside discussions or external exposure to the case to ensure an unbiased process. Eventually, during the second day of testimony, Judge Tucher ordered jurors to spend all breaks inside the jury room, and had the bailiff keep them separate from the crowd.

Driver, who is a national organizer for the political activist group By Any Means Necessary, or BAMN, put all five of her clients on the stand to testify about March 4. She also called on fellow BAMN leader Yvette Felarca, as well as another Berkeley activist, to testify. Much of the testimony on the defense side related to events at Civic Center Park during the March 4 rally — in the hours before the alleged assault in this case - including

physical altercations and intimidation that witnesses and defendants attributed to Quillinan.



Daniel Quillinan, after he was injured in an unrelated melee before he left Civic Center Park. Quillinan said a group attacked him in the park, causing his head injury. Photo: Daniel McPartlan

Prosecutor Logan repeatedly drew the jury's focus to the incident on Milvia Street shortly after 3 p.m. where two firefighters and a Berkeley police officer said they watched the group swarm Quillinan, as he sat on a concrete ledge near Berkeley High School, then unleashed 10-20 punches and 10-15 kicks over an estimated 15 seconds to a minute. They left when police and firefighters interrupted the alleged attack. Logan asked the jury to decide whether they believed the first responders to be liars, or the defendants who have said they are innocent.

Logan also told jurors to be skeptical of the testimony of the defendants, who all described the altercation with the "same six facts." He asked the jury to recall the demeanors of the defendants during the three-day proceeding, their smiles and their laughter: "These defendants think it's a joke," Logan said.

Driver said the prosecutor's description of events was "a real challenge to imagine." She said her clients had shown up to Berkeley to provide medical aid during the rally, and to ensure the "free speech rights of everyone." She said there were too many inconsistencies among the witness testimony on the prosecution side. Driver said her clients had simply tried to walk by Quillinan on their way to their car — and had not attacked him in plain view of nearby firefighters.

"You would have to be an idiot to do something like that," she said.

The defense team had filed a motion before the trial began to ask the judge to exclude "references to 'black bloc,' 'anarchists,' 'antifa,' or 'people wearing masks' and statements about violent actions taken by anti-Trump non-defendants on that day.... Such references have no probative value and cause substantial danger of undue prejudice, confusing the issues, and misleading the jury."

Last week, throughout the week, the defense team sent out email updates to supporters and the media describing the defendants as "the Berkeley Anti-Fascist 5." They blamed police and prosecutors for engaging "in a conspiracy" with Quillinan, and described all charges as "false." The goal of the prosecution, they wrote, was "to advance Trump's agenda in the direction of a police state."

Some of the defendants testified they had known of Quillinan and his views before the March 4 rally. Others said they saw him in the park being aggressive. They testified that they had been walking to their cars when they found themselves crossing Milvia Street from Kittredge Street, and were surprised to see Quillinan sitting near some firefighters. They said they hadn't been able to see Quillinan from Kittredge because a fire engine was blocking their view. Defendants said three other men, who had joined their group a block or so earlier, walked with them, but ran off before their arrest. They also said defendant Hedrick had split off from the group before

the interaction with Quillinan, then ran back to them afterward to see if they were all right.

Defense attorney Driver at one point filed a motion to ask the judge to allow her clients to sit among the audience so witnesses would have to identify them from among the crowd. Judge Tucher said that would be "unusual," and that she was "not inclined to grant that," in part because Driver had cited no related case law.

The prosecution

Berkeley Police Sgt. Jesse Grant testified that he was sitting in an unmarked vehicle at Milvia and Kittredge when he heard words exchanged between the seated Quillinan and a group of pedestrians. Grant saw Armstrong punch Quillinan in the head and Perry kick Ouillinan in the leg, he said. Several others then "closed in" around Quillinan, as Grant saw "arms and legs flying." Grant, the only police officer at the scene, jumped out of the car and called for back-up, then ordered the group to leave. Firefighters also yelled, to break up the fight, and the group "took off" south on Milvia. The defendants were arrested by other BPD officers a short distance down the street.

Grant said he asked Quillinan if he wanted his assailants arrested — which is required by law in any misdemeanor case - and took a statement after Quillinan said he did.

Grant watched the group as they walked a block or so south, as did Berkeley fire captains David Sprague-Livingston and Jonathan Fischer, Fischer testified that he first saw the group walking from the north on Milvia from about 20 feet away. When the group got close, Fischer said one of the pedestrians said something to his patient, who responded. There was a punch and a kick, then more

punching and kicking. Fischer said the group of pedestrians "threw the first punch."

Fischer also testified that he didn't "recognize anybody" among the defendants in the courtroom, noting it had been more than a year since the incident had taken place. But he said the five people who were detained March 4, whom he had identified during their detention, were the same ones he had seen attack his patient.

Sprague-Livingston testified that he was "certain" the five defendants were the men he saw commit the March 4 assault. In court, he identified each of them as someone who had taken part in the attack, and said the people stopped by police were the ones who assaulted his patient. "I had clear views of the incident the whole time," he told the jury. "They're the folks that came by."

Sprague-Livingston said, during crossexamination, that he could not recall any specific actions he could attribute to any particular defendant due to the nature of the attack. But he said he did see a punch thrown, then an attempt by Quillinan to defend himself by holding up his wooden shield as punches and kicks continued. He said, when he identified the defendants after police detained them, he remembered them because of their faces and their clothing.

Quillinan, a Berkeley antique dealer, testified Wednesday that he wore hockey kneepads and a motorcycle helmet to Berkeley on March 4 "for protection." He carried with him a yellowand-black flag on a wooden pole, and a thick wooden shield, which he called "my poster board," that he said Kyle Chapman made for him. The crowd laughed when Quillinan said, "Sometimes violent people show up, so I wanted to be safe."

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Quillinan testified, during cross-examination, that he had tried to attend a talk at UC Berkeley in early February last year by Milo Yiannopoulos. Counter-protesters shut down the event, and Quillinan said he saw someone attacked in front of him while he was streaming video live to Facebook. Driver asked Quillinan if he was a fascist, and if he was a white nationalist. He said he was neither.

As the hearing ended for the day, the crowd spilled into the hallway.

"I can't believe he lied about being a Nazi," one member of the group of supporters told another.

The defense

After Quillinan's testimony ended, the five defendants took the stand along with BAMN leader Felarca and another local activist.

Sawtelle, an Oakland tattoo artist, said he'd attended many political rallies, and came to the March 4, 2017, event in Berkeley because a lot of the promotional materials leading up to it had indicated there could be violence against leftists. He said he was aware of Quillinan and Chapman, and their posts online, before the rally.

The defendants said they knew each other through the music scene, and that some perform in local bands.

Sawtelle said he and Perry had picked up medical supplies to help with basic first aid because "police and firefighters don't typically go rushing into the scene" during contentious political events. Sawtelle said he did not bring any weapons with him to the rally but, according to court papers, police recovered a knife among his possessions during a search when he was arrested.

The defendants said they were prepared for fights that day, based on what they had seen at prior events of a similar nature.

"I knew for a fact there would be an altercation or violence," Hedrick, a machine operator who lives in Oakland, testified. "I don't think it would bring out someone wanting to debate."

Sawtelle said initially there was political debate between the two sides, and "some heated talking," but then Chapman, Quillinan and some others showed up and the dynamic changed. Sawtelle said the new arrivals shoved people and shot pepper spray into the crowd. People on both sides began yelling.

Sawtelle said he helped several people who were injured. He said he and his four friends "got between a lot of things" to stop assaults that day, and to defend people who could not defend themselves. He said, at one point, he saw a group that did not include Quillinan going after Felarca, and he intervened. He later saw Quillinan dragged out of the park after people kicked and punched him, and pulled off his helmet.

Eventually, the pro-Trump crowd began a march toward downtown, and Sawtelle said he and the others decided to leave.

"We were all tired and covered in pepper spray, and had been there all day," he said. Armstrong, a union organizer who lives in Oakland, said it had been "a very violent day," and that they were all ready to be done.

As they headed back to the car, three strangers joined them, Sawtelle said, and they "grouped together for safety." They walked west on Kittredge, he said, and crossed to the west side of Milvia. Hedrick turned right to go to his car, which was parked elsewhere. Sawtelle said they only noticed Quillinan after crossing the street, from about 100 feet away. But the sidewalk was about 8 feet wide, he said, and the group didn't see any reason to steer clear.

"Aw shit, here we go again," Armstrong recalled thinking. "We can't get rid of these people."

"Lots of hands flying all over the place"

Sawtelle said the group agreed to ignore Quillinan as they passed, but Quillinan "started staying stuff," then made a "highpitched squeal" that Sawtelle said Quillinan had used at the park earlier as a "war cry."

Armstrong said he saw Quillinan "kick his leg up" on one of the other men.

Sawtelle, who had passed Quillinan, turned back around and saw him making "chopping motions" as he swung his shield, Sawtelle said. Armstrong said he "shot my arms up and got out of the way." He said he "absolutely" tried to take away Quillinan's shield, and was trying to hold onto it: "I didn't want to get hit with that thing."

Sawtelle said he tried to grab the shield, but failed, then a police officer - Sgt. Grant shoved him from behind.

"He attacked us," Sawtelle said he told Grant, of Quillinan.

"No, he didn't," he said Grant responded.

"He shoved me and told me to leave," Sawtelle said, of Grant.

Fuller, a bar-back and door man at area bars, who lives in San Francisco, said "it was hard to tell what started the altercation." But he saw Quillinan swing his shield and thought he may have hit someone. Someone tried to take the shield, he recalled, but no one kicked or punched him. He said he saw what looked like movement "to restrain" Quillinan, but he was behind the others during the "brief little struggle," with mace still in his eyes from earlier in the day.

"I couldn't tell who touched who where," he told Logan, on cross-examination. "I'm not sure whose hands were doing what."

Perry said he saw "lots of hands flying all over the place" as people tried to grab the shield. But he was 5 feet away and was not involved, he said.

Fuller said it had been "kind of a surprise" to see Quillinan sitting on the ledge, but "with him busted up, I didn't think he was too dangerous." "I kind of figured all the violent shit had ended for the day," Armstrong testified.

Hedrick said he ran back to the group and saw Quillinan looking tense and upset, crouched over, "but I didn't see him hit anybody." He had come from the corner of Milvia and Allston Way when he saw his friends "backing up," and "it looked like something was going on."

After the incident, Sawtelle said the three strangers who had joined their group ran off to the east down Milvia and turned a corner. He and his four friends continued south. They were detained nearby by police.

On cross-examination, Sawtelle told Logan he is "not a fan of pro-Trump people" but said it would only be OK to punch them "if they're being violent." He said, even before the March 4 event, he believed Quillinan to be "a gross human being." He said he saw Quillinan during the event swinging his "giant stick" and "giant wooden shield" randomly into the crowd "a lot." He said he didn't see any of his friends hit or punch Quillinan during the alleged attack on Milvia, however.

Felarca testified that Quillinan had "pointed his stick at me" during the rally, and that people were yelling her name: "It was absolutely a threat," she said. She said she was part of a "community mobilization to defend Berkeley" so people didn't get "hurt or killed." On cross-examination, Logan briefly questioned Felarca for several minutes. He asked her to confirm that she has a felony criminal case pending, and she said she does. When she said she did not see the incident on Milvia, however, he said he had no further questions.

Sawtelle testified that he strongly opposes racism and fascism, and expresses his beliefs at rallies. Logan asked him if he thought it would be appropriate to punch someone holding a banner featuring a swastika, and Sawtelle said no. Logan asked whether filing a lawsuit might be a reasonable way to fight back.

"I don't believe in calling the police," Sawtelle replied. "The American justice system promotes a system of white supremacy."

Closing arguments

In her closing argument Friday, Driver spoke to the jury about the "proud tradition" of political protest "that is in danger of being eviscerated through these proceedings." She asked jurors to consider how the protests have been "radically different from anything we've seen in the Trump era" — hopeful, and positive, and a sign that "human progress can be achieved."

She said many people might take issue with people like Quillinan, "but not a lot of people act on it," she said. "It's very difficult to imagine what it is to build a political movement that is a resistance to what is taking place now."

The courtroom burst into a hearty and extended round of applause at the conclusion of her remarks.

Logan told jurors Friday that they should be "pissed off" at Driver's argument, describing it as "a half-hour of politics."

"Your job is not to think about politics, not to think about the audience," he told them.

"Anything that happened in the park ... that's outside of your job," Logan said. "Set aside

what happened earlier in the day. Does that mean he deserves to get his ass kicked when he's out of the fight?"

Update, 3:45 p.m. The jury has found all five defendants not guilty of misdemeanor assault, and not guilty of assault causing great bodily injury, also a misdemeanor. About 30 supporters of the defendants were in the courtroom for the reading of the verdicts, which began at about 3:40 p.m. Some cried quietly as the clerk read the decisions for each person. After the reading, there was a brief round of applause before the judge released the jury.

One of the defendants, Scott Hedrick, said it was a relief for the case to be over.

"It's been over a year of this," he said. "It was intense. We're all just ready to move on with our lives."

The men, who met through the underground punk scene, said they now plan to hold benefit

concerts to help raise money for their attorneys.

Several jurors told Berkeleyside the group found itself in agreement relatively early on regarding the not guilty verdicts. But they wanted to make sure they worked through the process carefully. They deliberated for nearly a day. Ultimately, they said, they were not convinced a crime had occurred. There were other viable explanations for what took place, they said.

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https://thehill.com/policy/national-security/350524-antifa-activists-say-violence-is-necessary

Antifa activists say violence is necessary

By Katie Bo Willams 09/14/17 06:30 AM EDT

Anti-fascist activists, or "antifa," increasingly mobilized in the wake of President Trump's election, are unapologetic about what they describe as the necessary use of violence to combat authoritarianism.

While both experts on the movement and activists within it emphasize that not everyone who participates in anti-fascist activism engages in violence, they say the use of force is intrinsic to their political philosophy.

"The justification [of the use of violence] is that Nazi ideology at its very core is founded on violence and on wielding power by any means," said Mike Isaacson, one of the founders of Smash Racism D.C., an antifa organization in Washington.

Isaacson is unequivocal in his defense of violence as a legitimate tool to combat the creeping threat of what he deems authoritarianism.

"There is the question of whether these people should feel safe organizing as Nazis in public, and I don't think they should," said Isaacson.

"I don't think anyone should think that someone who is intent on politically organizing for the sake of creating a state-sponsored genocide — I don't think is something that we should protect," he said.

Antifa activists justify their use of violence as self-defense against "the inherent danger of fascists organizing," according to Mark Bray, a Dartmouth historian and author of a recent book on the movement.

"The argument is that it needs to be stopped immediately, because if you let it grow, that poses a danger to society," Bray said.

Dubbed the "alt-left" by President Trump, antifa has increasingly been making their presence known after his victory in the 2016 election was openly embraced by white supremacists.

On Sunday, antifa protesters hurled glass bottles and bricks at police officers monitoring a farright march in Portland, Ore.

And the University of California, Berkeley, is bracing for the possibility of more violent clashes on Thursday, when conservative political commentator and former Breitbart editor Ben Shapiro is scheduled to speak.

There is no central organizing committee governing antifa, and different affiliated groups have different priorities and governing principles, making it impossible to gauge the growth of the movement in the wake of the election.

But activists and law enforcement sources say anecdotally that their numbers have almost certainly swelled. Jim Pasco, executive director of the Fraternal Order of Police, the nation's largest law enforcement union, told The Hill that he has "for sure" seen rising interest in the movement since Trump's election, noting that six months ago he had never even heard of antifa.

As early as 2016, the Department of Homeland Security and the FBI warned state and local officials that antifa had become increasingly confrontational and were engaging in "domestic terrorist violence."

While Bray says antifa focuses mostly on nonviolent activities, such as researching white supremacists and disrupting their efforts to organize, the movement's more violent methods—and its use of so-called black bloc tactics, where activists wear black masks and clothing to conceal their identity—have drawn fierce criticism from the right and divided the left.

House Minority Leader Nancy Pelosi (D-Calif.), for example, has condemned antifa's use of violence.

Liberal activist Cornel West, in contrast, said that antifa activists saved him and other counterprotesters in Charlottesville, Va., from "being crushed like cockroaches" by "alt-right" demonstrators.

The antifa movement traces its roots to militant leftists who combated fascism in the streets of Europe in the 1920s and 1930s. The movement saw a revival in response to neo-Nazi activity in the U.K. and Germany in the 1970s, 1980s and 1990s.

The philosophy was first transposed to the U.S. in the 1980s by anti-racist activists in Minneapolis, according to Bray, and while its popularity has ebbed and flowed since then, there are several current groups that have been around for almost 10 years. Rose City Antifa in Portland, Ore., for example, was established in 2007.

If the loosely affiliated network of far-left activists can be said to have a creed, it is to combat what it sees as fascism wherever it occurs.

Rose City Antifa defines fascism as "an ultra-nationalist ideology that mobilizes around and glorifies a national identity defined in exclusive racial, cultural, and/or historical terms, valuing this identity above all other interests (ie: gender or class)."

Antifa also tend to be deeply mistrustful of the police and often overlaps ideologically with anarchism, a political philosophy that Isaacson defines as a society built on cooperation and mutual aid. Isaacson, who is an anarchist, argues that in order to be successful, anti-fascism has to operate outside of government.

"Getting state involved in this is no better than letting the Nazis go free," he said, pointing to the Virginia State Police response to the violence at the white supremacist rally in Charlottesville, which many protesters and counterprotesters criticized as too slow.

Activists, including Isaacson, claim that police departments and the military have been infiltrated by Nazis and "have them kind of on their side."

Pasco insists that police officers are agnostic as to whether a person committing a crime is antifa or "alt-right."

"We don't really have a perspective on [antifa] because it's not really a movement — it's kind of an amorphous group of people," Pasco said.

"Nobody gets policed unless they need policing — there are just not enough police officers in the United States to satisfy the vanity of those who believe they are under constant surveillance," he said.

Others see evidence of a disproportionate police response to antifa activists, such as those who criticized law enforcement in Portland for firing rubber bullets and stun grenades into a crowd of antifa protesters on Sunday.

"The way law enforcement has reacted to the protests far exceeds the amount of danger involved, particularly when we talk about violence at far-right protests — because there is a long and deep history of murderous violence coming out of the far-right movements that continues up to today that far exceeds anything associated with antifa," said Mike German, a former FBI agent who works on law enforcement issues at the Brennan Center for Justice's Liberty and National Security Program.

Antifa's use of violence continues to dominate the national conversation. In January, shortly after a black-clad protester attacked the far-right activist Richard Spencer, The New York Times mused: "Is it OK to punch a Nazi?"

Isaacson, for his part, has not engaged in the use of violent tactics himself, "if for no other reason than I'm rather slight of frame," he said with a chuckle.

"I'm not so good in a fight," he said.

Lee, Katherine

From:

shrmmi <shrmmi@aol.com>

Sent:

Friday, October 05, 2018 11:07 AM

To:

Lee, Katherine; Lee, Katherine

Subject:

Fwd: Michael Sherman August 6 · Note to Anti-fa:

----Original Message----

From: shrmmi <shrmmi@aol.com> To: shrmmi <shrmmi@aol.com> Sent: Wed, Sep 12, 2018 4:59 pm

Subject: Michael Sherman August 6 Note to Anti-fa:



Michael Sherman

· Reply · 5w

August 6 ·

Note to Anti-fa: the city of Berkeley and its citizens and others who live there are not your enemies. Many in fact applaud and are thankful for your presence when racists and Nazis come to Berkeley. That said destroying city property- ie city vehicles- is counterproductive and difficult for your supporters like myself to explain and defend. In the future please remain focused on the REAL enemy and threat. RESISTANCE

6 Comments nd 20 others Like Comment Share Comments × <u>J</u>(<u>_d</u> Well said, Mike! Manage Like Reply · 5w <u>∡v</u> Thank you. 2 Manage <u>Like</u> Reply · 5w as Are they Anti-fa or are they cops/alt-right dressed in black. Anti-fa's are skinny as a rail. The photo's I saw, the guy was burly like a COP. Manage Like

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<u>I</u> <u>a</u> Maybe people are being planted as anti-fa? The they are presenting to ban anti-fa protests against their white supre	GOP congress can get support on a new bill macist, fascist base.
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<u>Like</u> <u>Reply 5w Edited</u>	
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refusing to drive these train cars) along with approval to have a ral nothing past them, including planting violenceSee More	ly at the national mall. It's appauling, I'd put
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Reply · 5w · Edited	
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property, well actually I really can't blame them! The Damage Dor city invested in creating a safe space for Nazis, and establishing a anti-fascists.	nostile military control and response to the
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Berkeley Police Department

Law Enforcement Services Manual

Special Order 2018-0001

1200.1 PC 647(E) ENFORCEMENT AND 9TH CIRCUIT DECISION

The Ninth Circuit Court of Appeals recently held in Martin v. City of Boise that municipalities may not enforce general laws prohibiting sleeping on public property when there is nowhere else for a homeless individual to sleep. The Court noted that its decision did not address enforcement of ordinances "prohibiting sitting, lying, or sleeping outside at particular times or in particular locations."

Effective immediately and until further notice, officers shall not enforce PC § 647(e) (lodging on public property without the owner's consent) unless authorized to do so by the Chief of Police, such as when participating in a coordinated effort with City of Berkeley staff engaged in an encampment resolution activity.

This decision applies only to the enforcement of PC § 647(e). Officers shall enforce other provisions of Penal Code and Berkeley Municipal Codes using existing policy and discretion, including, but not limited to:

Laws relating to trespass on private property:

- o 06.32.020 Park curfew violation 2200 0600 hrs;
- 06.32.030 No structures (including tents), large objects, or collection of objects covering over 10 square feet may be placed in city parks without a permit;
- o 13.36.065 City building rules remaining on curtilage without COB business; and
- 14.32.040 Standing in roadway, use of divisional islands; i.e., on the median

Comm Center personnel should dispatch officers to assess complaints called in by the public, and officers should evaluate calls on a case-by-case basis when attempting to address a complaint. Should a given incident have no other enforcement option (e.g. there is only a PC § 647(e) complaint) the officer should advise the reporting party of this issue.

This order is meant to clarify enforcement restrictions in light of the recent Ninth Circuit Court decision, and will be in effect until it is rescinded or issued in the form of a policy.

Andrew R. Greenwood

Chief of Police

Action Calendar - Continued Business

D. City of Berkeley Policy Limiting the Publishing of Arrest Photos (doxing) of people arrested by the Berkeley Police Department (Continued from September 13, 2018. Item contains revised materials.)

From: Councilmembers Davila, Harrison, and Mayor Arreguin Recommendation: That the Council direct the City Manager to develop an ordinance that:

The Berkeley Police Department (BPD) shall not publicly post on social media, including but not limited to FaceBook, Instagram, Twitter, etc., the arrest photos of individuals arrested, unless they pose an immediate threat to the public safety of the Berkeley community (e.g. persons wanted for serial rape, homicide, or felony assault).

Furthermore, it is recommended that the City of Berkeley resist PRA requests for arrest photos and identifying information on individuals that have been arrested when doing so poses a risk to their safety as a result of threats against them and when doing so provide no public safety value.

Financial Implications: Unknown

Contact: Cheryl Davila, Councilmember, District 2, 981-7120

Action: M/S/C (Maio/Hahn) to suspend the rules and extend the meeting to 11:45 p.m.

Vote: Ayes – Maio, Davila, Bartlett, Harrison, Hahn, Wengraf, Droste, Arreguin; Noes – None; Abstain – None; Absent – Worthington.

Action: M/S/C (Arreguin/Maio) to end debate and call the question. **Vote:** Ayes – Maio, Bartlett, Hahn, Wengraf, Droste, Arreguin; Noes – Davila, Harrison; Abstain – None; Absent – Worthington.

Action: 21 speakers. Councilmember Bartlett added as a co-sponsor. M/S/C (Hahn/Arreguin) to adopt the following policy:

Except as required by State and Federal law, no employee of the Berkeley Police Department or any other City of Berkeley employee shall actively broadcast through Twitter, Facebook, Nixle, or other social media, the addresses, legal names, booking photos or other identifying information of people arrested for non-violent offenses by the Berkeley Police Department or other departments acting in mutual aid at First Amendment Events, as defined in Berkeley General Order C-64. The Berkeley Police Department and other City employees may broadcast the fact of arrests having been made, and details of the reasons and circumstances of such arrests, so long as personal identifying information is not included.

Restrictions on broadcasting identifying information about individuals arrested for non-violent violations in conjunction with First Amendment Events shall not limit or diminish the City's obligation to release arrestee information as required by State law, subject to personal safety-based and other limitations.

Action Calendar - Continued Business

The Berkeley City Council unequivocally opposes the actions of anyone bringing weapons of any kind into our streets, sidewalks, and parks to commit violence, and we support our Police Department's efforts to stop violence.

Vote: Ayes – Maio, Hahn, Wengraf, Droste, Arreguin; Noes – Davila, Bartlett, Harrison; Abstain – None; Absent – Worthington.

E. Density Bonus Ordinance Revisions - Repeal Existing BMC Section 23C.12.050 (State of California Density Bonus Requirements) and Adopt New BMC Chapter 23C.14 (Density Bonus) (Continued from July 24, 2018)

From: City Manager

Recommendation: Adopt first reading of an Ordinance amending the Zoning Ordinance to repeal obsolete Density Bonus regulations (Berkeley Municipal Code Section 230.12.050: State of California Density Bonus Requirements) and adopt a new, standalone Density Bonus Chapter (Berkeley Municipal Code Chapter 23C.14) that complies with California State Government Code 65915–65918: Density Bonuses and Other Incentives.

Financial Implications: None

Contact: Timothy Burroughs, Planning and Development, 981-7400 **Action:** Referred to the Agenda Committee for future scheduling.

F. Welcome to Berkeley Signage (Continued from July 24, 2018)

From: Transportation Commission

Contact: Farid Javandel, Commission Secretary, 981-6300

Action: M/S/C (Arreguin/Droste) to hold over Items F, G, 33a, and 33b to October 2, 2018.

Vote: Ayes – Maio, Bartlett, Harrison, Wengraf, Worthington, Droste, Arreguin; Noes – Davila; Abstain – None; Absent – Hahn.

Councilmember Hahn absent 9:30 p.m. – 9:32 p.m.

G. Adopt an Ordinance to amend BMC Chapter 3.80 allow Mayor and City Council employees serve as Commissioner (Continued from July 24, 2018. Item contains revised material)

From: Councilmember Worthington

Recommendation: Adopt revisions to Chapter 3.80 in Berkeley Municipal Code (BMC) concerning Membership On Boards And Commissions to allow Mayor and City Council employees to serve as a Commissioner by repealing section 3.80.030.

Financial Implications: Minimal

Contact: Kriss Worthington, Councilmember, District 7, 981-7170

Action: Item held over to October 2, 2018.

Lee, Katherine

From:

Lee, Katherine

Sent:

Thursday, September 27, 2018 10:43 AM

To:

Andrea Prichett; Ari Yampolsky; George Perezvelez; Gwen Allamby; Ismail

Subject:

Ramsey; Kitty Calavita; Michael Sherman; Sahana Matthews; Terry Roberts FW: P1 & P2 of COB Barbershop Forum #1 on 9/25/18 (S. Berkeley Senior

Center)

Commissioners,

Below are links to Ms. Schwartz's video of the Barbershop Forum held Sept. 24, which she mentioned during public comment at last night's meeting.

She is aware that the sound is very low.

-Kathy

Katherine J. Lee Police Review Commission Officer City of Berkeley 510.981.4960

From: C schwartz [mailto:cschwartz29@yahoo.com]

Sent: Tuesday, September 25, 2018 3:05 AM To: C Black <cschwartz29@yahoo.com>

Subject: P1 & P2 of COB Barbershop Forum #1 on 9/25/18 (S. Berkeley Senior Center)

Hello,

In case you missed it or were interested in sharing, I am sharing the above videos from last night's first City of Berkeley Barbershop forum.

P1:2

https://youtu.be/9mH9WzdRhhc

P2:2

https://youtu.be/2CZS4yzmnJY

Best regards, Christine Schwartz Resident of Berkeley Volunteer Videographer