

IN THE CIRCUIT COURT FOR THE STATE OF OREGON  
FOR THE COUNTY OF MULTNOMAH

STATE OF OREGON,

Plaintiff,

v.

JOSEPH OWAN GIBSON

Defendant.

Case No. 19CR53042

**DECLARATION OF JAMES L.  
BUCHAL IN SUPPORT OF JOSEPH  
GIBSON'S MOTION TO CHANGE  
VENUE**

James Buchal declares:

1. I am local counsel to defendant Joseph Gibson in this action. I make this Declaration to provide true copies of the large number of media materials referenced by hyperlink in the pleadings filed in support his motion for a change of venue.

2. Exhibits 1-58 consist of true copies of the media materials cited in the footnotes of defendant Gibson's motion to change venue, downloaded and printed by my office, organized by author and footnote number for cross-reference to the citations in the pleading.

I certify under penalty of perjury that the foregoing is true and correct.

Dated this 20<sup>th</sup> day of February 2020.

*s/James L. Buchal*

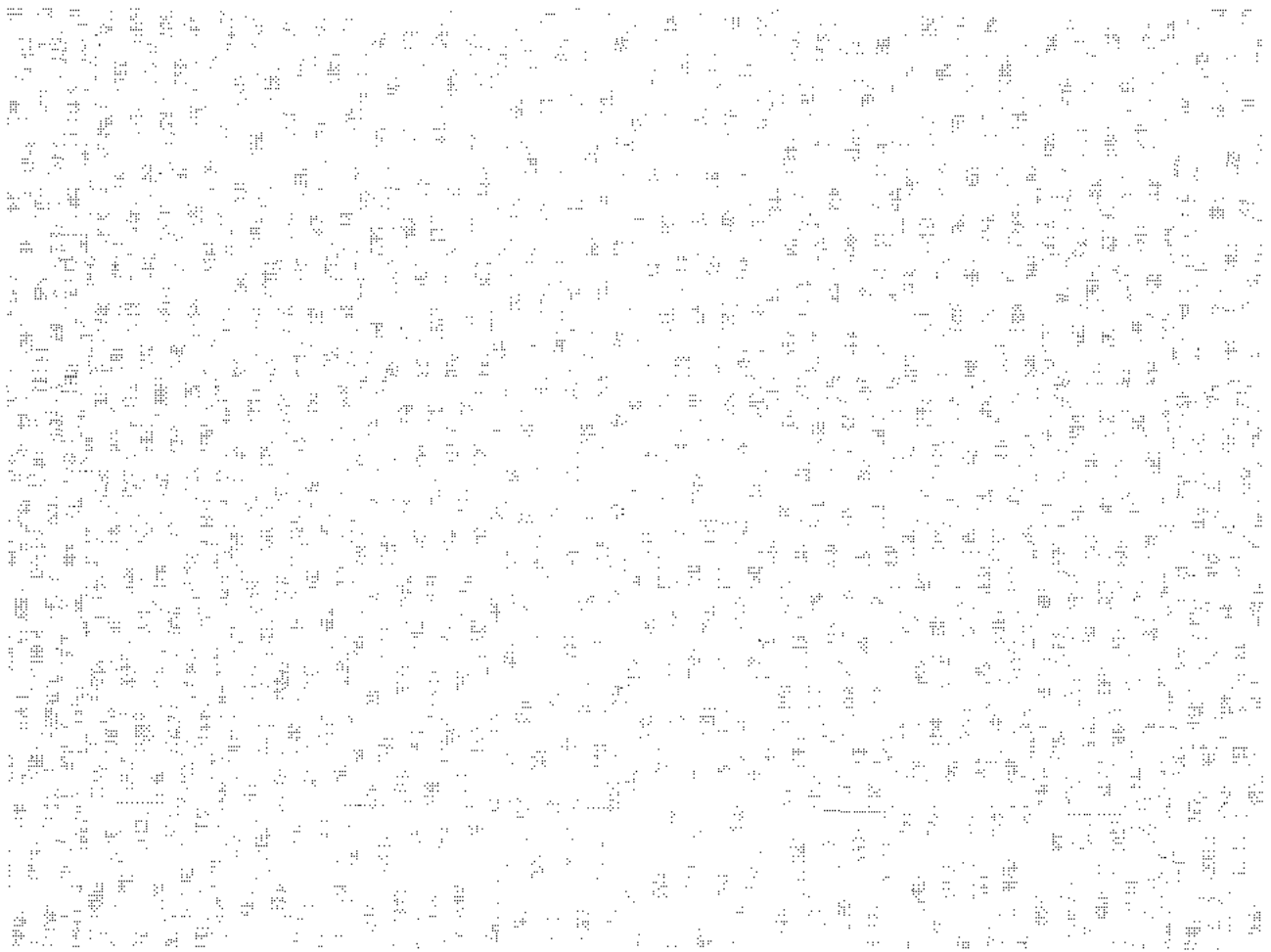
James L. Buchal, OSB No. 921618  
MURPHY & BUCHAL LLP

# TAB 1

# Man says he was assaulted outside Portland bar for wearing 'MAGA' hat; two people arrested

Zach Anders

Posted Aug 25, 2019



(KPTV image)



Security video provided by Growler's Taproom

PORTLAND, OR (KPTV) - Portland police say a man and woman were arrested early Saturday morning for assault, and the man who was attacked says it's all because of his "Make America Great Again" hat.

At around 12:50 a.m., officers responded to the report of a disturbance at the Growler's Taproom, located in the 3300 block of Southeast Hawthorne Boulevard.

At the scene, officers located Luke Lenzner with injuries to his face.

Lenzner told FOX 12 that he and his wife were on a date night. He said right when they got there, they were attacked outside the patio by people upset about the hat.

"I got mobbed by everybody that was in that bar outside. People came from the inside out - just circled me and my wife," said Lenzner.

Security camera footage provided by the bar shows the couple did try and make their way in, but it doesn't appear to be very busy. In fact, bar staff say they were already done serving for the night and that they told the couple they were closing.

Lenzner attests that things escalated between people outside the bar. That's when police say 22-year-old Leopold A. Hauser and 23-year-old Adebisi A. Okuneye assaulted Lenzner and his wife.

"Surrounding me, like literally surrounding me, pushing me. I'm just trying to get through, trying to stop the person from hitting me, from taking my hat, and then I get sucker punched," Lenzner told FOX 12.

Hauser and Okuneye had left before police arrived, but Lenzner was able to give them a license plate number.

The suspects were arrested a few blocks away.

Both Hauser and Okuneye were booked into the Multnomah County Detention Center on charges of third-degree assault. They were arraigned Monday.

Witnesses, including the bartender, say Lenzner was the one who started it. In security footage, he can be seen pointing to his hat and saying something as he left, and witnesses say that's what started it all.

A probable cause affidavit states Lenzner's wife told him to wear the "Make America Great Again" hat throughout the night "so she can see how people treat him." She said they walked to multiple bars in Portland, according to court documents.

Okuneye said Lenzner came out of the bar, used an expletive and said, "B\*\*\*\*, do you like my hat," according to a probable cause affidavit.

Hauser stated that he disagreed with the political statement of the hat and his group was "mean mugging" Lenzner, when Lenzner asked if they liked the hat.

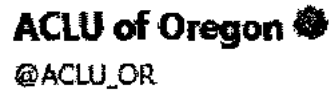
Court documents state Lenzner took a "fighting stance," but police say Lenzner never involved himself physically in the altercation.

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**Zach Anders**

Reporter

## TAB 2



1. The first step is to identify the problem. In this case, the problem is that the company is not meeting its sales targets. The second step is to analyze the data. The third step is to develop a plan. The fourth step is to implement the plan. The fifth step is to evaluate the results.

Replying to @tedwheeler

(2 of 3)

1:35 PM - 29 May 2017



# TAB 3

**CRIME**

## Mayor's staff got protest intel on Patriot Prayer from Portland cop under fire for texts with right-wing leader

Updated Feb 20, 2019;

Posted Feb 20, 2019



Mayor Ted Wheeler's senior policy advisor Berk Nelson was in regular contact with Portland police Lt. Jeff Niiya to learn about Joey Gibson's plans. "Jeff is trying to develop a relationship with Joey...his job is to get as much intelligence as possible, but I didn't know how deep it went," Nelson said.

The Mayor's Office has relied on a Portland police lieutenant to keep tabs on right-wing protest leader Joey Gibson, sometimes texting him at all hours to ask about Gibson's whereabouts or plans.

It's the same lieutenant, Jeff Niiya, who has come under fire in the last week from Mayor Ted Wheeler and other city officials.

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After Niiya's text messages with the Patriot Prayer leader were made public last week, Wheeler called the lieutenant's messages "disturbing," said they appeared to "cross several boundaries" and "unnecessarily encourage" Gibson. Wheeler, who also serves as the city's police commissioner, has requested an independent investigation to review if police acted with bias in their actions leading up to and during demonstrations involving alt-right and anti-fascist protesters.

The Police Bureau on Wednesday released another batch of Niiya's communications as the bureau's crowd control supervisor, this time with Berk Nelson, Wheeler's senior policy adviser on public health and safety, in response to a public records request from The Oregonian/OregonLive.

The communications start in April 2018 and continue through this month, with Nelson often questioning Niiya before a planned protest about Gibson's plans. They include questions about Gibson and Patriot Prayer in relation to a demonstration outside the federal immigration enforcement building in Southwest Portland, downtown protests and a hearing at City Hall.

**READ: TEXT MESSAGES BETWEEN LT. JEFF NIIYA AND MAYOR'S SENIOR POLICY ADVISER BERK NELSON**

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Nelson told The Oregonian/OregonLive that he often reached out to Niiya to find out about when and where Gibson and Patriot Prayer protesters would be so the city would be prepared for any violence that might occur. Nelson said he needed to alert the mayor of any potential public safety threats and Patriot Prayer has been "one of those threats over the last two years."

"I knew Jeff was in contact with Joey. I wasn't surprised. I just didn't know to what extent the conversations took place," Nelson said. "Jeff is trying to develop a relationship with Joey...his job is to get as much intelligence as possible, but I didn't know how deep it went."

Nelson added, "I'm not an expert in how police gather information. I leave that up to them," but he said he could understand how jarring Niiya's text messages with Gibson could be to "people who don't understand police tactics."

"To the lay person just seeing those texts at face value are concerning," he said.

The mayor and two other city commissioners have complained that Niiya alerted the Patriot Prayer leader to counter-protester movements and said his texts raised questions about consistency in enforcing arrest warrants. In one text, Niiya informed Gibson that one of his follower's should take care of his outstanding arrest warrant before he came into Portland.

The police commanding officers union has defended Niiya, saying his job is to maintain an open line of communication with all protest organizers and that police regularly informed the Mayor's Office about their tactics.

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"Certainly the mayor's initial comments gave the impression that he was unaware of the communications between Niiya and Gibson," said Lt. Craig Morgan, president of the Portland Police Commanding Officers Association. "These texts show that not only was his top aide aware of the conversations, but he was requesting specific information about Patriot Prayer and Gibson as situations developed."

Nelson said the outside investigation that Wheeler is calling for isn't focused on Niiya's text messages with Gibson, but a broader look at how police investigations are handled and how rapport is developed between officers and protest leaders.

The communications between Nelson and Niiya show:

--The day before Patriot Prayer members and counter-protesters squared off in downtown Portland last Aug. 4, Niiya sent Nelson a message.

"Heard you are looking for timeline info on Gibson's movements tomorrow," Niiya wrote on Aug. 3. "I heard on one of his videos they hope to leave the Fred Meyers in Vancouver with the first bus around 10 am."

-- Four days before another Patriot Prayer protest planned in downtown Portland, Nelson texted Niiya on Nov. 13, "Any word on the location of the protest yet? Where PP (Patriot Prayer) is going to locate?"

Niiya responded, "They have a permit for Terry Schrunk on Sat. They say no march, so this should stay on the area of the parks."

Nelson asked Niiya via another text, "But was also checking if you knew what time Gibson was going to show up"

Niiya responded a short time later, "he has not communicated with me about Sat."

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That Saturday, Nov .17, a protest billed as a rally for free speech and campaign event for Gibson, then a Republican candidate for U.S. Senate in Washington state, saw hundreds of his supporters bused in from across the border. Many wore helmets, crash pads and shields decorated with the Confederate battle flag. They were met by counter-protesters from a coalition of organizations on the left including a group called Popular Mobilization, another group dressed up as clowns and self-described antifascist activists.

Police formed barriers along Southwest Naito Parkway early in the day and kept the groups separated. The biggest skirmish came when police in riot gear ordered a group of counter-protesters to disperse around 2 p.m. The group, clustered near the intersection of Southwest Naito Parkway and Southwest Columbia Street, didn't immediately leave and officers began firing dozens of flash-bang grenades and rushing toward the crowd, shoving some protesters out of the street.

-- Three days before the mayor and City Council were to vote on an ordinance rejecting white nationalism, white supremacy and alt-right hate groups this month, the mayor's adviser once again reached out to Niiya about Gibson.

"Are you hearing anything on Twittersphere re: Joey Gibson and coming on Thursday?" Nelson wrote in a text message on Feb. 4.

A short time later, Niiya responded, "Quick search and nothing from Joey specifically but Haley Adams and her group look like they will be there." Adams is a Patriot Prayer supporter.

-- On July 21, as people camped outside the ICE building in Southwest Portland,

Nelson texted Niiya, "Lt. any dust up or appearance yet?"

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A minute later, Niiya responded, "Joey just showed up with 5 others. Calm right now. Talking with protesters."

-- Last summer, the night before a planned protest at City Hall, Nelson texted Niiya on Aug. 7, "How many people are coming to City Hall?"

Niiya responded three minutes later, "CIU (Criminal Intelligence Division) is believing 30-10. However, Facebook shows 287 going. I could personally see 150ish coming between the 2 protest groups."

The next day, a protest against police use of force turned violent when activists tried to storm Portland City Hall, clobbered one security guard and scuffled with several others. It was the biggest disruption to a Portland City Council meeting in more than a year. Protesters were demonstrating against police crowd control techniques from a demonstration the Saturday before.

## **Lt. Jeff Niiya's messages to Gregory McKelvey**

The Oregonian/OregonLive also has requested Niiya's communications with counter-protesters or organizers of other rallies, but the police bureau hasn't released them yet.

In an interview Wednesday, Gregory McKelvey, the leader of a series of protests against the election of Donald Trump and police use of force, said Niiya had contacted him in mid-August 2017, but he didn't want to communicate with police about his demonstrations.

McKelvey shared messages Niiya sent him in August 2017 in which Niiya described to McKelvey his role as "reaching out to event organizers to learn more about their events and then providing information to my bosses so they can make decisions if there is a need for police due to public safety concerns." Later, Niiya gave McKelvey information about what actions would draw a police response, such as large groups marching across bridges, entering freeways or impacting mass transit.

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"There was no reason for me to establish any communication and many reasons not to," McKelvey said Wednesday. "It doesn't make sense to work with the police in protesting the police, which was a bulk of my protest work. They are one of the targets of our protests so why would I need to communicate?"

Police Chief Danielle Outlaw has scheduled what she called a "listening session" to hear public concerns about the lieutenant's text messages with Gibson from 6 to 8 p.m. Thursday at the Maranatha Church, 4222 N.E. 12th Ave.

An hour before the gathering, the Portland Democratic Socialists of America and several other groups are hosting a rally outside the church, urging police reform and that Wheeler turn control of the police bureau over to City Commissioner Jo Ann Hardesty.

-- Maxine Bernstein

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# TAB 4

## **Frustration, not solutions, becomes focus of listening session on Portland cop's texts with Patriot Prayer**

Updated Feb 27, 2019;  
Posted Feb 21, 2019

51

Portland police listening session

170

**By Maxine Bernstein | The Oregonian/OregonLive**

**Updated Feb. 27, 2019**

Portland's police chief called a "listening session" to hear from the public in the wake of the controversy surrounding hundreds of friendly texts between a police lieutenant and the leader of the right-wing Patriot Prayer group.

It turned into hours of venting Thursday night.

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**AD** The New York Times

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Speakers either called out the Police Bureau, complaining that Lt. Jeff Niiya's exchanges with activist Joey Gibson confirmed their long-standing fears that police favor conservative demonstrators while cracking down on leftist counter-protesters.

Or they criticized Mayor Ted Wheeler and other city officials for questioning Niiya's communications without understanding the lieutenant's role as a police liaison to groups planning rallies and marches in the city. Some also said the mayor should have reserved comment until after an internal investigation is completed into the communications.

The pews at the Maranatha Church in Northeast Portland were mostly packed. Metal detectors and plainclothes officers greeted visitors as they arrived. A crowd organized by the Portland Democratic Socialists of America and other groups protested outside beforehand, calling for Wheeler, who also serves as police commissioner, to step down from that post.

Some in the crowd held up printed yellow signs that read "LIES" and some hissed when they disagreed with a speaker or yelled "sit down." At other times, people raised signs that read "LISTEN" when they agreed with a comment.

Several speakers called on the mayor to resign, drawing applause.

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At times, attendees got into tense disputes among themselves or started screaming at the panel of city officials or speakers. A facilitator, the police chief and often most effectively the church's senior pastor, Dr. T. Allen Bethel, tried to calm the audience and remind people of the purpose of the gathering.

"Hey people, this is a church," the mayor blurted into his microphone as several people in the first few rows got into a heated argument.

"We're here for solutions, people. It's 2019," Outlaw said. "We have to come up with solutions so we don't continue to come here time and time again. I've been here for a year, and it is the same thing."

The chief, the mayor, Portland's deputy police chief and three assistant chiefs sat at a table at the front of the sanctuary. Speakers signed up to address them for two minutes each during the 2 ½-hour event.

Outlaw said she called the gathering because she "quickly recognized there was harm, impact and concern in the community." She acknowledged mistrust of police in Portland that she noted has built up over years.



[More texts released](#)

About 50 minutes into the session, facilitator Kory Murphy threatened to shut it down if the crowd didn't respect the ground rules, repeating, "This is not productive" amid jeers. At one point, Patriot Prayer supporter Haley Adams strode up to the front of the church and started screaming while some members of the crowd began

chanting "Nazi scum." Adams later stood on a pew and continued yelling and was escorted out. It appeared the meeting might end but the police chief said she was staying.

Among the speakers, Shawn Shagerty urged the city to broaden its investigation to determine if any white supremacist groups have infiltrated the Police Bureau or other local or state law enforcement agencies. Others recommended the police better differentiate between protesters and not lump peaceful demonstrators with masked protesters or others who may be causing a disruption.

Several urged police to hold demonstrators who are violent accountable for their actions, called for meaningful independent police oversight and a public airing of police contract negotiations.

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Left-wing activist Luis Enrique Marquez, who was named as an instigator of problems by Nilya in his texts with Gibson, yelled at the mayor, shouting, "You collaborate with our enemies!"

Bob Winthrop, a former finance manager at the Police Bureau who described himself as a son of a Holocaust survivor who abhors white supremacists, praised Nilya as a "flexible thinker" and a "really good cop." Attendees hissed as Winthrop spoke.

"Please don't criticize a cop before you know all the facts," Winthrop told the police and mayor.

Tim Ledwith said he was punched in the face by Patriot Prayer follower Tusitala "Tiny" Toese on June 8, 2018, and he was reluctant to report the attack because of his "healthy mistrust of police." He said his mistrust was born out because it seemed as if police "didn't want anything to do with it" until this past week when he received a subpoena to testify before a Multnomah County grand jury.

Ben Lavine, who said he attended some of the protests, told the chief she shouldn't be surprised by the community's reaction. He criticized Outlaw for speaking "derisively" against antifascist protesters on conservative radio host Lars Larson's show in August.

Deb Winthrop told police she was among the peaceful counter-protesters at a demonstration last Aug. 4.

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"I do not want to be associated with the tactics of antifa," she said, urging the bureau to better distinguish between protest groups. For future demonstrations to be effective, she suggested people leave their body armor and face masks at home and not be ashamed to show who they are. Many in the crowd hissed.

James Buchal, who described himself as a member of the Republican Party, accused the city of "excusing leftist violence" and demonizing demonstrators who cooperated with police. People in the crowd booed.

Ken Cannatelli said the practice of police reaching out to protest groups ahead of demonstrations is "not a tenable position," because "certain groups are not going to want to talk to police," and others that do will be seen as an incurring favoritism.

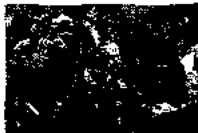
Mary Hollingsworth said she came to express her support for the police. "Keep up knowing who these specific groups are so they do not clash," she said, drawing taunts to sit down. "This is how you people are," she continued, addressing the crowd. "Don't tell me to sit down."

The meeting followed last week's release of months of text messages between Gibson and Niiya, who as supervisor of the bureau's Rapid Response Team crowd control unit has been the bureau liaison to protest organizers.

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The texts drew rebukes from the mayor and two city commissioners. The chief initiated an internal investigation into Niiya's communications, and the mayor called for an independent inquiry into alleged police bias in their handling of city demonstrations.



#### **Fallout after text exchange release**

Niiya's texts and emails with Gibson from 2017 and 2018 show him sometimes telling Gibson about the movements of counter-protesters, telling Gibson if officers would be on foot or bike at protests and alerting Gibson to have follower Toese, also a member of the far-right Proud Boys, take care of his outstanding arrest warrant before he showed up downtown. Niiya told Gibson that officers could arrest Toese if he acted out but it wasn't likely to occur, though Toese ended up being arrested on a warrant and additional charges.



Niiya was doing his job, establishing a line of communication with protest leaders to help the bureau prepare and plan on how to staff demonstrations, and Niiya often shared his intelligence gleaned from Gibson with the mayor's senior policy adviser, said Lt. Craig Morgan, president of the police union representing commanding officers.

*Clarification: A summary of Ken Cannatelli's statement was changed to reflect his broader point about police communication with protest organizers.*

-- Maxine Bernstein

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# TAB 5

## Grand jury indicts two men in May Day attack of woman outside Cider Riot bar

Updated Aug 7, 2019;

Posted Aug 7, 2019

6

Gallery: May Day assault outside Cider Riot bar

227



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By Maxine Bernstein | The Oregonian/OregonLive

A Multnomah County grand jury has indicted two men in an attack on a woman outside a Northeast Portland bar where left-wing protesters had gathered after May Day demonstrations.

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Ian Alexander Kramer, 45, was arrested Wednesday morning, charged with second-degree assault, two counts of unlawful use of a weapon and attempted second-degree assault, all felonies, as well as unlawful use of mace and disorderly conduct, both misdemeanors.

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Kramer is accused of beating a 31-year-old woman named Heather Clark with a baton and knocking her unconscious in the 800 block of Northeast Couch St. outside Cider Riot.

Police said they recovered a metal baton from Kramer's home after raiding it with a search warrant.

Portland Detective Chris Traynor, along with deputy U.S. marshals, arrested Kramer about 10:50 a.m. near North Lombard Street and Dwight Avenue, according to jail records.

Kramer was booked into the Multnomah County Detention Center at 1:09 p.m. He's being held on \$267,500 bail and is scheduled to be arraigned at 9:45 a.m. Thursday.

The indictment also accuses Matthew Demetrius Cooper, 24, of disorderly conduct and harassment in the same case.

The arrests follow a lawsuit by Cider Riot owner Abram Goldman-Armstrong, who contends that Patriot Prayer leader Joey Gibson and several other right-wing protesters showed up at his business on May 1 and fought with customers, causing mayhem and physical injury to at least one person.

It also comes as Portland police are working with other local, state and federal law enforcement agencies to prepare for anticipated protests in the city on Aug. 17 by right-wing demonstrators and counterprotesters.

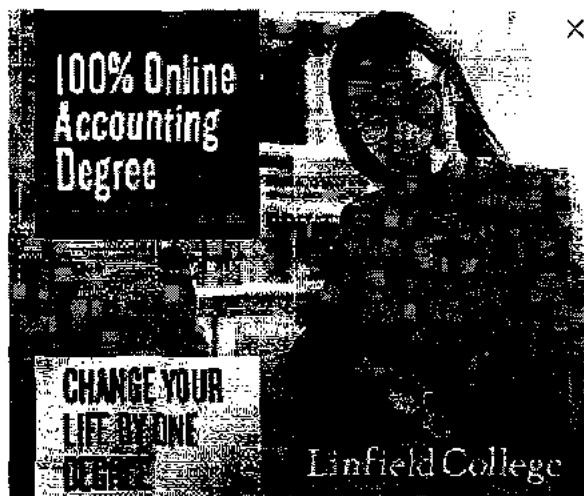
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"While these cases can take time, and delays in arrest can be perceived as indifference or lack of care, the opposite is true," Police Chief Danielle Outlaw said in a statement. "Our investigators are attentive to detail, working behind the scenes to put together the strongest case possible for consideration in coordination with local, state and federal partners. We appreciate the assistance of our partners with the United States Marshals Service and the Multnomah County District Attorney's Office."

The grand jury met on July 22 and July 29 and reviewed video footage of an assault on a woman before returning an indictment, according to court records. The indictment was unsealed and filed Wednesday in Multnomah County Circuit Court.

Cider Riot had hosted a May Day celebration, drawing people who participated in demonstrations earlier in the day and had gathered to listen to live music. About 20 right-wing protesters, including Gibson, arrived at the business and a clash between them and patrons of Cider Riot ensued.

Video shows people using mace and several people fighting. According to the lawsuit, Kramer, a frequent Patriot Prayer rally participant, hit a female Cider Riot patron on the head with a baton.

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Both Kramer and Cooper are accused in the indictment of recklessly creating "a risk of public inconvenience, annoyance and alarm by engaging in fighting and violent, tumultuous and threatening behavior."

The incident remains under investigation, according to police.

-- Maxine Bernstein

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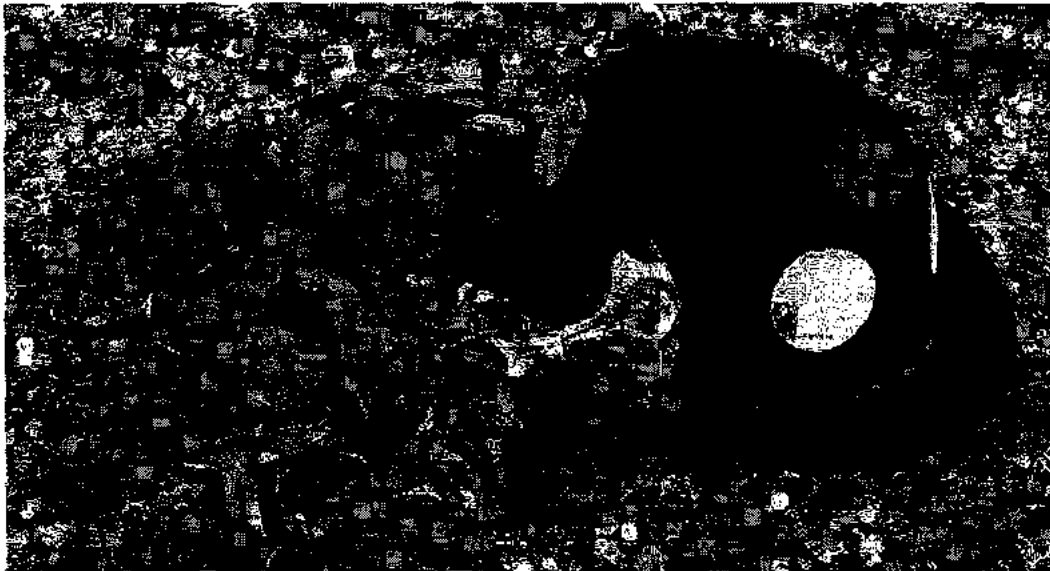
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# TAB 6

**PORTLAND**

## Clowns to hold Patriot Prayer counter-demonstration, dance party Saturday

Updated Jan 29, 2019;  
Posted Aug 03, 2018



Clowns will be having a dance party Saturday in protest of Patriot Prayer's rally. (File photo)

0

By **Hannah Boufford | The Oregonian/OregonLive**

In addition to Patriot Prayer, Proud Boys and antifa descending on Portland on Saturday, clowns will be joining the masses and having a dance party.

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Unpresidential Brass Band, a marching band created about a year and a half ago in response to the political climate, is organizing the event "Send in the Clowns!" which encourages "colorful folk" to protest Patriot Prayer's Saturday rally.

"I love being colorful and silly," band organizer Miles Thompson said, "and that's something that can really go a long ways towards distracting from violence and towards poking fun at things and making things a little less serious."

Joey Gibson, a U.S. Senate candidate in Washington and leader of Patriot Prayer, is planning on leading supporters in a rally Saturday at the waterfront in downtown Portland. Counter-demonstrations — including this one with clowns — have been scheduled in response to Gibson's rally.

Thompson said he hopes the clown and band protest will help provide an alternative to violence. He said they will join Popular Mobilization in a march to the waterfront where Gibson's rally is scheduled for noon. Thompson said he expects around 40 or more clowns to show up.

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Unpresidented Brass Band has been going to marches and rallies for more than a year to bring joy and combat protest fatigue, Thompson said. He said he hopes the Saturday protest will bring a strong peaceful response to the people — mainly Patriot Prayer, he said — bringing violence into the community.

A post on the clown event page reminds protest-goers that oil-based face paint, lotion and sunscreen can be problematic if exposed to pepper spray or tear gas.

"Consider just painting your cheeks with colorful dots or stripes, and keep makeup away from your eyes, just to be safe!" the post reads.

Clowns are not a new sight to events like these. Previously, clowns have been seen at demonstrations in Oregon and other states. Micah Fletcher, survivor of the MAX train stabbing, dressed like a clown some weeks before the attack in an attempt to ease tensions between demonstrators at a Patriot Prayer rally.

**MAX stabbing survivor met suspect at Portland p...**



Local organizations have been vocal in their response to Gibson's rally. Popular Mobilization will be gathering at 10:30 a.m. at City Hall for a rally before moving to the waterfront. The Facebook page refers to the organization as a group of concerned Portlanders united around inspiring people to resist the alt-right. Antifa groups also plan to meet at the waterfront at 11:30 a.m., according to another Facebook page.

"We may not be muscle bound gym rats, we certainly aren't the sort of sadistic bullies we are facing, but never the less we have to go out there and be the ones willing to physically protect people already under attack in our communities," the description reads. "We are regular people called to do extraordinary things."

The description also says counter-demonstrators will not apologize for the use of force to keep the community safe from right-wing violence.

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A coalition of more than 30 local and regional organizations released a joint statement prior to the rally calling on the governor, mayor and other city officials to denounce racist and sexist violence from both Patriot Prayer and Proud Boys.

"Elected officials must not abandon the Portland community when we are under attack," the statement reads.

Activists from Charlottesville also issued a statement. It says Saturday's rally resembles last year's Unite the Right white supremacist rally in Virginia.

"Charlottesville understands all too well what it means to have fascist agitators bring choreographed terror into our community," the statement reads. "We remember bracing ourselves last year against the threat of white supremacist attacks cloaked as free speech. We send solidarity and love to Portland, particularly to communities most targeted by the Islamophobic, transphobic, anti-immigrant, genocidal agenda of Saturday's fascist event."

Gibson, meanwhile, has said his group doesn't promote white supremacy or racism.

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Portland police said they will have weapon-screening stations at the waterfront Saturday, as well as dogs that can detect explosives.

--Hannah Boufford

hboufford@oregonian.com / @hannahboufford

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## Collusion or dialogue? Portland police texts raise questions



## Did Lt. Jeff Niiya's information-sharing with Patriot Prayer's Joey Gibson cross a line?

How concerned should Portlanders be that local cop Jeff Niiya shared information and exchanged pleasantries with a controversial right-wing leader?

It may depend on your perspective.

On Thursday Willamette Week

(<https://www.wweek.com/news/courts/2019/02/14/texts-between-portland-police-and-patriot-prayer-ringleader-joey-gibson-show-warm-exchange/>) and the Portland Mercury

(<https://www.portlandmercury.com/blogtown/2019/02/14/25885836/texts-show-protective-relationship-between-portland-cops-and-patriot-prayer>) published articles about questionable text messages their reporters had obtained between Lt. Niiya, a designated police liaison for protests, and Joey Gibson, a right-wing activist who has become a highly polarizing figure in Portland, with protests he organizes often leading to violence.

The story went viral, reaching national and even overseas publications like The Guardian in the United Kingdom, with activists on social media adding new information and video footage

(<https://twitter.com/pdxassembly/status/1096467026649014273>) of Niiya to the public realm at a phenomenal rate.

Civil rights groups issued statements of concern (<https://twitter.com/UniteOregon/status/1096564022432788480>) and Portland City Commissioner Jo Ann Hardesty issued a prepared statement accusing Niiya of "collaborating" with Patriot Prayer and of providing "aid and support for their hate marches."

Mayor Ted Wheeler issued his own statement, saying "It is imperative for law enforcement to remain objective and professional, and in my opinion, these text messages appear to cross several boundaries."

On Friday Niiya was removed from the police bureau's crowd control unit pending an investigation of the text messages. Later that day Wheeler agreed to a call by civil rights groups, Hardesty and Commissioner Chloe Eudaly to institute police training on white supremacy as well as an independent investigation of whether police handling of protests has been biased. And he announced a public "listening session" from 6 pm to 8 pm Thursday at Maranatha Church, located at 4222 NE 12th Ave. in Portland.

As the Willamette Week article put it, the messages showed Niiya "had a friendly rapport with Gibson, frequently discussing Gibson's plans to demonstrate in Portland and even joking at times."

The Mercury highlighted other texts from Niiya to Gibson "We have a large group of antifa trying to flank us and you. We are stopping them for now," one said. "But not sure how long"

"Heads up just told 4-5 black Bloch [another nickname for antifa] heading your way. One carrying a flag," said another text from Niiya. "We will have officers nearby but you may want to think about moving soon if more come."

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The reaction from many Portlanders was understandable

([https://www.oregonlive.com/portland/2018/10/police\\_release\\_more\\_details\\_on.html](https://www.oregonlive.com/portland/2018/10/police_release_more_details_on.html)). The publication of Niiya's texts, disclosed under (<https://www.portlandoregon.gov/police/78708>) Oregon's public records law, came after two years of allegations by activists that the Portland police were favoring Gibson and his allies while cracking down on left-leaning counterprotesters. Some City Commissioners have echoed those concerns.

However, some current and former law enforcement officials hastened to note that the bulk of Niiya's emails, at least, reflect exactly what his job called for him to do: to develop rapport, exchange information and even joke with people across the political spectrum.

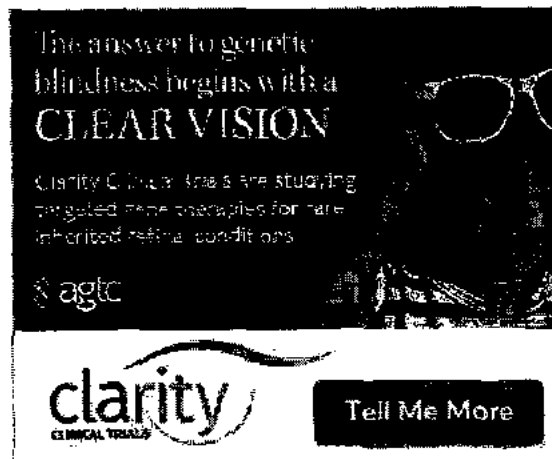
Nor, one said, does Jeffrey Minoru Niiya fit what one might consider a typical "white nationalist" profile. He is reportedly half-Japanese and his spouse is Jewish.

### Cops trained to engage

Assistant Chief Ryan Lee, who has studied crowd control for the National Institute of Justice, spoke generally without specifically addressing the Niiya investigation. He said that a couple of years ago the Portland bureau began designating formal police liaisons to follow the model of "dialogue policing" used in Sweden, the United Kingdom and much of Europe.

"The goal of a police liaison is really to try and develop a rapport with anybody who identifies essentially as an organizer or a leader regardless of who they are or regardless of the event," he said.

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Those "open and honest" dialogues can last a year — before, during and after a protest, Lee said. And he likened it to hostage negotiators' training to defuse a situation.

"The real goal of the police liaison is to gather information," he said. "You're just trying to be a communications consultant between police administrators (and) organizers... (so) you can continue to try to deescalate."



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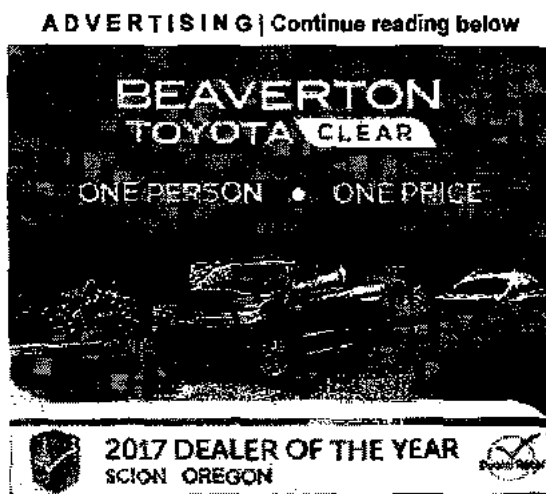


"I think that it's a challenge for people to understand that you can have a conversation and be very congenial with somebody ...that you may have gross ideological differences with," Lee said. "People are often surprised at the level of casual conversation that goes into building rapport."

Lee's description of the new police "dialogue" tactic largely echoes that offered by the UK-based Anarchist Action Network (<https://www.anarchistaction.net/info-for-action/the-role-of-police-liaison-officers/>), which calls it "the new friendly face of order policing."

And Oregonian/Oregonlive reporter Shane Kavanaugh on Friday tweeted out (<https://twitter.com/shanedkavanaugh/status/1096560991540658176>) texts Niiya sent in 2017 that were friendly and joking, only with a left-leaning protester.

In the texts where Niiya is warning Gibson of "black bloc" protesters, named a European protest tactic that some have likened to brawling, the context suggests the cop is trying to avoid violent confrontations.



Asked about the perception of favoritism many Portlanders have about the police and right-wing protesters, some city and police insiders often point out that Gibson, who clearly relishes the appearance that he is chummy with police, gets permits for his protests and communicates. Some left-leaning protesters, meanwhile, shun permits and avoid discussion with the police, due to distrust. From the police perspective, these insiders say, officers may try to separate a permitted protest from newcomers whose entry will likely lead to violence — and the resulting perception is police are protecting Gibson and his crew.

#### More questions

Dan Handelman of Portland Copwatch, however, said the context of Niiya's job doesn't fully explain some of his messages — such as one where he indicates to Gibson that he does not intend to arrest one of his colleagues who may have a warrant out for his arrest, "unless there is a reason."

"I don't ever remember hearing anybody on the progressive side being given those kinds of heads-ups and warnings," Handelman said.



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Handelman also noted that an email forwarded by Niiya bearing the names of members of protest groups appears to clearly violate a state law that specifically prohibits (<https://www.oregonlaws.org/ors/181A.250>) Oregon law enforcement from tracking political affiliations or activities that are not criminal in nature.

Lt. Craig Morgan of the union that represents Niiya, the Portland Police Commanding Officers Association, said he had not examined that particular email. But he contended Niiya has been the subject of a "rush to judgement." He said Niiya was doing his job as directed, and that he'd have been dumb to try to make an arrest based on an outstanding warrant in the middle of a highly charged protest—one that could well have escalated the violence.

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"There's a time and a place for arrests on warrants, and quite frankly (a highly charged protest) is not that place," Morgan said.

Other critics pointed to a message telling Gibson where his colleagues should stand (<https://twitter.com/Kherman112/status/1096247098352185344>) to avoid being searched for weapons. One suggested Niiya may have actually increased the potential for violence by giving what Gibson perceived (<https://twitter.com/Muzzakh/status/1096423690688843776>) as a green light (<https://twitter.com/leftkist/status/1096599497151410176>) for "mutual combat."

Zakir Khan, of the Oregon Council on American-Islamic Relations, said the ultimate proof of what Niiya's messages mean lies in the tally of arrests by Portland police in recent years.

"I think the fact that they haven't made arrests of the core group (of right-wing protesters) — they've arrested more leftists than far-right guys," Khan said.

"The impact is really bad for both community and small businesses. There are normal Portlanders who have called PPB to make arrests (of violent right-wing protesters), and PPB had people there and did nothing."



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# TAB 8



## **Demand The Oregonian Stop Platforming Violent Racism**



### **Portland's Resistance started this petition to The Oregonian**

On Sunday October 28th, 2018, in the wake of nationwide violence including pipe bombs mailed to political leaders, African Americans murdered while grocery shopping, and the slaughter of Jews in their place of worship—all on U.S. soil, Portland's daily newspaper opted to publish an op-ed piece in defense of a well-known nationalist who has been inciting violence in Portland's local community, including the stabbing on a MAX train last year which resulted in one injury and two deaths.

Media plays an important role in the rise of totalitarianism, authoritarianism, and fascism. In the run-up to WW2, the media joked about Hitler and the Nazis, making light of and normalizing their behavior. The idea of "neutral" or "objective" media is a fallacy: by choosing what to cover and when and how the media can help or hinder causes; promote social movements or dampen them. The question is whether our media are working to promote freedom, liberty, and justice for all (you know, democracy) or promoting causes that threaten the civil and human rights of the most vulnerable people in our community.

We believe that the editorial staff of The Oregonian made grave error in timing and judgement by publishing this lighthearted piece normalizing the leader of a violent nationalist movement, which even went so far as to call him a "prophet". The right-wing movement comprised of people in red hats has one goal: the maintenance of white supremacy through ethnic and racial cleansing. They brag about planning and committing violence in our community and regularly incite violence in public space around the city and region. To publish a piece when the country is enduring a wave of fascist terrorism is, as @coreypein succinctly put it, "simply depraved."

The Oregonian has engaged unconscionable, unethical, and dangerous behavior; accordingly, community response has been swift and sharp criticism and outrage. To promote the public safety and ensure Portland is truly a Sanctuary City, we ask you to join us in demanding that The Oregonian reconcile their poor judgment and timing with its impact on our community by taking the following actions:

**1. Retract and issue a front-page apology to our community for publishing the "The misunderstood Joey Gibson" article**

**2. No longer employ Elizabeth Hovde in any capacity, compensating her for work, printing her writing etc**

**3. Discontinue the practice of lending fascists a platform to recruit and legitimize their hate**

To drive home the seriousness of this issue, we are calling for a strategic boycott of Oregonian advertisers with a focus on local businesses where Oregonians spend their hard-earned dollars. We ask that the companies listed below withdraw all their advertising dollars from the Oregonian effective immediately. Your dollars are being used to directly platform violent white supremacist organizations. If you are a consumer joining in this boycott, please sign your name to the petition in support.

[If you are a business on this list, and you've withdrawn your advertising dollars from The Oregonian, please notify us at [boycott@pdxresistance.org](mailto:boycott@pdxresistance.org) and we'll remove you from it.]

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City Liquidators  
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@ClarkPUD

Columbia Credit Union  
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@ColumbiaCU

Columbia Theater Assoc. for the Performing Arts  
admin offices: 360-423-1011, (360) 575-8499  
@CTPAtheatre

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Exercise Equipment NW  
commercial office: 503-594-0500 Ext 2

Fred Meyer  
Kroeger Media Relations: 513-762-4000  
3800 SE 22nd

Fred's Sound of Music  
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@getsmartoregon

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Options Counseling and Family Services  
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@OptionsCFS

Oregon Historical Society



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@OrHist

Pacific Residential Mortgage  
503-699-5626  
@PacResMortgage

Portland Hauling  
503-777-2387

Portland Opera  
Admin: 503-241-1407, Patron Services: 503-241-1802  
@portlandopera

Portland Saturday Market  
503-222-6072  
@PDXsatmkt

Portland Youth Philharmonic  
503.223.5939  
@pdxyouthphil

Providence Hospitals  
media: 503-893-6367, 503-893-6313  
@providenceoregon

Sunrise Landscape  
503-658-1828

The Spring Living, Lake Oswego  
503-635-7000

The Whole 9 Yards

503-223-2880

@w9y

Tigard Landmark Ford, Lincoln

503-639-1131

Wheels for Wishes (make-a-wish foundation)

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## Today: Portland's is counting on you

Portland's Resistance needs your help with **"Demand The Oregonian Stop Platforming Violent Racism"**. Join Portland's and 5,176 supporters today.

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# TAB 9

News (<https://www.opb.org/news/topic/news/>) | Local (<https://www.opb.org/news/topic/local/>)

# 6 Men Indicted For Cider Riot! Brawl In Portland

by **Rebecca Ellis** (<https://www.opb.org/contributor/rebecca-ellis/>) ([Follow \(\)](#)) OPB Aug. 22, 2019 7:05 p.m. | Updated: Aug. 23, 2019

6:37 a.m.

Six men have been indicted for rioting, following a brawl that took place at a Portland cidery back in May between far-right protesters and pub patrons, possibly with ties to the antifa.

Joey Gibson, the leader of the far-right Patriot Prayer group in Vancouver, was among the half-dozen indicted Thursday by a grand jury. The other five include Christopher Ponte, 37, Ian Kramer, 45, Mackenzie Lewis, 29, Matthew Cooper, 24, and Russell Schultz, 50.

A spokesperson for the Multnomah County District Attorney's Office said he could not speculate on the men's political leanings.

But, according to a \$1 million lawsuit filed after the brawl, at least five of the men now indicted were connected with Patriot Prayer, a far-right group that attracts white supremacists and has engaged in violence.

The lawsuit, filed by the owner of the cidery in May, alleges Gibson, Cooper, Lewis, and Kramer "battered" patrons, with Kramer cracking one woman on the head with a baton, knocking her unconscious. According to the lawsuit, Ponte has "participated in Patriot Prayer activities since its inception."

The only man indicted who is not named in the Cider Riot lawsuit is 50-year-old Russell Schultz. The Guardian has reported (<https://www.theguardian.com/world/2018/jun/16/portland-proud-boys-alleged-attack-man-patriot-prayer-joey-gibson>) that Schultz is a "known attendee" at Patriot Prayer rallies.

The indictments arise the same day as new videos surfaced by the Portland Mercury (<https://www.portlandmercury.com/blogtown/2019/08/22/27017873/new-evidence-shows-joey-gibsons-role-in-planning-may-day-attack-at-cider-riot>), which reveal a group of Patriot

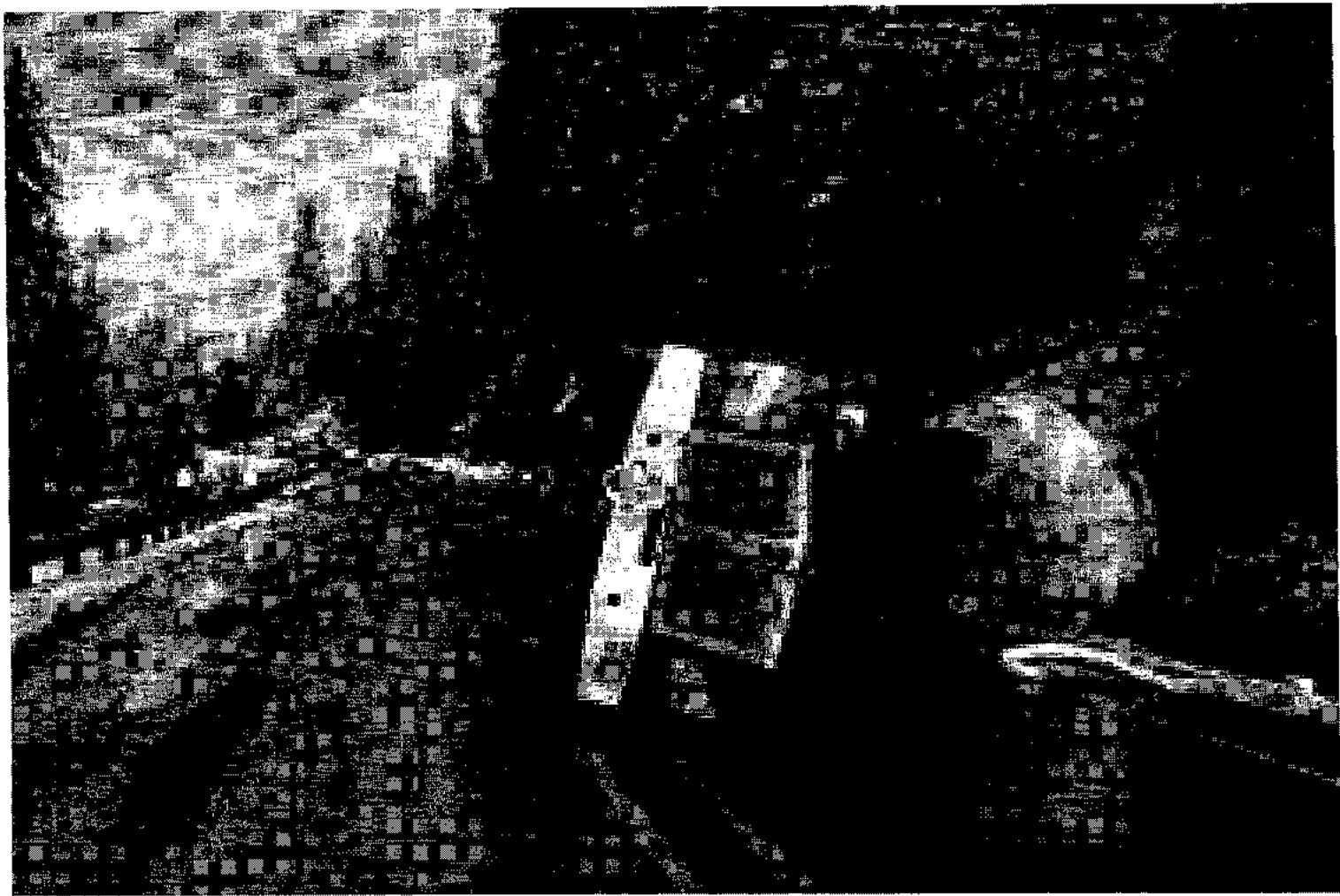
Prayer members waiting near the cider bar for instructions from Gibson and chatting about the weapons they had brought. The pub, called Cider Riot!, was hosting an event promoted by Portland's anti-fascist group, Rose City Antifa.

Gibson has maintained his innocence, insisting he had been unjustly targeted by the county's district attorney as a way to halt the far-right protests that were slated for downtown Portland a few days after his arrest.

"Instead of arresting the criminals, they decided to charge me with rioting," Gibson told reporters last Friday outside the Multnomah County Detention Center before turning himself in. "They're trying to silence us."

All six men face one count of felony rioting, which can carry a sentence of up to five years.

## More News



(<https://www.opb.org/news/article/oregon-highway-22-closed-tanker-crash-diesel-spill/>)

Oregon Highway 22 Closed Due To Tanker Crash, Diesel Spill (<https://www.opb.org/news/article/oregon-highway-22-closed-tanker-crash-diesel-spill/>)

# TAB 10



**OFFICE OF  
COMMISSIONER  
CHLOE EUDALY**

**FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE**

**Statement from Commissioner Chloe Eudaly on the Portland Police Bureau's Text Messages**

**PORTLAND, OREGON, February 15, 2019** - In November, during the debate over Mayor Wheeler's then proposed Protest Ordinance, I asked the following questions (among others):

- 1) Portlanders have sustained countless injuries at the hands of the Portland Police Bureau. I can't recall of any instances of protestors from Proud Boys or Patriot Prayer being seriously injured by police. Is this accurate? If so, how do you explain this?
- 2) Can the Portland Police Bureau explicitly and unequivocally state that Patriot Prayer, Proud Boys, and similar alt-right, white supremacist gangs are a significant threat to our public safety?
- 3) During the August 4 protest, my understanding was there were weapons check-points because of the threat of gun violence. Yet, media reports indicate that the Proud Boys and Patriot Prayer were able to breeze by these check-points. Can you explain what happened? Why was no one arrested?

While I received answers to most of my questions, I was unsatisfied with many of the responses. I expected a firm declaration opposing white supremacy and alt-right hate groups, and I believe Portlanders expected that as well.

Just this week, during our evaluation of Portland's involvement in the Joint Terrorism Task Force, I questioned federal officials as to whether the FBI has committed enough resources to investigate right-wing and white nationalist extremists who were responsible for 100% of extremist fatalities in 2018. I was unsatisfied with their response as well, and it directly informed my vote to leave the JTTF.

The reporting done by Katie Shepherd at the Willamette Week and Alex Zielinski at the Portland Mercury confirms what many of us have suspected: there is an inappropriate relationship between some PPB members and Patriot Prayer. We have yet to find out the full extent of all relationships that exist and policy violations that have been committed.

I fully support Commissioner Jo Ann Hardesty's call for PPB to receive the training designed by the Western States Center and for an independent investigation into collaboration between members of the Portland Police Bureau and white supremacist and right-wing extremist groups and individuals. I also call for District Attorney Underhill to take swift action on the matter of policy violations and the rise of white supremacist violence.

This revelation has only served to confirm suspicions and deepen the divide between the PPB and the community. All members of our police bureau must follow our rules and uphold our progressive values, not aid and abet groups and individuals bent on doing harm to our communities and responsible for terrorizing our city.



# TAB 11

OREGONLIVE.COM

# Mayor Wheeler and Chief Outlaw's interview with The Oregonian: full transcript

By Gordon R. Friedman | The Oregonian/OregonLive | Posted August 06, 2019 at 04:16 PM | Updated August 06, 2019 at 04:17 PM

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(Chief Danielle Outlaw and Mayor Ted Wheeler pictured in 2017. Stephanie Yao Long/The Oregonian)

*The following is a transcript of Portland Mayor Ted Wheeler and Police Chief Danielle Outlaw's interview on Monday with reporter Gordon R. Friedman of The Oregonian. See [more coverage based on this interview here](#).*

GORDON FRIEDMAN, Portland City Hall reporter: We're on the record, just so everybody's clear. Thanks again for making time to meet with me.

Mayor, we've talked about this a little bit before and I wanted to circle back. Can you give a bit of an outline of how you see your role as police commissioner, how you've approached that role?

TED WHEELER, mayor of Portland: Sure. This might be somewhat repetitive. I see my role as police commissioner as providing strategic oversight, support and accountability for the bureau.

And to give you an example of what strategic oversight means, for example, last year, prior to the May Day protests we had a convening of federal, state and local law enforcement that included the U.S. attorney, the district attorney, the chief, sheriff and others. And I put down what I would describe as broad strategic directives.

And I've been very consistent in these broad strategic directives since I took office. No violence. No vandalism. Deescalate situations —

FRIEDMAN: These are for protests?

WHEELER: Yes. Protect people's First Amendment rights. Enforce the law. But I don't operationalize those. I rely on the chief and her command staff to actually operationalize those broad strategic initiatives when it comes to demonstrations and protests.

FRIEDMAN: Is that different from how you might give a direction to any other bureau director? You say, Planning Bureau, I want this done?

WHEELER: It depends on the bureau, but generally, yes, it is the same strategy. For example, Bureau of Planning and Sustainability might be a little bit of an outlier because that is a bureau about vision in terms of planning and the environment and sustainability. But the Bureau of Development Services, the work they do around code enforcement, permitting — that is an expertise. It is very detailed and requires training.

FRIEDMAN: You don't tell them how to do their job.

WHEELER: No, no. And to be in law enforcement requires specific training and certification. And I believe it is my responsibility and my role to provide broad strategic oversight. But it is the job of the police chief and the command staff to operationalize that strategic direction.

FRIEDMAN: Is there anything you think the general public misunderstands about being police commissioner?

WHEELER: You know, that's a hard question for me to answer because it requires me to put myself in other peoples' headspace. There is definitely a balance that I have to strike both in terms of supporting the Police Bureau — making sure they have the tools and the resources they need to do their jobs effectively. But I also have an important role to play when it comes to oversight and accountability.

FRIEDMAN: How would you define that oversight and accountability role?

WHEELER: Well, when it comes to oversight and accountability, I am the last stage in the discipline chain. As you know, there are nationwide conversations about policing. And Portland is not immune from those conversations.

First of all, people tell me they respect and they support our Police Bureau. But they want to make sure the Police Bureau continues to be responsive to the needs of our community. That often requires a balancing act.

FRIEDMAN: How has the city been preparing for the August 17 demonstration?

WHEELER: I'll give a general overview and then I'll turn it over to the chief. She's here because she's the operational expert.

First of all, we are starting with the assumption that violence is a possibility on August 17. There is considerable public information out there that leads us to believe that people are at least considering coming from all over the country. Some are being very clear that they intend to come here to engage in violence. Others have indicated that they will be bringing weaponry with them.

So, what we have been doing here at the local level is making sure first of all that we build a coalition of support that we need. We've been meeting with federal, state, regional and local law enforcement partners to make sure we have the resources that we need. We've been developing collaborations to make sure that the men and women of the Police Bureau who are going to be on the ground have the support that they need.

We've been meeting with the district attorney to talk about what it would look like if we have large numbers of arrests. We continue to meet with the governor's staff to talk about resources there. Internally, here at the city of Portland, we've been meeting with our key bureaus to talk about how bureaus could better align and coordinate for August 17.

Importantly, we're bringing together a large coalition. On August 14, we're bringing together elected officials, business folks, institution leaders, faith leaders, civil rights leaders and others.

We're going to send a unified message to the rest of this country, which is that we do not accept violence in this community. If you are thinking of coming to Portland, Oregon, to engage in acts of violence, we don't want you. That's the bottom line. We will be making that very clear, that violence is not a Portland value. It is unacceptable.

But if you do come, we will be ready for you. The Police Bureau will have the support and the resources they need to enforce the laws. And they will.

FRIEDMAN: I've heard that you have either been asked to or have made calls to nearby jurisdictions on the mutual aid question. True?

WHEELER: I'm not going to get into all of the specific discussions we've had because I don't want to put us at a disadvantage. But I will tell you we have been broad in terms of our outreach to make sure we have the partners and resources we need on August 17. And we will.

FRIEDMAN: Have you considered asking for National Guard mobilization from the governor?

WHEELER: The National Guard and the Portland Police Bureau have been training regularly on crowd control issues. That is one more potential tool in the toolkit, but I'm not going to get into whether or not we have specifically asked for National Guard support.

FRIEDMAN: So, what can the public expect to be different about this protest, in terms of the city's response, the city's preparations?

WHEELER: They will see — it will be obvious to people that we are prepared and that we are well-resourced.

FRIEDMAN: So, more personnel?

WHEELER: Yes. And they will also have clarity prior to the event, once again, that the directives are clear. We will not accept violence or vandalism. We will protect the rights of assembly and free speech. We will enforce the law.

FRIEDMAN: Why do you think this happens here?

WHEELER: I have a couple of thoughts on that. Well, let me give some context and then jump in to what I believe the answer is. Context: Portland has a long history of embracing the most important of American values. Those are the rights to assembly and the rights to free speech. And we're proud of protecting those core American values. But we have to be honest with ourselves and acknowledge that in recent years things have taken a bit of a dark turn.

There are a limited number of people who on occasion choose to come to our beautiful, our progressive, our vibrant city to engage in acts of violence and vandalism. In other words, they are subverting that right to assembly and free speech for the purpose of committing violence. And that is not acceptable.

Why do they come to Portland? I think they come to Portland because it gives them a platform. They know that this is not consistent with our values. They know that if they come here conflict is almost guaranteed.

What they're looking for is conflict. They know that their message will then be magnified by the international media.

FRIEDMAN: When you say conflict is guaranteed what do you mean by that?

WHEELER: All you need to do is look at social media, at some of the things that are going back and forth, that are being said. There are clearly people who are going to come from all over the country. I've seen information from Florida, Wyoming, Montana, Idaho, certainly Washington and elsewhere.

People are at least saying they intend to come here — many of whom are saying they intend to come here armed. Many who are saying they will commit acts of violence.

And, of course, there are people here who are saying if you bring that we're going to meet you in kind.

So, conflict is nearly guaranteed, which puts the men and women of the Police Bureau in the unenviable position of maintaining separation and of maintaining the peace, which I believe they will be well-prepared to do.

FRIEDMAN: I think when people hear you talk about the folks who come from out of town and cause problems here, they feel that it disregards Portland's homegrown antifa movement.

WHEELER: That has been one narrative. In fact, that is an unsubstantiated narrative that's been carried in the last several weeks but some in what I would call extreme media sources.

The fact of the matter is I have been unequivocal and clear that this isn't about people's political beliefs, this is about behavior.

I and others have made it clear we do not accept violence. I have said on many occasions that violence is not the end to a political means. I condemn violence regardless of who is engaged in the act of violence. Violence is not part of Portland's culture. Violence will not be accepted here.

If people are coming here, or people who are already here, think August 17 is an opportunity to engage in violence they are going to be disappointed. Because we will have the resources, we will have the tools, we will have the partnerships and we will enforce the law. And we will enforce it regardless of who it is and no matter what their political beliefs are.

FRIEDMAN: There is a common perception that sometimes the laws have not been enforced. For example, protest permit laws. Or someone can assault someone or hit someone at a protest and run away and, almost with impunity, evade arrest. Is that going to be different?

WHEELER: I'm going to turn that over to the chief, but I've got to say I totally dispute the premise of that question. I dispute that narrative.

There are some situations where the police need to have adequate resources on hand in order to be able to go into a situation safely. Their job is to enforce the law, not be martyrs.

The second thing I would say is that in every instance that I'm aware of where there has been a documented case of violence, the police have done what they can do in order to bring justice to those who were impacted by the violence. And I'll turn it over to the chief.

DANIELLE OUTLAW, chief of police: I think that's a similar question to what Maxine [Bernstein, reporter at The Oregonian] asked me this morning and I'll share with you what I shared with her.

Given that we have social media, information is so readily available and it's so real-time. Depending on who's capturing the information it's just a snapshot of what's occurring. And then oftentimes we'll hear the perspective of whomever that is offering their narrative behind it.

I cannot think of -- and obviously I'm not everywhere at once and that's the whole point we're making. The police can't be everywhere at all times.

If something happens it's not that we stand there. That perception and that narrative basically says that we just stand there with our hands in our pockets and allow these things to occur.

With the last one, on June 29, it was brief. Very brief. And yes, there are different circumstances depending on what's going on at the time, depending on the resources we have available — meaning personnel — to address it.

The response isn't going to be the same each and every time. Just because an arrest isn't made right then and there — that means we have to go after the fact, conduct an investigation and make an arrest on the back end. The challenge with that is that we've talked about being able to identify.

But we also have to be realistic and recognize that there's a culture within those who are out there who — they know who these folks are. But they're not necessarily going to come to the police and say, 'Hey Portland Police Bureau, I know who this person is.' We would like for them to. But ultimately, that person gives a statement, that person testifies in court, so on and so forth. So, there's a lot of different factors as to when and arrest or why an arrest would or would not take place.

But I think it's not accurate to pinpoint snapshots in time from a few or a handful of incidents and say the Police Bureau sits back and does nothing, because we have managed hundreds of these things and there are only a handful that have gotten attention.

FRIEDMAN: Allow me to push back a little bit.

OUTLAW: Please.

FRIEDMAN: There's several examples like the scuffle outside Kelly's Olympian. Or — I can't pick a specific date out of my head — but the protests I have personally covered or those that my colleagues have covered, spending hours on the ground right where the police or other participants are, there will be scuffles where people hit each other or use weapons against each other. As soon as the police start closing in, oftentimes they run away. People are wearing masks.

WHEELER: The police run away? Who runs away?

FRIEDMAN: No, no. The demonstrators will run away. The people who were beating each other up run away and they're not arrested. That is the perception of not intervening. Does that make sense?

OUTLAW: It kind of does. But you kind of answered the question too. When we go back and talk about resources — and I don't want to get too down in the weeds because we're planning tactically, we have people who are planning to counter our tactics.

But it's a huge, wide chasm between 'the police do absolutely nothing' and 'the police closed in.' So, the police were there. The police did close in. And they ran away.

It sounds like I'm hearing you say, 'But you guys didn't run after them.' So, my questions would be: Did we have the ability to go after them at that time? Did we put out something out over the air — 'Hey we just witnessed this, this and this, here's the descriptions' — and there was a subsequent investigation that began and now we're having issues with identification? I don't know.

FRIEDMAN: Is that difficult for the police to do — to chase after those people or identify them afterward?

OUTLAW: Yes. Yes. The answer is yes. Initially, again I'm just —

FRIEDMAN: You can generalize.

OUTLAW: Yes, let's generalize. If the police are assigned to a certain area here, to be right here.

[Outlaw taps at the table.]

And those specific resources now take off. This is all hypothetical, not related to the example that you're giving. It now moves those resources from where we needed them in the first place, which is why it's important to communicate over the air and explain what you have so hopefully if — if — there are other or additional resources to address those who took off —

FRIEDMAN: So, an officer somewhere else?

OUTLAW: Exactly. But if we don't have an officer somewhere else because everyone's assigned to a very critical position, that gets left for follow up.

But I will acknowledge, I'm not completely naïve in knowing how these things have evolved over time.

There's also, and I explained this with Maxine this morning as well, we're the entryway, we're the front gate to the criminal justice system. The discussion that was had some time ago around mutual combat, what you're talking about is a culture of interpretation of what the laws are.

There was room — and I'm glad the conversation came out around mutual combat so there's clear definitions of what the legal interpretations are of what mutual combat would be, what will be charged, enforced, so on and so forth. So, when you mention the indecent at...

FRIEDMAN: Kelly's Olympian? The bar?

OUTLAW: Yes, at Kelly's Olympian. I think that's when the conversation really came out and was had. And I remember specifically after that, we didn't put out pictures right away, but we did respond. That was an after-the-fact thing.

But the question, as a community member, I would be asking is, 'Is there a sense of urgency to follow up and investigate?' The answer is yes.



But I think after that event it made it clear that we needed to heighten our level of urgency even though there were groups of people who came and chose to fight each other.

FRIEDMAN: Moving on from that, on August 17 if there are people who are protesting and it's not permitted, will they be cited for that?

OUTLAW: We will do everything that we have in our toolbelt to make sure that it's enforced.

FRIEDMAN: Mayor, do you see a situation in which you can support the anti-masks proposal the chief has talked about?

WHEELER: We're looking at it. As you well know, Gordon, the Oregon Constitution through Article 1, Section 8 has the most expansive First Amendment rights ascribed to individuals. It's much stronger than the U.S. Constitution. So, the question that we're looking at is whether or not some version of that could pass constitutional muster here in the state of Oregon.

And I just want to be clear, the bar is very high in the state of Oregon. That's not because of anything we do here. It's because of Article 1, Section 8. I would encourage people to take a hard look at it.

But we're looking at a whole host of different strategies that could be deployed. None of them could get through the City Council between now and the seventeenth. As you know, at a minimum it would take us — there's more conversation. But my bottom line for August 17 is we'll be ready.

FRIEDMAN: Why do you think the Council has been silent?

WHEELER: I'm not going to speak for the Council. I've been very transparent. I have been very available. But I cannot speak for my colleagues.

FRIEDMAN: Is it hard to build support from them to speak out and get behind some sort of policy or message?

WHEELER: They will be standing with the rest of us on August 14 as we speak out against violence in this community. We're going to speak out with one voice, a broad voice and a loud voice. They'll be there.

FRIEDMAN: There's been a question in my mind — the free speech argument for these events seems to tenuous. When you go to one, when you observe one, it almost always becomes a brawl.

Do you buy the free speech argument that these people are actually trying to say something and exercise their speech, or do you think they're more like organized brawls under the pretext of it being a free speech event?

WHEELER: The people that I'm concerned about on August 17, as I said, they are subverting, in my opinion, these core American values of the right to assembly and the right to free speech to come to our community, to commit acts of violence and vandalism.

There's no question in my mind that some people are hiding behind the protections of the First Amendment but whose clearly stated intentions are to come here to commit acts of violence. Violence is not protected by the First Amendment.

FRIEDMAN: Right. How are we doing on time?

EILEEN PARK, Wheeler's communications director: I was just going to tell you. Time check, four minutes.

FRIEDMAN: OK. Thank you. I just wanted to go back to one thing —

WHEELER: I just want to underscore it. Violence on our streets is unacceptable regardless of who perpetrates it.

FRIEDMAN: Do you think any police force in any other major metropolitan city in America would allow this to continue as long as it has?

WHEELER: What do you mean by that?

FRIEDMAN: It seems that this is the only city in the United States where this happens with regularity. I'm trying to figure out why that is.

WHEELER: I want to go back to what I said earlier. There were over 200 demonstrations in this city last year. Two hundred. We have a long history of demonstration and counter-demonstration. And of those 200 demonstrations, 200 plus, we had in the last year only a handful ended up in violence.

That's not to in any way condone the violence that we did have. The violence is completely unacceptable. We do not accept violence.

The key for us to make sure the Police Bureau has the tools, the resources, the training, the partnerships and the options that they need to be able to enforce the law. That means no violence. No vandalism. Don't let people shut the city down because people need to be able to conduct their lives and go about their business. And protect the rights of people who are engaged in legitimate, peaceful free speech activities.

OUTLAW: But Gordon —

WHEELER: Let me just finish, chief. The why it happens is just what I said earlier. We are a successful, thriving, progressive community.

This is taking place in a much larger context where hate speech, generally, has escalated tremendously in the last few years. We saw violence in other parts of the country this last weekend that fit into that conversation. Some of the same kind of hate speech that fuels the bloodshed we saw this past weekend is what is also incentivizing people to come to Portland, Oregon.

FRIEDMAN: It's a cycle.

WHEELER: It is. And so, the way we stop it — that's a really good way of looking at it. It spins itself up.

The way we stop it is number one, we make it clear that we will not accept acts of violence. And if you are going to come here to commit acts of violence, we don't want you. But to state again, if you do come, we'll be ready. We don't accept violence and we will enforce the law.

OUTLAW: I was just going to say though, the question as it's asked intimates that the Police Bureau are the only ones that are responsible for keeping these things from happening. And I don't think that's the case.

WHEELER: Good point.

OUTLAW: This is a collective response. This is not only a city response. This is a Police Bureau response. It's a community response. Public safety is a community concern. It's not solely that of the Police Bureau.

Especially when you talk about events and the uncertainty and how they can go outdoors — it's much easier to contain or enforce when you're in a contained environment. But we're talking about situations that can go mobile at the drop of a dime. Planned, unplanned, all of that.

It's not something that the police are going to arrest their way out of. Never. It's never going to be that way. So, I think there is a mistake in putting the onus solely on the Police Bureau as the ones that are going to stop and fix the whole thing.

WHEELER: That is a really important point and I'll tell you what I'm hearing from my constituents. They're tired of it. They don't care who's perpetrating the violence. They're tired of it.

Whether it's people who live here or people who are coming here from elsewhere to engage in acts of violence, the bottom line is at the end of the day, everybody goes home, but the people of this city, more generally are stuck with the consequences. That's why I think the chief is completely right.

This is a broad coalition. And that's why it's so important on August 14 we're asking people to come and stand with us at Pioneer Square to send a very clear message to people here and all across the country that we oppose violence and that we will not tolerate it.

*END OF INTERVIEW.*

# TAB 12

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## Transcript: Portland Mayor Ted Wheeler's interview with The Oregonian

By [Gordon R. Friedman | The Oregonian/OregonLive](#)

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*(Mayor Ted Wheeler pictured outside Portland City Hall. Mark Graves/Staff)*

Portland Mayor Ted Wheeler spoke with [Gordon R. Friedman](#), the city government reporter for The Oregonian/OregonLive on Monday. Excerpts of the interview, in the mayor's office at City Hall, has been edited for length and clarity.

[Read more coverage based on this interview here.](#)

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*The interview began with Wheeler's evaluation of his time in office.*

**TED WHEELER:** "It's going well. It's where I'd expect us to be 18 months in. It's a challenging policy environment, but I set very clear objectives for the first part of this administration. I said I wanted to lay the foundation for my governance and that included building relations with the City Council, with bureau directors, making sure we had the right leaders in place, making sure we're communicating with community groups that have an interest in of policymaking. I feel that we did that.

We've obviously had a very busy first year and a half and you've seen it around housing, homelessness, policing issues, infrastructure policy, work we've done around economic prosperity, workforce development, contracting, procurement, public safety, emergency management – it's been a prolific 18 months in my perspective. It's been a marathon at a sprinter's pace.

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GORDON FRIEDMAN: I think one of the issues most on residents' minds is homelessness. You've made pledges as a candidate and as mayor to effectively address the causes of homelessness here and help people get into housing. I think it's fair to say the average person driving around town, walking around town, might wonder what's going on. Because the problem seems to be getting worse in a lot of places. Can you tell me what you plan, specifically –

TED WHEELER: When I ran I was very clear about what I would do. I would increase our investments around prevention, increase our partnerships with the county and other community partners. I was very clear that we'd invest much more in shelter space to get people off the streets, out of doorways, out from overpasses and get them connected with services – whatever services they need, whether it's mental health whether it's addiction or economic resources. I've delivered on every one of those counts and I've delivered in a substantial way.

We've more than doubled shelter capacity from the year prior to my taking office. We have increased our contributions to the Joint Office of Homeless Services by over 100 percent. Last year we provided prevention services to 6,000 households. We transitioned 5,000 people from shelter or from the streets into housing.

In terms of the actual housing we have significantly increased our investments on housing. If you go back to my State of the City speech – by the end of 2019 we will triple the number of affordable housing units we deliver to the market over the year prior to my election.

Here's what's going on: this is not just a local issue. We have an obligation at the local level to do everything we can with the resources we have. And we do those things. But we're never going to solve homelessness – not here in Portland, not here in any major city in America – if we keep assuming that it is purely a local issue.

There's a larger dynamic that's going on here and I'm going to talk about this a lot in the next two years. The federal government has withdrawn its support through HUD for affordable housing at the community level by 85 percent since the 1980s. Which means local governments, which don't have anywhere near the tax base or the economic capacity, have been asked to take up the slack. Local governments will never be able to take up that slack.

Secondly, addiction. We have a national addiction problem and we have a global addiction crisis. We can respond to it at the local level, but we don't have the resources to stop the national addiction issue in Portland on our own.

Third, community based mental health delivery. There's a lot of good people and good organizations here. But the need is absolutely swamping the capacity that we have at the local level.

As you know there are structural economic issues that are causing a lot of people to tip into homelessness for economic reasons. And not just young people, a lot of older adults too.

This is something I really want to stress: we will do as much as we can locally with housing, prevention, services, economic help. But until we have an acknowledgement that this is a national crisis it will not be solved at the local level. We'll be talking about this in a decade, in 20 years.

FRIEDMAN: I know you can't fiat away poverty.

WHEELER: No. But we don't even have an acknowledgement yet that this is a national issue. The majority of people have been lulled into believing this can be solved at the local level. If that were true we wouldn't have the problems we have all the way up and down the west coast, in the Midwest, on the East Coast, and frankly, in virtually every large city in the world right now. And you're right, the problem is getting worse.

We're doing what we can. If people are expecting the mayor of Portland to solve the problem of homelessness they're going to be sorely disappointed and that's just the truth. I'll do what I can. I've been more aggressive than any prior mayor on this subject.

FRIEDMAN: I know it's a difficult problem.

WHEELER: It's nearly intractable.

FRIEDMAN: But there are certain things you can do. You're the housing commissioner, you're the police commissioner, you're in charge of development. Do you think we're using the housing bond dollars well enough, fast enough?

WHEELER: I do. And there's an audit that will take place sometime in the next couple of months. That's the auditor's business, but she's auditing.

What I can tell you is this: the bond promised 1,300 units of affordable housing in a five- to seven-year timeframe. We're 18 months into that timeframe and we've delivered nearly half of what was promised in the bond.

FRIEDMAN: Not in terms of actual rentals, people living in units though.

WHEELER: In terms of units either built, under construction or –

MICHAEL COX, CHIEF OF STAFF: You're right. there's a time lag identifying a set of units and defining those as going to be used with bond dollars.

WHEELER: My pledge to the public is I will deliver at least the 1,300 units promised and I will deliver them within the five- to seven-year timeframe, but probably a lot faster. And, if the constitutional amendment passes in November, and I'm one of the strongest proponents of that, we can probably get even more out of it.

COX: When you say delivered sir, do you mean we have identified and earmarked them, do you mean we have broken ground, do you mean ribbon cutting? There's a definitional issue here.

WHEELER: Delivered or in the pipeline.

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WHEELER: I've been here 18 months and here's what I've delivered. Our housing pipeline through the Housing Bureau is way ahead of where it's ever been in terms of the number of units delivered, the number currently in the pipeline. The housing bond, which I inherited, is not only on track I believe it's well ahead of schedule.

FRIEDMAN: Your critics will say it's not enough.

WHEELER: My critics will always say it's not enough.

FRIEDMAN: Are they right to a certain extent?

WHEELER: What is it they think we should be doing that we're not?

FRIEDMAN: If you look at the 2035 Comprehensive Plan there's parts of the city that are exempt from density requirements – those are the more affluent neighborhoods. When you look at what Portland does in terms of building public housing, compared to East Coast cities where if there's not enough public housing people freeze on the streets, they'd say we should be doing more like what East Coast cities do. Building more housing projects.

WHEELER: We don't have the same financial resources. If you're talking Boston or New York City, we're a much smaller city and our financial resources are much, much smaller. With the resources we have I believe we're maximizing our leverage. Could we do more? Yeah. People should pass the bond when it comes on the ballot in November. Let's do more.

FRIEDMAN: The Metro housing bond?

WHEELER: Yeah. And people should pass the constitutional amendment, so we can partner alongside private sector institutions.

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FRIEDMAN: You know The Oregonian did an analysis of arrests by the Police Bureau and found that more than half the arrests were of homeless people. The vast majority arrested were for non-violent offenses. I'm curious about your reaction to this, but also if there are any steps you're going to take in response to this.

WHEELER: The Police Bureau is going to respond.

FRIEDMAN: You're in charge of the Police Bureau.

WHEELER: I am the police commissioner. I know Chief [Danielle] Outlaw and her staff are highly eager and motivated to respond. And what I heard this morning is they met with at least one of the reporters. They provided what they thought was good data, good information and they do not believe that data or information was taken into account. So, they will be providing the response.

FRIEDMAN: Are you going to order the Police Bureau to do a review of their practices?

WHEELER: They should always review their practices.

FRIEDMAN: But in response to this story –

WHEELER: One of the things I did in my last budget is we hired a person in the Police Bureau who will work with us to address issues related to homelessness. And one of the questions that will be asked is how many of those arrests resulted from calls versus proactive policing. That's of interest to me because probably 80 percent of the calls we get in this office, maybe 90 percent, are people complaining about criminal activity. Often times the people committing that criminal activity are homeless, but not always. So, the question is are they arresting people for criminal activity in response to a citizen complaint or are they proactively going out there and hassling homeless people? I didn't get an answer reading that report.

FRIEDMAN: Homeless people are approximately 3 percent of Portland's population but make up more than half the people arrested, so what does that tell you?

WHEELER: I could play with statistics with you all day long. Off the record –

FRIEDMAN: No, no, no. I don't want to go off the record on this because I think it's important.

WHEELER: We don't have enough information based on a newspaper article to come to a conclusion. Does it warrant further evaluation? Of course, it does. Certainly, it does.

FRIEDMAN: So, is there going to be a specific evaluation ordered because of this?



WHEELER: I believe Independent Police Review is already involved. Am I wrong?

COX: I think the American Civil Liberties Union has made some request. I don't know that that's gone forward. Are you saying is it a bureau management thing or an inquest?

FRIEDMAN: No, I'm asking –

WHEELER: We all read the article. We're interested. Does it warrant further evaluation, yes? Yeah of course it does.

FRIEDMAN: Was there a response to the ACLU's letter? They requested an investigation.

WHEELER: They can request it. They can go to IPR. They know that. They can start that. I haven't responded. I just got back from vacation.

COX: It's an ongoing set of discussions about how those conversations are going to be structured.

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FRIEDMAN: It's become clear that these Patriot Prayer rallies are scheduled fistfights.

WHEELER: Well-advertised.

FRIEDMAN: Well-advertised. They've broken out into riots. Are you going to continue allowing permits for these events?

WHEELER: We have two objectives. Number one, protect the public safety. Two, give space for people to exercise their First Amendment rights. If it gets to the point where the public safety is endangered, then the police intervene, and they've done that on numerous occasions.

You know I tried to have Patriot Prayer not come to Portland a week after three people were attacked on a train. And the alleged perpetrator was associated with this group. I was not trying to say you can't protest. I was trying to say this isn't the right time. I was saying that with rights come responsibilities and this is not a good time to come to Portland, Oregon and have this rally.

Frankly, I was worried about public safety and so was the Police Bureau. They were concerned about mass casualties as one potential outcome. I was uniformly excoriated by the press for that decision.

So now we're in what I think is in the best place we can be as a police force and as a city, which is protect the public. In advance we often set parameters. We tell people you can't block transit, can't take the bridges, can't block freeways because it's common sense you don't do those things. But we also provide the space for people to express their First Amendment rights.

It's no secret that I'm no fan of the people from Vancouver who come down here and spout their venom. Their intentions have been – Joey Gibson made it very clear that his objective was to get the cops and Antifa into it with each other. The Police Bureau, having gone through this exercise a number of times, is smarter than that. They understand people are going to try to drag them in. Their objective is to focus relentlessly on giving people space to exercise their rights and protect the public.

FRIEDMAN: I know you're between a rock –

WHEELER: It's not between a rock and a hard place. It's a no-win. It's managing the situation best we can with the resources we have. I think on a whole the Police Bureau has done a fantastic job.

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FRIEDMAN: Are you going to run for re-election?

WHEELER: Do you think I should?

FRIEDMAN: They don't pay me for my opinions.

WHEELER: I haven't made that decision. I will say this: My objective for my administration is to bring people together to solve some of these really difficult issues. Portland has never been more prosperous, and it has never been afflicted with as many issues.

I get up in the morning and by the time I've gone to bed there's three or four or five new crises that weren't there when I started the day. That's what being mayor of Portland is about. Trying to drive your agenda while also addressing the crises du jour – and it's crises du jour, not crisis du jour. I've got a great team. They're highly motivated. We've got great partners in the community. I feel well supported by the public. It's not a fun job. I'm not going to sit here and tell you that it's fun. It's not a fun job. It's a meaningful job. And if I leave this job giving people a sense that we can work together as a community to solve these problems – and we're already seeing good partnerships developing. Ultimately what I want to people to have is a sense of civic pride, a collective sense that this city is a good place to live, work, raise a family.

It's much harder than I expected it to be, just in terms of the number of issues and how significant they are. It gets back to my theme. If people are waiting for Ted Wheeler to solve these problems alone they're ultimately going to be disappointed. I think the best thing I can do is provide a means of bringing people together. Giving them spirit. Giving them hope. We are making progress, but we're only 18 months in.

FRIEDMAN: So, you're keeping the door open?

WHEELER: Absolutely. I haven't made any decisions. I'm not going to make a decision on this until Labor Day of next year. We're early in. At the end of the day the public, they'll either – I'll have a stronger sense. This is a two-way street. This isn't just about what I want. I have my skillset, my expectations about what my team and I can accomplish. We're looking only at this term right now.

At the end of the day we have to evaluate if it's a good fit. Is it a good fit for me? Is it a good fit for the public? Am I right guy for them? It's too early to tell.

Now, I have a question for you, off the record.

INTERVIEW CONCLUDES OFF THE RECORD.

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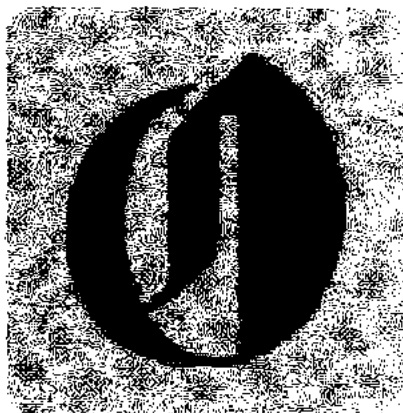
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# TAB 13



**The Oregonian** @Oregonian · 28 Oct 2018

Elizabeth Hovde: The misunderstood Joey Gibson [bit.ly/2Q1ajco](https://bit.ly/2Q1ajco)



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**Sara Gelser**

@SenSaraGelser

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Replying to @Oregonian

There is no common ground with white supremacy. If someone finds some, that's a very bad sign.

5:49 PM - 28 Oct 2018

# TAB 14



**Anna Griffin** ●

@annagriff

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Me too, turns out.

**Samantha Swindler** ● @editorswindler

I used to have a column in the paper and, um, for the record, I would never have written a profile on Joey Gibson.

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3:22 PM - 28 Oct 2018

# TAB 15

[PORTLAND](#)

## Portland police try hands-off approach as more protests planned

Updated Jan 09, 2019;  
Posted Aug 17, 2017

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By [Molly Harbarger](#) | [The Oregonian/OregonLive](#)

### Correction appended below

Up to 1,500 people are expected to descend Friday on the downtown Portland waterfront for a rally and march in solidarity with the people attacked by white supremacists and neo-Nazis in Charlottesville last week.

Gregory McKelvey, one of the leaders of organizing group Portland's Resistance, said he expects to see the biggest crowd since thousands swarmed the city after President Donald Trump's inauguration.





"Like Charlottesville, Portland has recently been a victim of right-wing hate and white supremacy crimes," McKelvey said. "We feel that pain, too, and so we want to show that city we stand with them."

The number of people who are planning to attend once again shifts attention to how Portland police will respond.

Since the election, police have tried various tactics to deal with large crowds of protesters, and, increasingly, counter-protesters.

Sgt. Jeff Niiya, who has been studying how to handle group protests since Occupy Portland, said each event presents case-by-case variables. The police presence will be minimal Friday, he said, despite past marches and rallies where police in riot gear heavily patrolled the crowds and used tear gas, rubber bullets and pepper spray to subdue violence.

"I'm giving a lot of trust to them because they say they are going to handle it," Niiya said. "I told them I hope we can leave the past in the past and have a successful march."

Niiya spends his time surveying social media to gauge the intent of protest organizers and how many people might show up. He reaches out to leaders on all sides -- counter-protesters, too -- to talk about what they're expecting and what they hope to achieve.

He said he wants to make sure Portland police take into account marchers' safety concerns as well as city residents' worries.

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Niiya is also conscious of how past enforcement strategies have looked to protesters and the outside.

Some members of anti-fascist groups have been arrested and charged with disorderly conduct and interfering with police and often are dispersed by police because officers say they throw bricks, bottles and other objects.

During an especially large "Patriot Prayer" rally June 4, a wall of police cleared downtown's Chapman Square of hundreds of anti-fascist demonstrators after water bottles and other things flew.

The police response then wasn't about picking sides, Niiya said, it was about officer safety.

"If you hadn't been focusing on us and instead been focusing on the Patriots, you could have stood there all day long and yelled and screamed at them," Niiya said.

A spokesperson from Rose City Antifa, one of the largest antifa groups in Portland, didn't respond to requests for comment.

For Friday, McKelvey said he thinks that the protest will be peaceful if left alone by city officials. The march will start at 5:30 p.m. and last until 7 p.m. -- McKelvey said vandalism and other trouble starts after dark.

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But he also wants clarity about what's allowed and what isn't. In the past, his group has marched across bridges and in the streets. At subsequent marches, they weren't allowed to do either. He said he's willing to follow the rules, if he knows what they are, because it's a matter of safety for his supporters.

"We need to know what we can and can't do and what will elicit a violent response," McKelvey said.

McKelvey and anti-fascist group members have complained that police often push them back, arrest them or hold them back from marching when far-right events are largely uninterrupted. Niiya knows this and is now trying to hold police back as much as possible from feeding the narrative that they're backing groups that advocate white supremacy, oppose immigrants and deride feminism.

"We don't take sides in these conflicts," Niiya said. "I don't like us standing between the two

groups and, if there's a march, I don't like us marching alongside them."

But that light touch led several physical altercations to go on unabated at an Aug. 6 march led by far-right organizer Joey Gibson of Vancouver and his Patriot Prayer group.

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The violence between anti-fascist counter-protesters and people from various groups who unite under a shared extreme conservative ideology lasted more than half an hour, with several scuffles escalating from punches thrown and flags burned to extended brawls.

Gibson said he tried to use his bullhorn to break up the fights, but he thinks a lot of people come from both sides with the express purpose of throwing fists. In the future, he plans to ask people who don't want to fight to ring the group, so that the clashes are contained within the rally.

Police were also unhappy with the violence that day and Niiya said he's planning to rethink police strategy before Gibson's next rally.

Gibson has set a Sept. 10 event where the featured speakers are people who want to preserve standing Confederate monuments -- the issue that sparked the Virginia conflict and less violent ones across the South. He expects the largest crowd yet, with far-right supporters flying in from across the country.

Gibson said he expects to take "extra precautions," wouldn't say what those may be.

"I'm in a really hard spot because Patriot Prayer promotes peace and love but at the same time it's about standing up for what you believe in and you don't stand down," Gibson said. "If you're not going to stand down, antifa is going to come and be violent. How do we stop that without being violent ourselves, without brawling in the streets?"

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Niiya has monitored the news reports of Gibson's protests in other cities including Seattle and San Francisco, but also factors in how Gibson's message will play in Portland, where he expects people won't welcome the presence of Confederate flags.

Niiya said he talks with the groups about how they can deal with that. He wants leaders to police themselves as much as possible, but if police see people breaking the law, they will intervene.

"We're doing a lot of this work on the back end to make sure it's safe and people have their constitutional rights to protest and communicate and do all the things we love about this country," Niiya said. "And do it safely."

But Gibson blamed counter-protesters for the majority of the incidents. His comments echo Trump's remarks Tuesday that the violence in Charlottesville, where one woman was killed and dozens more injured, was as much a fault of anti-fascist and anti-racist groups as it was the white supremacists who acted violently.

Gibson said he denounces violence in his videos and in person during the speech-making time at rallies, but he said he can't control the responses of his supporters to counter-protesters.

"It takes real discipline and it takes real strength to get people to see the bigger picture and to not use violence," he said.

*(An earlier version of this story misspelled Sgt. Jeff Niiya's name.)*

-- Molly Harbarger

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# TAB 16

## Jo Ann Hardesty

Official Website for Commissioner Jo Ann Hardesty

Email: [JoAnn@portlandoregon.gov](mailto:JoAnn@portlandoregon.gov) PHONE: 503-823-4151 FAX: 503-823-3036  
1221 SW 4th Ave Ste 230, Portland, OR 97204

## STATEMENT FROM COMMISSIONER JO ANN HARDESTY REGARDING PPB TEXTS WITH PATRIOT PRAYER LEADER

News Release from Portland Commissioner Jo Ann Hardesty  
Posted on FlashAlert: February 14th, 2019 5:09 PM

I am not shocked, and I am not surprised at today's reporting of Lt. Jeff Niiya's collaboration with Patriot Prayer leader Joey Gibson over text to provide aid and support for their hate marches. This story, like many that have come before it, simply confirms what many in the community have already known – there are members of the Portland police force who work in collusion with right-wing extremists.

The time for indignation and feigned outrage is past, and the time for meaningful accountability is here. There are many examples of the Mayor and the City Council standing by, wringing our hands, wishing we could take action. Today is a new opportunity to demand the policing our community deserves – policing that treats all community members with respect and allows for peaceful protest free of intimidation and bias.

We have failed before, but we do not need to continue to fail. The incidents we hear about are not "one off's" but everyday examples of a broken policing system in Portland that must be addressed. I look forward to supporting actions of accountability. I ask that the Mayor and Police Chief Outlaw take swift action and I will also be here to demand justice if that call is not met.

I stand with the Council on American-Islamic Relations (CAIR) and other community groups who ask for the following:

The City accelerates the Western States designed training that came out of the recent resolution condemning white supremacy and  
An independent investigation into collaboration between Portland Police and alt-right/white supremacists groups and individuals, with the investigator being chosen by community groups

Contact Info:

[hardestymedia@portlandoregon.gov](mailto:hardestymedia@portlandoregon.gov) (<http://www.portlandoregon.gov/mailto:hardestymedia@portlandoregon.gov>)

### Reports

<https://www.portlandmercury.com/blogtown/2019/02/14/25885836/texts-show-protective-relationship-between-portland-cops-and-patriot-prayer> (<https://www.portlandmercury.com/blogtown/2019/02/14/25885836/texts-show-protective-relationship-between-portland-cops-and-patriot-prayer>)

<https://www.wweek.com/news/courts/2019/02/14/texts-between-portland-police-and-patriot-prayer-ringleader-joe-gibson-show-warm-exchange/> (<https://www.portlandmercury.com/blogtown/2019/02/14/25885838/texts-show-protective-relationship-between-portland-cops-and-patriot-prayer>)

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# TAB 17

Opinion

# Elizabeth Hovde: The misunderstood Joey Gibson

Updated Jan 29, 2019; Posted Oct 28, 2018

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By Elizabeth Hovde | For The Oregonian/OregonLive

"We're here to talk to students," Joey Gibson told me Tuesday before his Patriot Prayer rally at Washington State University Vancouver. And that's exactly what he did.

For two hours, I watched challenging, inquisitive, respectful conversations happening on the campus plaza between people of different political persuasions. Instead of the violence predicted, Gibson brought something we need more of: talk that leads to increased understanding about opposing thoughts and the people behind them. It was the kind of conversation that helps people find common ground. (Disclosure: I'm a WSUV adjunct professor who had a lot of interest in seeing how things went down on campus.)

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There was zero violence at the rally, as no groups showed up to offer it. Just in case, 15

Clark County sheriff's deputies were there alongside campus police. I saw

Washington State Patrol trooper, as well. The deputies I spoke with before the rally

were comfortable with the situation and told me they felt very supported in their law-keeping efforts. "That's why we work over here," one Clark County deputy said.

Contrast that with what has occurred at recent protests in Portland. The violence there prompted Daryl Turner, the president of the Portland police union, to call on Portland City Council members "to quit sitting on their hands," decry violence, hold people accountable and "support our officers when we act to preserve public safety."

Turner also wrote in a recent Facebook post, "Our officers and our community face those who believe they can harass, assault and victimize Portlanders at will with no threat of arrest, indictment or conviction." After discussing the balance needed for protecting free speech and ensuring safety, Turner called the city out for a "culture of enablement" that's partly responsible for putting Portland in national headlines.

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Mayor Ted Wheeler and the Portland City Council need to make it clear that Portland's streets are not open for takeovers and violent behavior. Free speech can happen without hijacking other citizens' ability to move about safely.

The Patriot Prayer rallies in Vancouver this week were refreshing and productive, even if not well-attended. At Tuesday's rally, I counted about 100 people, a mix of curious students, supporters, media and the police. That's not surprising. Antifa didn't show. Concerned about students' safety, the university's chancellor and some professors advised students to ignore the speakers and avoid the event. It was left up to individual professors whether to hold class that day, and some canceled

individual professors whether to hold class that day, and some canceled.

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During the question-and-answer time, Johnson facilitated, there was disagreement

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about Initiative 1639, a gun-control proposal on Washington state's ballot. Some, like the Patriots, think its passage -- and storage guidelines it would require -- would undermine the ability to have guns in homes for self-defense. Supporters of the initiative said that any effort to prevent gun violence should overrule concerns.

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Everyone I talked to, however, agreed that the rally itself was tame and respectful. Student Julianna Christian said concern about Patriot Prayer "was blown out of proportion" and much of it biased. She said the warnings and worry made campus "a ghost town."

"The guy who walked up to us and gave us information was super nice," student Agnes Moldovan told me. "I thought it'd be crazy. But it was just a good conversation."

A.J. Alonzo, a former student of mine who had been in the area of a recent Portland protest, was at the WSU rally. He echoed Union President Turner's concerns about police protection in Portland.

Contrary to what Alonzo had been told to expect, he said he didn't see or hear a message of white supremacy or racism. "Students were asking why there would be white supremacists on campus." He shook his head and exclaimed, "This is a protest about gun rights!" Patriot Prayer, by the way, is led by guys who aren't white, and there wasn't a racist word in the leaders' speeches on Tuesday. Quite the opposite, in fact

wasn't a racist word in the leaders' speeches on Tuesday. Quite the opposite, in fact.

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Connecting and having conversations -- even with racists that Gibson says he disagrees with -- is a main practice of Gibson's and one he talked about at length Tuesday. You have a better chance of changing someone's opinion that way, Patriot Prayer leaders argued.

If more regulations aren't the answer to address a violent society, asked one student, what is? In his answer, Gibson sounded like a modern-day prophet. "The answer is spiritual," he said.

Those words echoed his earlier speech. He said that for himself, freedom was second only to God. "The reason I do what I do is I believe in God. I believe in Jesus, and I believe he is the answer to some of the biggest problems that we have in this country."

Gibson didn't look like the harasser and violent bully I've been reading about, even if he attracts white nationalists and violent counter-protesters. I'll keep watching, but I think he's far more unique in this region: Gibson has unpopular thoughts about freedom, guns, abortion and spirituality, and he voices them on a public stage.

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Before the rally, students made signs and wrote words like "love" and "unity" in chalk

where Gibson would appear. Much of the political activist's talk incorporated that message. He was standing on a lot of common ground.

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*Elizabeth Hovde's column appears on the fourth Sunday of the month.*

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# TAB 18

# Joey Gibson, Five Others Formally Indicted for May 1 Melee at Northeast Portland Bar

The indictment follows the arrest of the six men for their actions outside Cider Riot.



By Nigel Jaquiss | Published August 22, 2019 Updated August 23, 2019

Patriot Prayer leader Joey Gibson and five other men were formally indicted today by Multnomah County District Attorney Rod Underhill today on a charge of felony riot for their role in the events outside Cider Riot in Northeast Portland on May 1.

Those charges include Christopher Ponte, 37, Ian Kramer, 45, Gibson, 35, Mackenzie Lewis, 29, Matthew Cooper, 24, and Russell Schultz, 50.

The indictment comes after the owner of Cider Riot filed a May 3 civil lawsuit against Gibson and his allies, following a confrontation between them and a group of antifacists that day. Kramer allegedly struck one woman with a metal baton, knocking her unconscious and breaking a vertebrae.

In a statement the MCDA's office defined the alleged crime: "Under Oregon law, a person commits the crime of riot if, while participating with five or more other people, the individual engages in tumultuous and violent conduct and thereby intentionally or recklessly creates a grave risk of causing public alarm," the statement said, and added a pre-emptive explanation for those who will grouse that no antifacists have been indicted for the riot.

"The Multnomah County District Attorney's Office does not prosecute individuals based on their ideologies or affiliations with political or non-political organizations," the statement said.

# TAB 19



# TALKIN' DIRTY with SHRI

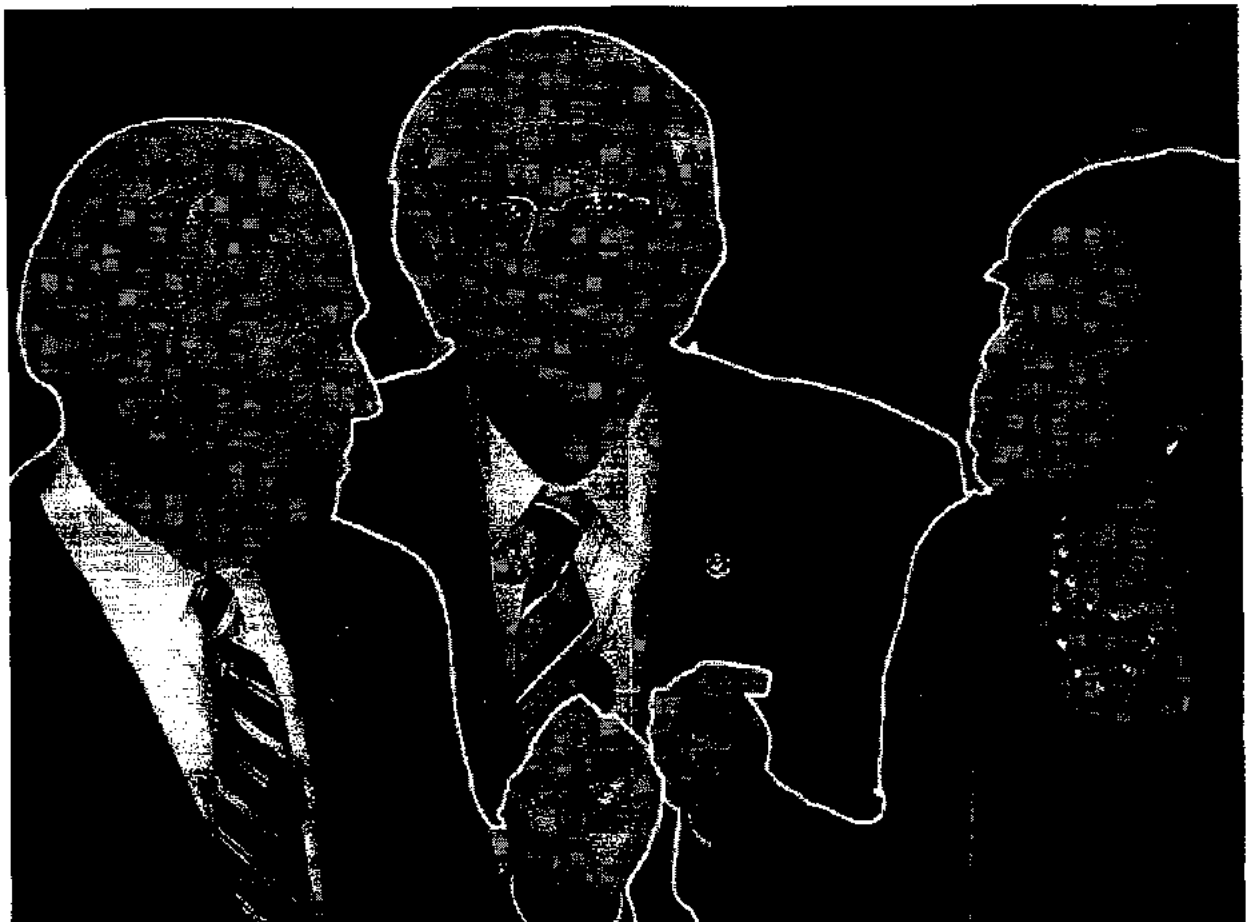
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THIS TOO SHALL PASS

JUL 4, 2019

## This Too Shall Pass: Patriotic Spitters and Other American Women Heroes

by Elinor Jones



DREW ANGERER / GETTY IMAGES

**H**ello, and THANK YOU for all the birthday messages sent to me telepathically last week. I sensed every last one right down to the essence of my aura. I'm thrilled to have completed another lap around the sun, but this orbit seemed even faster than the last, and frankly, I'm a bit dizzy. The passage of time needs to slow its roll, okay? While I may be looking weathered, I've got nothing on another entity celebrating a birthday this week, who's only getting meaner, more forgetful, and worse with money. She's turning 243 years old, and her name is *AMERICA*.

So much is happening, and a lot of it is awful, but as a birthday treat to myself, I've aggressively refused to read *all* the bad news, because my brow gets all furrowed and if I age any uglier I'm going to start looking more haggard than our democracy. So c'mon! Let's read the non-worst news of the day!

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## Hero Women

**Presidential crotch-fruit Eric Trump** was recently spat on by an employee of Chicago cocktail bar the Aviary. The only upsetting thing about this is that it's not something that happens every day—but it should. And it should happen any time anyone in the Trump family or their evil administration shows their face in public. (Okay, not Barron. He's a kid, and he's probably not vaccinated, so his immune system couldn't handle spit.) The Aviary put out a statement about the incident and the employee, reporting that they "*placed her on leave.*" Hear that? *HER*. Women are out there doing the work!

Now sports: Nothing makes me feel more bonded with **my fellow trashy Americans** than not caring about soccer, but that's changing with the ongoing Women's World Cup. American team captain **Megan Rapinoe** has engaged the sports-apathetic like me by saying that, win or lose, she is "not going to the fucking White House." **Trump**, being a huge fucking crybaby, took to Twitter to whine about how no one cool likes him, but because he's an idiot, he *tweeted at the*

# TAB 20



**Deborah Kafoury**

@dkafoury

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The Oregonian has lost their focus. Giving a voice to people who live only to stoke violence and hatred is unforgivable. To claim otherwise is not being balanced, it's being complicit.

7:57 PM - 28 Oct 2018

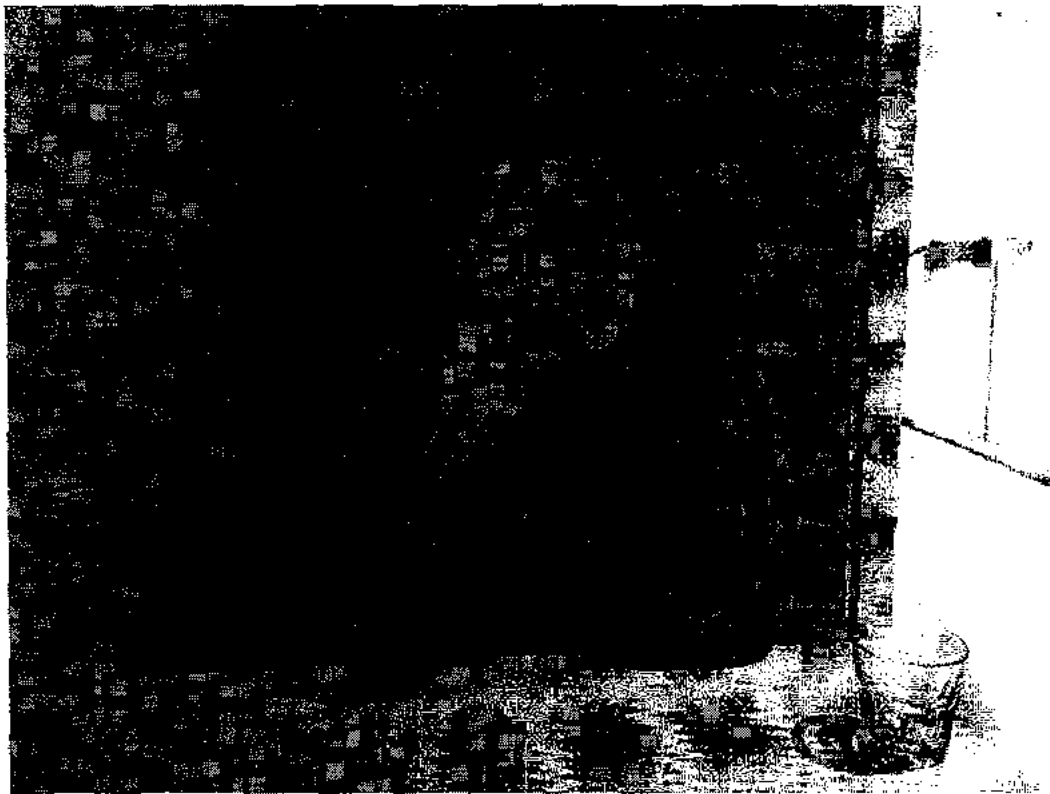
# TAB 21

**PORTLAND**

## **Portland activist ostracized, police criticized after cooperation, communication exposed**

Updated Jan 09, 2019;

Posted Dec 21, 2017



Portland activist June Davies(Shane Dixon Kavanaugh | The Oregonian/OregonLive)

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By Shane Dixon Kavanaugh | The Oregonian/OregonLive

June Davies' first known message to the Portland police sergeant's cell phone seemed harmless enough.

Did police arrest a friend and fellow activist. Davies wanted to know. at a demonstration during the city's Fleet Week?

"No arrest," Sgt. Jeff Niiya, texted back June 10. "Have a safe protest and evening."

Over the next four months, Davies, a budding Portland activist, quietly exchanged hundreds of texts with Niiya amid a groundswell of protest activity throughout the summer and fall.

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Then, in October, Davies' activist peers learned of the private exchanges. Alarmed, they promptly published online copies of the communications Davies had shared with them. **[Read the text messages below]**

Many swiftly severed ties with someone they feared had become a police informant, ostracizing Davies. Some sent threats by text or Facebook.

"It was really, really bad," Davies said in a recent interview with The Oregonian/OregonLive.

The episode, which months later still rattles the city's activist community, deepened the distrust of police for some and widened internal divisions among protesters. Some criticize the bureau for preying on young and susceptible activists such as Davies, essentially cultivating them as sources.

Others cast blame on Davies, who strenuously denies any attempt to betray the activists or their goals.

The now-public messages also provide a rare look into the way the Portland Police Bureau develops relationships with activists, a tactic that's no secret but has rarely been revealed in such detail.

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Gallery: Activist ostracized, police criticized after cooperation, communication exposed

Davies was particularly impressionable as someone who acknowledges struggling with mental health issues, homelessness for a part of this year and gender identity.

"The police preyed on one of the most vulnerable members of our community," said Gregory McKelvey, a co-founder of Portland's Resistance, a prominent activist group.

That's a charge police forcefully deny and one Davies dismisses.

"I knew exactly what I was doing when I started," Davies, now 20, said. "I knew exactly what my goals were."

**"I WANTED THE POLICE TO STOP BEATING PEOPLE UP"**



Raised in Lake Oswego, Davies graduated from Lakeridge High School only a few months before the 2016 presidential election and had never dabbled in politics before.

But Donald Trump's upset victory over Hillary Clinton in November of that year prompted Davies, who identifies as nonbinary, to join thousands of protesters in downtown Portland.

The streets became an immediate calling.

Davies, known to many as Gia, rapidly emerged as fixture at the left-wing marches, rallies and demonstrations that swept across the city, according to more than a half-dozen activists who spoke with The Oregonian/OregonLive.

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All but two of them declined to go on record, citing security concerns.

Davies, who attended actions organized by Portland's Resistance and other protest groups, at times donned a hoodie and bandana alongside other anonymous activists known as antifa.

Soon, Davies was in regular contact with other members of the activist community on social media and encrypted messaging services like Signal. With a handful of friends, Davies would go on to form a street medic team that assisted those injured at protests.

In interviews with The Oregonian/OregonLive, Davies discussed being deeply troubled with tactics Portland police use to maintain order. Dressed in military gear, the officers sometimes fired tear gas, pepper spray and flash-bang canisters into crowds. During tense confrontations, police used physical force and also occasionally surrounded dozens of demonstrators into what is known as kettles.

Davies witnessed a lot of the controversial tactics firsthand.

"I wanted the police to stop beating people up and making unnecessary arrests," Davies said.

But Davies, who when younger entertained the idea of becoming a police officer, also had sympathy for the riot cops. Protesters who turned violent or destroyed property made Davies uneasy.

"In all honesty, I think that for the most part police are there to protect and serve," they said. "And for the most part, I think Portland police does a good job."

That was unpopular among activists, who have routinely criticized Portland police over its handling of protests, and privately some began casting a suspicious eye on Davies.

There was also trouble on another front.

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Outside of activism, Davies' acknowledges struggling for much of the year. A host of mental health issues, including of anxiety, depression and bipolar episodes, plagued Davies off and on. The young activist also spent several months homeless and living on the streets in Portland.

It was during a parental estrangement that Davies recalled first meeting Niiya, a 20-year police veteran and a presence at many protests and large public events since the Occupy Portland movement. The police sergeant, whose Asian heritage the Chinese-born Davies found comforting, seemed to genuinely care.

When they met during Fleet Week in June, he gave his business card to Davies, a practice now common among police.

### **"WE'RE WILLING TO HAVE A CONVERSATION"**

Davies and Niiya remained in contact for months, their text messages show. Davies inquired about friends arrested or under investigation, offering at one point to assist police with a suspected arson case. Davies had met the suspect while living on the streets and believed the woman was innocent.

The pair also regularly discussed police presence at events, with Niiya sometimes providing suggestions to Davies about how activists might respond.

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Davies recalled meeting with Niiya in person on a least four separate occasions between June and October. Davies also spoke with the sergeant more than a half-dozen times on the phone.

"I was trying to help my friends," said Davies, who maintains nothing improper occurred.

Portland police said it is common for officers here and in other cities to communicate with organizers and activists to determine the appropriate police response.

Lt. Ryan Lee, whose Rapid Response Team oversees large public protests and gatherings, said someone like Niiya is in touch with a handful of activists or organizers at any given time.

"Anybody that's willing to help paint a better picture to ensure public safety of an event, we're willing to have a conversation with," Lee said. "We want to be able to talk to members of the public and find out what they need from us."

Lee also pushed back at the suggestion Niiya had cultivated Davies as an informant, characterizing the interactions instead as "community policing."

"If somebody from the community talking to us at an event is characterized as an informant, then anybody who talks to the police would be labeled an informant," Lee said.

Activists, however, claim Davies' exchanges with the police should raise alarms.

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On multiple occasions, Davies mentioned the names of fellow activists, protest plans and tactics of various groups in advance. Davies was also in frequent contact with Niiya during demonstrations, at times providing up-to-the-minute details about coordination and logistics among activists.

"Part of resistance culture involves civil disobedience or actions that can violate laws or social norms," said Bob Brown, an anarchist and Portland State University student who briefly ran the now-defunct local chapter of Refuse Fascism, a national organization, that Davies joined. "You can easily incriminate yourself or your friends by talking to the police."

What drew the most outrage among activists like Brown and McKelvey was the way they said Niiya appeared to target Davies' susceptibility.

In one September exchange, Davies provided a detailed list of suggestions for how Portland police should staff an upcoming rally organized by the right-wing group Patriot Prayer, which was expected to draw a large counterdemonstration.

"You might [be] chief soon!" Niiya texted in response to Davies' suggestions.

"I'm happy to coordinate strategy for you and your superiors," Davies wrote back. "But my name can never be attached with it."

Later in the conversation, dated Sept. 8, Davies expressed doubt about police taking up the proposal.

"Who says your plan is not happening?? We might surprise you! Haha," Niiya responded.

The apparent coziness bothered Brown and others. "Some of the messages made me feel sick reading them," he said.

Lee, the Portland police lieutenant, said Niiya's conduct with Davies was never improper. "The way these texts have been portrayed by some members of the public is very unfortunate," he said.

### **"I GOT DEPRESSED. I GOT SUICIDAL."**

Still, Davies didn't seem to think ongoing contact with police was that problematic or needed to remain a secret. In October, Davies told Brown and a few other members of Refuse Fascism about their relationship with Niiya and later provided the group screen shots of the text messages.

"June seemed to honestly believe they could tell police what to do and not to do at protests," Brown said. "The rest of us were like, 'What the heck?'"

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Several days later, a number of Portland activists began sharing the text exchanges between Davies and Niiya along with an unsigned press release that read, "ATTENTION: Police are using vulnerable activists as informants."

Dozens of people cut off contact almost immediately and others demanded Davies leave Portland and never return. Some accused Davies of being an actual undercover cop.

"I got depressed. I got suicidal," Davies said. "I didn't want to exist anymore."

The revelation has also continued to ripple through the city's activist community. There's an even greater distrust of Portland police now, some say. Many have become wary or suspicious of political newcomers, making some groups more insular and exclusive.

"It's already a circular firing squad, and people are paranoid," McKelvey said. "More and more people are being accused of becoming informants."

Davies reports having quit activism and rarely venturing downtown out of fear.

Many former friends maintain Portland police are to blame for what happened to Davies and express being worried. Yet they are also reluctant to reach out.

"June's someone who needs support, I think," Brown said. "A lot of us are concerned."

Davies finds the concern disingenuous. "They're not defending me," Davies said. "They're just throwing me under the bus even more."

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-- Shane Dixon Kavanaugh  
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# TAB 22



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## Patriot Prayer, antifa to face off in Portland one month after brutal riot

Updated Jan 29, 2019;  
Posted Aug 02, 2018

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By Shane Dixon Kavanaugh | The Oregonian/OregonLive

The street fights on June 30 fanned out across Southwest Second Avenue in downtown Portland as dueling protesters pummeled, stomped and struck one another.

Amid the melee, a masked left-wing activist suddenly charged Ethan Nordean, a supporter of the right-wing group Patriot Prayer, and attempted twice to hit him with a baton.

Nordean, a hulking 28-year-old from Washington, responded with a single punch that crumpled his adversary, leaving the man unconscious.



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42 Unedited Vintage Photos You Won't Find In History Books

**AD** History Daily

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The moment, captured on video, encapsulated what activists and observers say was the most violent clash in 18 months of tumultuous street protests in Portland, one that police declared a riot.

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Footage of the beatdown has been used in the weeks since to energize right-wing activists nationwide and recruit them to attend Patriot Prayer's next event here.

Nordean and his comrades will return to Portland on Saturday, ostensibly to attend another "freedom march" organized by Joey Gibson, the group's leader and a Republican candidate for U.S. Senate in his home state of Washington.

And that could mean trouble.

Gibson has said he expects an array of out-of-town backers, whom he will escort to Tom McCall Waterfront Park in buses outfitted with armed security guards. The event is scheduled to begin at 12 p.m.

Some participants at his rally and march may be allowed to bring firearms, provided they have an Oregon concealed handgun license. Others have spoken openly online about gearing up for battle.

Those active in the movement nationwide say it may become the largest right-wing demonstration in the U.S. this year.



The gathering, like others led by Gibson, will face a contingent of counter-protesters, who believe those who participate in Patriot Prayer events pose a threat to vulnerable members of their community.

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"One thing we all have in common is our opposition to white supremacy, transphobia and homophobia," said Effie Baum, a spokesperson with Popular Mobilization, which formed with the sole purpose of mobilizing counter-protesters for Saturday.

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The group's teamed up with local activist groups to organize phone banks, run public service announcements on KBOO radio and churn out a series of promotional fliers and online videos to urge people to participate.



Organizers said they hope to draw as many as 1,000 people to City Hall starting at 10:30 a.m., with plans to then march to the Patriot Prayer rally on the waterfront.

The goal, organizers said, is to create a broad coalition of progressive Portlanders, union members and social justice activists to augment the presence of the black-clad antifascists, or antifa, who have forcefully confronted Gibson and his followers during their events.

"When we show up en masse, we have a much better chance of preventing violence," Baum said.

How the demonstrations unfold will hinge in large part on the tactics employed by the Portland Police Bureau to provide public safety and protect the First Amendment rights of participants.

Over the last year, the bureau has vacillated between having a heavy police presence aimed at keeping rival protest groups at arm's length and taking a more hands-off approach as factions sometimes came to blows in the streets.

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"There's no cookie cutter response to these things," Chief Danielle Outlaw, who became Portland's top cop in October, told The Oregonian/OregonLive in June.

A Portland police spokesman said he would not provide details until Friday.

Cities across the U.S. have seen street clashes and skirmishes erupt between right- and left-wing groups since Donald Trump entered the White House. Portland has emerged as one of the most contested centers, thanks in part to Gibson, a Vancouver house flipper turned political provocateur.

Propelled into activism by Trump's presidential campaign, he has repeatedly marched people into Portland under the premise of promoting patriotism, Christianity and freedom, causes Gibson and other conservatives have accused the liberal city of being intolerant toward.

Yet the political message that Gibson and his supporters claim to espouse has been eclipsed by their apparent interest in drawing counter-protesters into physical confrontations. Helmets and body armor have appeared at Patriot Prayer events with as much regularity as American flags and red Make America Great Again baseball hats.

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Gibson has been criticized because his demonstrations have also attracted white nationalists and others who promote racist or bigoted views, including Jeremy Christian, the man accused of murdering two men aboard a MAX train after he launched into an anti-Muslim rant last year.

Even as the Patriot Prayer leader moved to denounce racists, some have continued to participate in his events. Members of white supremacist groups such Identity Evropa and Stormers PDX have attend rallies held by Gibson in Portland in the last nine months.

Gibson has also faced criticism for his affiliation with members of the Proud Boys, whose profile has risen in recent months. Founded by conservative writer and political commentator Gavin McInnes, the group bills itself as a street-fighting "pro-Western fraternal organization."

Members have also made regular appearances alongside Gibson at his rallies in the Portland area. A number of them, outfitted in yellow and black Fred Perry polo shirts, have tangled with counter-protesters, throwing punches and drawing blood.

Among them is Nordean, who is widely known by his nom de guerre Rufio Panman — a reference to a character in "Hook," a film about Peter Pan and his Lost Boys.

"They glorify violence and are prepared to engage in it," said Heidi Beirich, a deputy director with the Southern Poverty Law Center, which monitors right-wing groups across the U.S.

To be clear, some antifascist activists do not shy away from the fight.

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A spokesman for Rose City Antifa, a prominent antifascist group in Portland, said its members physically confront their political opponents in the streets as a means to keep others in the city out of harm's way.

"We make no apologies for the use of force in keeping our communities safe from the scourge of right-wing violence," said the spokesman, who identified himself only by his first name David.

Members of the loosely-organized group often shield their identity to avoid becoming targets of law enforcement or political opponents.

Despite concerns over the ongoing clashes, the city has indicated it's unwilling to intervene. Mayor Ted Wheeler received widespread condemnation last year when he tried to derail a pro-Trump rally organized by Gibson only days after the fatal MAX train stabbing.

Police arrested 14 people at the event, which remained relatively peaceful despite drawing several thousand people to protest against it.

Since the June 4, 2017 demonstration, Patriot Prayer has held nine other official marches or demonstrations in Portland, nearly all of them drawing police and counter-protesters.

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"It's no secret that I'm no fan of the people from Vancouver who come down here and spout their venom," Wheeler said. Gibson and his supporters in a recent interview with The Oregonian/OregonLive.

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Still, the mayor conceded the clashes would likely continue. "It's a no-win. It's managing the situation best we can with the resources we have."

Gibson, meanwhile, has ramped up his personal insults against Wheeler, publicly calling the mayor a "hypocrite" and a "liar" and blaming him, in part, for the violence at his rallies.

In recent weeks, the Patriot Prayer leader has also broadened his attacks to include Portland itself.

"It's one of the most hateful, darkest towns in the country," he said in an online video published in late June. "It's time to bring something good to a city that's so bad."

The next day, Gibson and several dozen supporters — many of whom traveled from outside the Northwest — arrived in downtown Portland by bus to hold a rally and march.

Portland police declared the event a riot after tensions between Patriot Prayer supporters and local anti-fascist activists came to a head and violence erupted. Officers deployed flash bangs and other crowd deterrents when Patriot Prayer demonstrators and counter-protesters came to blows mere blocks from the heart of downtown.

At various points, groups of men charged counter-demonstrators in response to provocations. In one instance, a several surrounded a man on the ground, repeatedly stomping him.

Nine people were arrested. At least a half-dozen wound up in the hospital.

"The street violence I saw on June 30 was the worst I have seen at any event since Charlottesville," said Jason Wilson, a journalist with The Guardian, a British-based publication.

Wilson has covered multiple protests in the U.S., including the one in the Virginia college town last summer that ended when police say a white nationalist drove a car into a group of counter-protesters, killing one of them.

But the melee in Portland has also galvanized many right-wing activists. Footage of Nordean's knockout punch quickly morphed into viral video clips gleefully shared by conservative news outlets and thousands of supporters on social media.

Rufio Panman became an instant internet meme.

Alex Jones, a conspiracy theorist and host of provocative news show InfoWars, flew Nordean to Austin last month for an in-studio interview about the infamous punch. The beat down was also celebrated by McInnes, who had the young man on his popular internet talk show.

"Major wars, major events can pivot on the slightest thing," McInnes said. "This entire war has just changed and it's all because of this unbelievable punch. The greatest punch in the history of Trump's presidency."

Gibson has also not shied away from touting the video. In a Facebook Live video this week, he referred to Nordean as a "national hero," one who was inspiring others to turn out for Saturday.

Beirich of the Southern Poverty Law Center said that Proud Boys chapters from around the country were in fact responding to Gibson's call for action.

"This weekend is starting to look like the biggest rally of the year that the far-right will hold," she said. "It could be combustible."

-- Shane Dixon Kavanaugh  
[skavanaugh@oregonian.com](mailto:skavanaugh@oregonian.com)  
503-294-7632 || [@shanedkavanaugh](https://twitter.com/shanedkavanaugh)



# TAB 23

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67°

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## **Mayor Wheeler wants federal gov't to pull permit for alt-right protest on June 4**

by KATU Staff  
Monday, May 29th 2017

AA

*Mayor Ted Wheeler news conference on May 29, 2017*

PORTLAND, Ore. — Portland Mayor Ted Wheeler has called for the federal government to pull its permit for an alt-right protest scheduled for next Sunday, June 4.

"Trump Free Speech Rally Portland" is scheduled to begin at 2 p.m. at federally controlled Terry Schrunk Plaza in downtown Portland. 67° 67° 70°

Another protest called #MarchAgainstSharia is scheduled for Saturday, June 10, also at the Terry Schrunk Plaza.

Joey Gibson, a Vancouver resident and video blogger, is organizing both gatherings. He has invited Kyle Chapman, an online celebrity known as "Based Stickman," to the June 4 rally. Chapman was arrested at a Berkeley, California rally earlier this year on charges of suspected felony assault when he allegedly hit a left-wing protester in the head with a signpost.

"My concern is they're coming here to peddle a message of hatred and bigotry," Wheeler said in a news conference Monday. "They have a First Amendment right to speak, but hate speech is not protected."

The ACLU of Oregon tweeted the mayor cannot revoke or deny a permit "based on the viewpoint of the demonstrators ... we are all free to reject and protest ideas we don't agree with. That is a core, fundamental freedom of the United States."

The "alt-right" group has pledged to fight "antifa," a group of militant leftists. KATU's news partners at Willamette Week wrote an in-depth piece explaining what each group stands for and why they've taken to Portland's streets to fight each other.

Mayor Wheeler's statement comes several days after two men were killed and another was injured aboard a MAX train. A man named Jeremy Christian was arrested on murder, attempted murder and hate crime charges. The FBI is working to determine whether the attack classifies as a federal hate crime or domestic terrorism.

Wheeler says he has asked the city of Portland not to issue any permits for alt-right protests on June 4 or June 10. But the June 4 rally is being held at Schrunk Plaza, which the federal government controls.

"Our city is in mourning, our community's anger is real, and the timing and subject of these events can only exacerbate an already difficult situation," Wheeler wrote.

During an afternoon news conference, he praised the men who stood up against the accused attacker.

Rick Bent, 52, and Taliesin Myrddin Namkai Meche, 23, died in the attack, Micah Fletcher, 21, remains hospitalized with serious injuries.

"They will service for many generations to come to inspire us to be loving and courageous people. That's what we are meant to be," Wheeler said. "They were willing to give it all. Two of them did, and a third lays in a hospital. That's inspiring me, too."

## Mayor Ted Wheeler news conference on May 29, 2017

*Mayor Ted Wheeler news conference on May 29, 2017*

**READ MORE:** 'He couldn't just stand by and do nothing': MAX stabbing hero's son

After Wheeler made the announcement, in a Facebook post Gibson rejected the mayor's call for the federal government to pull his group's permit, citing his right to free speech and suggesting that if the event is not permitted it could get out of control.

"Mayor Wheeler will not convince me to cancel the rally. I will not do that for several reasons," he said. "One reason is that if I cancel this rally and if we don't have a permit, you're talking about hundreds of people just showing up in the park with no leadership, no voice of reason, nothing."



67°

70°

He added that if he canceled the event, his group would not be able to control who comes in and out of the park.

"If they pull our permits, we cannot kick out the white supremacists, we cannot kick out the Nazis," he said.

"Our speakers aren't going to be filled with any hate," Gibson said.

He said his group has nothing to do with the stabbing suspect.

**Here's Mayor Wheeler's full statement:**

*On Friday three men Rick Best, Taliesin Myrddin Namkai-Meche, and Micah Fletcher stood up against bigotry and hatred. Two paid with their lives. A third was seriously injured.*

*Our community remains in shock and mourning. But we are also tremendously grateful to our heroes and their families for their selflessness and heroism. They will serve to inspire us to be the loving, courageous people we are meant to be.*

*As Mayor, I wanted to update you on a few developments:*

*1) I have reached out to all of the victims and their families, including the two women who were terrorized and subjected to such hatred and bigotry. I have offered my unconditional assistance and support, day or night.*

2) I have no doubt that the City of Portland has NOT and will not issue any permits for the alt right events scheduled on June 4th or June 10th. The Federal government controls permitting for Shrunk Plaza, and it is my understanding that they have issued a permit for the event on June 4th.

3) I am calling on the federal government to IMMEDIATELY REVOKE the permit(s) they have issued for the June 4th event and to not issue a permit for June 10th. Our City is in mourning, our community's anger is real, and the timing and subject of these events can only exacerbate an already difficult situation.

4) I am appealing to the organizers of the alt-right demonstrations to CANCEL the events they have scheduled on June 4th and June 10th. I urge them to ask their supporters to stay away from Portland. There is never a place for bigotry or hatred in our community, and especially not now.

5) I am calling on every elected leader in Oregon, every legal agency, every level of law enforcement to stand with me in preventing another tragedy.

6) When and if the time is right for them, I would like to work with the families to find an appropriate way to permanently remember their sacrifice and honor their courage. Their heroism is now part of the legacy of this great city and I want future generations to remember what happened here, and why, so that it might serve to both eradicate hatred and inspire future generations to stand up for the right values like Rick, Tallesin, and Micah did last week.

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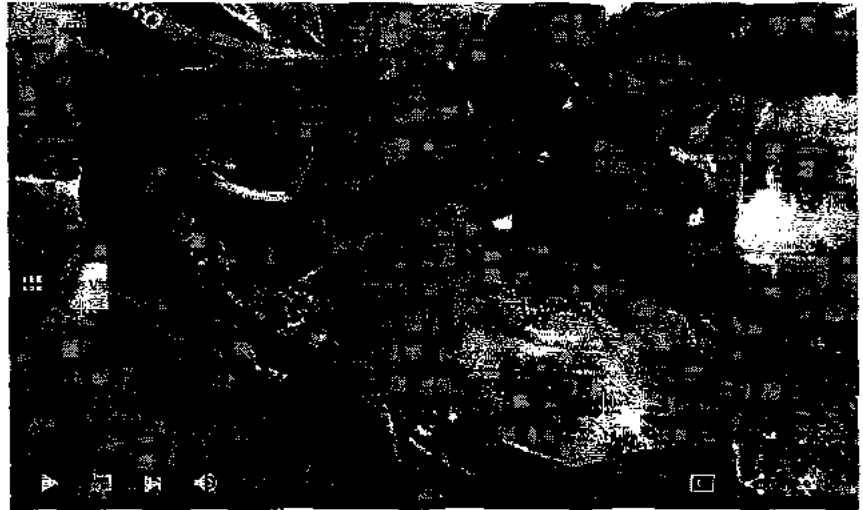
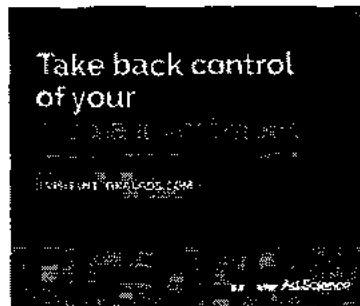
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## Mayor Wheeler on violent Portland protest 'This is not the world I want to live in'

Mayor Ted Wheeler said he will be consulting community, business and civil rights leaders on how to handle violent clashes in the future.

PORTLAND, Ore. — Portland Mayor Ted Wheeler spoke to the media on Monday for the first time since and right-wing groups clashed violently in downtown Portland on June 29.

Mayor Wheeler's stance on the violence was clear: he does not condone it. He told media and the pub during his press conference that he plans to meet with police, community, business and civil rights leaders to discuss how to mitigate violence when it comes to protests.



Lindsay Nadrich @LindsayNadrich · Jul 8, 2019

Replying to @LindsayNadrich

Mayor: "We're going to do everything we can to make sure those who were engaged in acts of violence are brought to justice."



Lindsay Nadrich  
@LindsayNadrich



Portland Police Chief Danielle Outlaw addressed previously in her own press conference how police responded to the incident. She said banning masks would help prevent violent clashes.

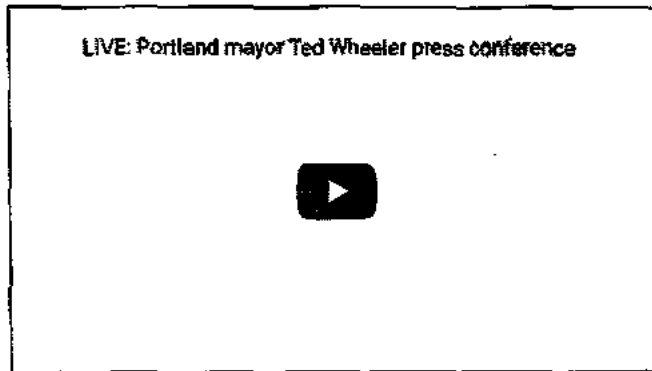
"The right to assembly and free speech have been co-opted by a very small group of individuals who h behind these important First Amendment values, not to come here to Portland to engage in demonstra in favor or in opposition to particular values, but they come here instead with the intent to commit acts violence," Wheeler said.

In 2018, Wheeler said there were more than 200 protests, most of which were peaceful, and attributed to the hard work of the Portland Police Bureau.

**RELATED: Portland police chief says banning masks, protest ordinance would help prevent violent clashes**

Further lauding the performance of PPB, Wheeler said at least three demonstrations were going on simultaneously on June 29 and he was glad the violence was not more widespread.

Watch Mayor Wheeler's Presser. Story continues below.

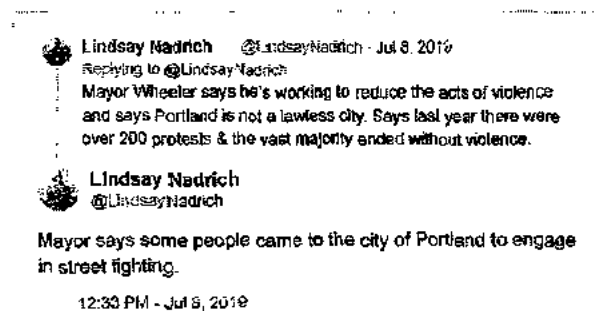


In response to the suggestion made by Outlaw to ban masks during protests, Wheeler said he was not comfortable taking a stance. He said all ideas should be brought to the table as the conversation around violent protests continues.

"I want to hear more about it," Wheeler said. "I certainly heard it during the press conference. I heard s constitutional and potential legal questions that were raised. I want to have the opportunity to meet wit [Chief Outlaw] and work with her on her perspectives on it, so I'm not ready to have a position on it tod



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Mayor Wheeler said the violence comes to Portland largely in the form of outsiders.

"A number of the people who have been engaged in violence in the streets of this community, they are in this community," he said. When those people return home, Wheeler said Portland is left to deal with the consequences.

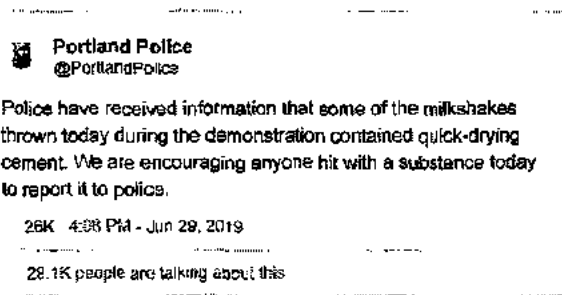
Wheeler mentioned specifically Joey Gibson and the Proud Boys, a right-wing group involved in the protests. He said he understood that Gibson had in the past come to Portland with the intention of inciting violence.

"It is my understanding that he came here because he believed he could get people on the left to agitate against the police. What kind of person does that?" Wheeler said.

Conservative writer Andy Ngo was violently attacked during the protest.

"Andy Ngo, he and I don't agree on much, he and I have certainly had our disagreements in the past. On this issue there is no fight between us," Wheeler said. He called the violence against Ngo "abhorrent."

Many others had milkshakes thrown at them in the brawl that broke out and Wheeler said that he and police, looking back, understand how a tweet sent by the Portland Police Bureau may have been misleading.

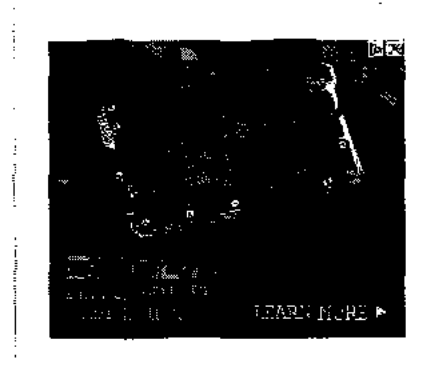


"The police were trying to give real-time information to the public," Wheeler said. "In retrospect, they will probably agree that the word 'may' or 'possibly' should have been included in that tweet, but their intention was to give the public more real-time information, in the name of transparency."

After the most recent violent protests, Portland Police Association President Daryl Turner said the mayor, who also serves as police commissioner, needs to "remove the handcuffs from our officers and let them stop the violence through strong and swift enforcement action."

Wheeler disagreed with Turner's statement.

"He crossed a line when he publicly stated that I was not allowing the police to enforce the law," Wheeler said. He said that Turner's message was used as false proof by people, particularly in right-wing political circles, that he was keeping the police from doing their jobs.



"He contributed to the misinformation and the noise. I don't think he did the Police Bureau any favors and he certainly didn't do me any favors," he said.

In all, Wheeler said that even as the climate of protesting has "taken a dark turn," Portland is a safe community. He claims the violence during protests is less widespread and happens less often.

When asked about the role Antifa has played in the violence, Wheeler said, "My message is the same to everyone. If you are coming here under the guise of First Amendment rights to assembly and free speech but your actual intentions are to commit acts of violence or a street brawl, I absolutely condemn that 10

Wheeler said there is no timeline on when changes will be made but he has a sense of urgency. He claimed that groups are planning a rally out in front of his house and other locations in Portland in the coming weeks.

"Trust is earned," Wheeler said of why the community should trust him to make changes. "What I hope I know about is that that's not the world I want to live in."

*Editor's note: A previous version of this story incorrectly stated that President Donald Trump tweeted about the protests. We've corrected the error.*

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## Patriot Prayer Leader Joey Gibson Charged With Felony Rioting

by [Jerry Lambe](#) | 7:21 pm, August 15th, 2019



The leader of conservative group Patriot Prayer on Thursday was charged with rioting in connection to a May Day incident at Portland's Cider Riot cidery.

**Joey Gibson**, 36, said he was preparing to turn himself into authorities Thursday during a radio interview with **Lars Larson**. During the interview, Gibson alleged that the charges against him were brought in order to keep him from participating in protests currently scheduled for Saturday.

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Gibson is the fifth person to be charged for the violent behavior stemming from a brawl between right-wing protesters and customers of the cidery that resulted in at least one person being injured. Police also arrested **Matthew Cooper** and **Russell Schultz** on felony riot charges August 15.

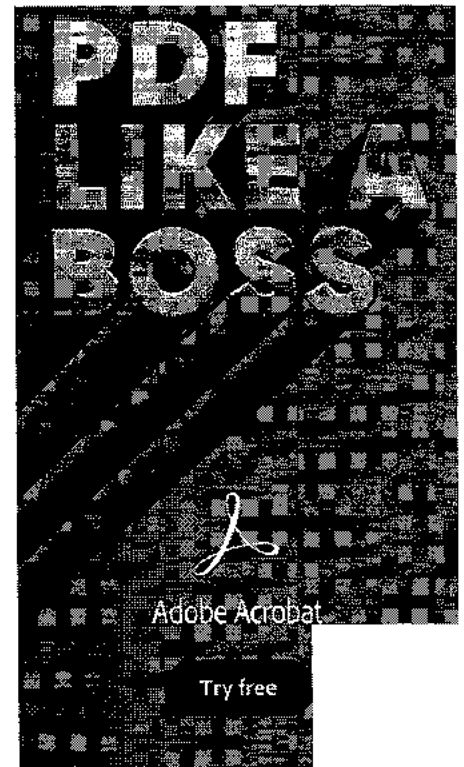
According to the [Oregonian](#), Cider Riot had been hosting a May Day celebration where several participants from an earlier demonstration had gathered when approximately 20 right-wing protesters, including Gibson, arrived at the business and started a brawl with the Cider Riot patrons. Video from the day shows those involved in the melee physically fighting and several people using chemical spray.

However, Gibson's lawyer **James Buchal** contended that the videos do not show his client engaging in any riotous activity or being violent, and warned against what he deemed to be the government's encroachment upon his client's First Amendment rights.

"If Mr. Gibson's conduct on May 1st constitutes 'riot,' so does the conduct of thousands of peaceful demonstrators who have appeared on the streets of Portland standing near violent Antifa members," Buchal said in a statement Thursday. "The District Attorney's decision to destroy constitutional protections against free speech by charging a peaceful protester with a crime of violence makes this a dark day for the rule of law in Oregon."

Buchal added that the charges against Gibson were "part and parcel of the dishonest campaign by Portland leaders to blame out-of-town demonstrators for violence that began and persists because Antifa wants to shut down any right-wing demonstrations in Portland."

The Cider Riot's owner **Abram Goldman-Armstrong** in May filed a lawsuit against Gibson and four others in which he alleged that the men were right-wing protesters who showed up at his place of



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Jerry Lambe is a journalist at Law&Crime. He is a graduate of Georgetown University and New York Law School and previously worked in financial securities compliance and Civil Rights employment law.

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CopBlaster • 6 months ago

this is selective prosecution.

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We know terrorism when we see it!

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I've ever seen him do on tape. I get more detail here. He does not appear to be doing anything illegal on tape. I can't say the same for some of his company, but if someone is going be charged in a mutual fight the other combatant should be charged as well. Selective prosecution has a legal definition that appears to apply here. For instance your statement seems directed more at his advocacy in general and less on whether or not a specific crime was committed.

^ | v • Reply • Share ›

Know 'Em →

CopBlaster

• 6 months ago

Your cover story for the fascists could definitely fool some jackass in the Fox demographic, but no educated adult. So why keep fooling yourselves over and over and over exactly?

^ | v • Reply • Share ›

CopBlaster → Know

'Em • 6 months ago

Well I am an educated adult citing material that came mostly from a document written by two lawyers. An analysis of selective prosecution as a matter of law has nothing to do with Fox or fascism.

^ | v • Reply • Share ›

David Netzoff • 6 months ago

We know you'd love to be there breaking heads on Saturday, nothing like a violent wingnut rally to get you excited. But I'm sure other right wing trump bigots will carry on just fine without you

1 ^ | v • 1 • Reply • Share ›

kieforeturnsagain • 6 months ago

"May Day celebration"? Do the author and his twit readers even know that so-called "May Day" is a "celebration" by America-hating communists of murderous, pagan/atheist communism?

1 ^ | v • Reply • Share ›

Know 'Em → kieforeturnsagain

• 6 months ago

Ha ha ha ha ha sofuckingstupid.

^ | v • Reply • Share ›



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assaulted by antifa perverts?  
dozens.

how times has he fought back ?

never

^ | v • Reply • Share ›

**Know 'Em** → JIMROCKFORD  
• 6 months ago

Garsh, he's jist like Jeebus then.

^ | v 1 • Reply • Share ›

**JIMROCKFORD** • 6 months ago • edited

Gibson is the fifth person to be charged for the violent behavior stemming from a brawl between right-wing protesters and customers of the cidery "

CUSTOMERS???????

these were antifa terrorists in uniform.

you see how the lbgt/pedo site covers for the lbgt terrorist group ???

1 ^ | v • Reply • Share ›

**Know 'Em** → JIMROCKFORD  
• 6 months ago

It sounds like all you racist trash losers are saddened, and crying in your lil internet hidey holes. Good.

^ | v 1 • Reply • Share ›

**Know 'Em** • 6 months ago • edited

I know the white trash fascist Republican Party is dumber than a rock (duh), but I never realized they were actually stupid enough to try and combine Jesus and Hitler into their dream religion like this.

1 ^ | v 1 • Reply • Share ›

**Arthur Bremer Jr.** → Know 'Em  
• 6 months ago

**You under-estimate the stupidity of their poorly educated white trash followers**

1 ^ | v • Reply • Share ›

**Spuddie** • 6 months ago

And of course the violent Neo-Nazi pigphugers came to Portland armed to the gills, so anyone defending their crap as free speech can go eat sht. You don't bring guns to a peaceful protest, ever!

<https://www.newsweek.com/pa...>

Counterprotesters have never come to these events with guns. That is something only Nazi pieces of sht to in order to keep police at bay.

Tweet 2 Share

Greg • 6 months ago

You love to see criminals held accountable.

4 Reply • Share

illnino4545 → Greg • 6 months ago

GFY Gregory. You LOVE to see Christians persecuted.

1 Reply • Share

wrayven → illnino4545  
• 6 months ago

Then whatever happened to turn the other cheek? These guys are paramilitary interlopers looking for a photo op. I hope Gibson is convicted and loses the right to vote. That would be proof of God. I am Native American. From my perspective the so called Christians came and destroyed my ancestors way of life. They killed us without much thought and raped our women. What was so Christian about claiming the White Man's Burden and Manifest Destiny? These are selfish actions based on a purely racist ideology that only brought destruction to the original inhabitants of America. Christianity=false doctrine about a perverse deity.

1 Reply • Share

illnino4545 → wrayven  
• 6 months ago

Turn the other cheek does not mean roll over, in my opinion. You make valid points, atrocities have been committed in the name of "Christianity" throughout history. Other religions are just as guilty.

The way I look at the Indian/European conflicts is competition and war. The natives either assimilated or fought back. Often valiantly. That being said, they lost. Many reasons for this, mostly it was because they could not band together. Being a Native American I would assume you would know that the native tribes were often warring, raping,



74499

 reddit

innocent, peace loving,  
victims is flawed.

^ | v • Reply • Share »

**Know 'Em** ➔ [illnino4545](#)  
• 6 months ago

Your white trash visions are NOT christianity in any form. Sorry stupid.

^ v 1 • Reply • Share •

**Spuddie** → illnino4545  
• 6 months ago

Good to see you have equated violent Neo-Nazis with Christian extremists. Saves us the trouble of your feeble denials later on.

3 ^ ' v • Reply • Share

illnino4545 ➔ Spuddie  
• 6 months ago

Greg hates Christians. He just won't admit it publicly. Glad to see you coming to his defense. He needs help. Too bad you're just as easy :)

^ v • Reply • Share ›

**Know 'Em** ➔ [illnino4545](#)  
• 6 months ago

Here's a clue, trunt: when people say they hate you, they are speaking specifically about you and your limited intellect and unlimited online whining.

1 ^ v • Reply • Share •

ilinin4545 → Know 'Em  
· 6 months ago

Whining? Correction.  
Winning. If anything I am a  
poor sport and being too  
cocky and gloating.

^ , v • Reply • Share •

**Know 'Em** → [iltinio4545](#)  
• 6 months ago

Uh, sure.....except for the  
whiny bitch thing.

1 ^ v - Reply • Share x

illnino4545 → Know 'Em  
• 6 months ago

^^^melt down! Has nothing to say :)

^ | v • Reply • Share ›

**Know 'Em** ➔ [ilnino4545](#)  
• 6 months ago



**TAB 26**



# White Supremacists Are Brawling with Masked Leftists in the Portland Streets. Homeland Security is Watching.

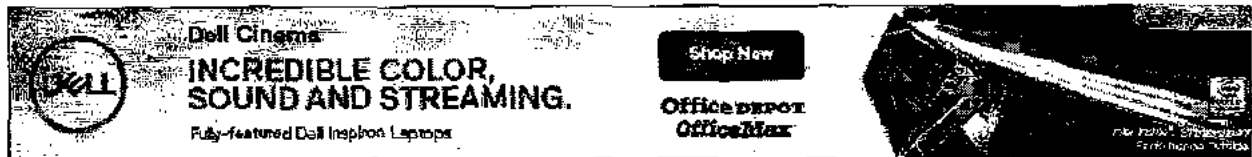
A leading celebrity of the "alt-right" pledges to battle antifa in the middle of the Rose Festival.

By Aaron Mesh | By Corey Pein | Published May 23, 2017 Updated November 5, 2018

On May 13, at about 4 pm, Tusitala "Tiny" Toese, a mountainous Samoan from Vancouver, Wash., decked another man in downtown Portland's Chapman Square.

Occasional acts of violence are a fact of life in any city. But this punch was different. The assault, captured on video, embodied the intensity of the political hostility boiling over on Portland's streets.

Those streets are becoming a battleground—not just between protesters and cops, but also between right and left.



In the four months since the inauguration of President Donald Trump, the metro area has witnessed at least six rallies or marches where some segment of the extreme right and militant leftists have confronted each other in public spaces.

The showdowns are but a small segment of the political unrest in this city. Since Trump's election, Portland has been the site of at least 30 marches and rallies.

Those events have been largely peaceful. They have also featured high-profile clashes between riot police and anarchists, resulting in at least 160 arrests and an estimated \$1 million in property damage.

But it's the encounters between competing political ideologies that display a new kind of fury.



On one side is an ad-hoc crowd of militant leftists—including anarchists, socialists and communists—who call themselves an anti-fascist front for antifa. They often don black clothing and ski masks, an unofficial uniform borrowed from an anarchist subculture often loosely described as the "black bloc."

On the other side is antifa's political opposite: a coalition of white supremacists, anti-government militia groups and online agitators known as the "alt-right."

Their next skirmish could unfold in the middle of the Rose Festival.

On June 4, Kyle Chapman plans to lead a rally across from Portland City Hall. Chapman is an online celebrity from California who has attracted a wide following for battling left-wing protesters, wearing a gas mask and armed with a large stick.

Chapman is coming to Portland at the behest of Joey Gibson, a Vancouver video blogger. Attendees of his Portland-area events this spring have included anti-gay street preachers, crews of bikers, and several people claiming affiliation with Confederate and neo-Nazi groups.

Chapman and Gibson have both gained a degree of prominence in the alt-right, a nationalist movement designed to provoke and taunt liberal "snowflakes" they see as undermining America.

On the street, the conflict between right and left can look absurd—like deleted scenes from the *Mad Max* movies.

Yet in the wake of Trump's election, brawls between dozens of adherents of alt-right and antifa movements have become regular events in cities from Boston to Berkeley, Calif.

"It's never been as vocal as it has been in recent months," says Portland Police Bureau spokesman Sgt. Pete Simpson. "While they're not street gangs, the threat of violence is there. They're challenging each other—calling each other out."

Alt-right-led events with the title "March 4 Trump" began occurring around Portland two months ago, starting in Lake Oswego and Vancouver.

Last month, the 82nd Avenue of Roses Parade was canceled after an anonymous email threatened a mass assault of alleged white supremacists who were rumored to be planning to march.

Since that uproar, alt-right groups have twice come to Portland for tense standoffs with local leftists.

Longtime observers of extremism hear echoes of old Portland violence.

"This is a manifestation of a long-simmering battle between the extreme right and the extreme left in this town," says Randy Blazak, chairman of the Oregon Coalition Against Hate Crime. "It led Portland to be dubbed 'Skinhead City' in the 1990s. Thanks to the sea change of the 2016 election season, it's back in full force."

The workings of alt-right groups are mysterious—often by design.



Many members use their real names, but refuse to give straight answers on anything else.

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One of the most visible alt-right leaders in the Pacific Northwest is Joey Gibson, 33, who lives in Vancouver. He casts himself as a champion of free speech. His public pronouncements and YouTube videos seek to get right-wing allies riled up to "trigger some snowflakes"—meaning, taunt and provoke liberal and leftist college students.

Gibson tells *WW* he is "promoting freedom, through the power of prayer," he says. "It's kind of a spiritual movement."

In April, Gibson traveled to Berkeley, where he posed for videos with Kyle Chapman, a 41-year-old commercial diver and YouTube personality.

Chapman's fans call him "Based Stickman," which means a badass guy with a stick. Chapman was filmed at the Berkeley "March 4 Trump," breaking a signpost over the head of a left-wing protester. He was arrested on suspicion of felony assault with a deadly weapon, among other charges. An online campaign raised \$50,000 for his bail and legal defense.

Chapman did not respond to *WW*'s requests for comment. In a March 31 profile in *The New Republic*, he said he was a conservative Republican and uncomfortable with some of his extreme admirers. But he pledged to keep going into new cities to confront leftists.

Alexander Reid Ross, a Portland State University geography instructor who recently published a book on fascist and antifa struggles, *Against the Fascist Creep*, says alt-right agitators see Berkeley, Seattle and Portland as targets.

"They think by making incursions into 'enemy' territory and demoralizing them—by beating them up or mocking them relentlessly—they'll be able to throw off the assumptions that underlie society," Ross says. "They see it as a civil war."

The alt-right is shady about its affiliations and intentions.

Their anti-fascist opponents are clearer about their goals, but resolutely anonymous.

The roots of antifa—the local wing is called Rose City Antifa—lie in left-wing brawlers who organized in Cold War Germany, as well as in the underground punk-rock scene of Portland in the 1980s and '90s.

In 1988, in an event that seared this city's residents, Ethiopian student Mulugeta Seraw was beaten to death by white-supremacist skinheads. That event helped give rise to a group of "anti-racist" skinheads, the forebears of today's antifa.

"In one sense, this is nothing new," says Blazak. "These guys have been going at it for years. They put on new haircuts, and they do battle in the streets of Portland."

Rose City Antifa declined repeated requests for comment.

But WW's reporting—conversations with people at events, as well as interviews with longtime observers of the movement—indicates that it includes in addition to older, established groups of people, a number of the anti-fascist skinhead scene, as well as college student activists and kids as young as 14. It's difficult to say how many people are involved in antifa movements in Portland, but crowd estimates at marches suggest it's as many as 200 people.

Ross says Portland's antifa groups play a key role in discouraging the rise of racist violence and intimidation. "It has become shorthand for people who want to go out and fight Nazis," he says. "The alt-right has to be understood as a fascist movement."

In their black bloc-style outfits, which they have worn four times in the past four months, it is difficult to distinguish these anti-fascist groups from more familiar anarchist protesters—or from thrill-seeking teenagers who see an opportunity to throw Pepsi cans at cops or smash store windows.

Marco Mejía, an organizer with Portland Immigrants Rights Coalition and the emcee of this year's May Day rally, says he has mixed feelings about antifa actions.

"I don't condemn people who feel like they need to protect themselves and the community," he says. Still, "there should be better communication."

On May 13, a day of thunderstorms and hailstones, Gibson and his antifa foils faced off in Portland's Chapman Square, located at Southwest 3rd Avenue and Main Street.

The event kicked off a block south with an anti-police brutality protest called by a Facebook group named Oregon Students Empowered. About two dozen left-wing protesters showed up, most wearing masks and black clothing.

Gibson, the pro-Trump organizer from Vancouver, also arrived with his crew, also numbering about two dozen. Within 15 minutes, the sides squared off.

Portland police officers observed silently, but then left. After about an hour of shouting, the left-wing group crossed the street. One of them set fire to a U.S. flag. (Others quietly objected.) Gibson's crew took the flames as their cue to begin the confrontation anew.

People from each side began screaming insults at each other as a circle of observers live-streamed the confrontations. Within minutes, Gibson's friend, Tiny Toese, the 20-year-old American Samoan, flattened an antifa protester half his size with a punch to the face, while the kid had his arms crossed defensively.

Portland police soon returned. Sgt. Jeffrey Niiya calmly questioned representatives from both groups. Niiya appeared familiar with individuals on both sides. "It's my job," he explained.

Gibson, who stresses how much his group supports law enforcement, appealed for sympathy, but Niiya was skeptical. "Some of the people on your side are inflaming the other side on social media," Niiya told Gibson.

"The problem is, we have outsiders," Gibson said. "I'm here to be respectful and to talk to them."

≡ Niiya told antifa protesters that for police to make an arrest, the victim would need to provide his name. After some minutes in the restaurant, Niiya came back via the bathroom and a phone call. The police escaped a second time from the party.

Later that afternoon, Toese returned home and recorded a video for his Facebook page calling the day a success.

"We don't come there to fight. Our goal is to educate," Toese said. "I know it turned a little bit ugly. I had to do what you guys saw me do. But please, everybody, that is not who I am. Don't take me as a violent person. I am just a big, happy Samoan. A brown brother for Donald Trump and a brown brother for America."

Toese also expressed eagerness for the next big brawl—evidently the June 4 rally starring Kyle Chapman.

"We got another event that's coming up," he went on. "You guys will see us there. That event is on my birthday. So I guess I'm going to be celebrating my birthday kicking some antifa ass."

June 4 falls in the second week of the Rose Festival, Portland's biggest annual family event.

The home page of the Rose Festival website currently reads: "Business as Usual."

"Recent events in Portland have led to rumors that the Rose Festival is considering canceling its popular parades due to safety concerns," the site says. "This is not true."

Mayor Ted Wheeler's office says he has instructed police to keep calm—and try to pacify the adversarial groups.

"Police try to work with organizers and try to head off any conflict before it happens," says Wheeler spokesman Michael Cox. "I know they're doing that work now with regard to June 4. Of course, their success depends in large part on the organizers' cooperation and communication before an event. Sometimes they get it. Sometimes they don't."

Meanwhile, a U.S. Department of Homeland Security memo sent to Democratic Oregon Sen. Ron Wyden on March 24 shows the federal government is keeping close watch on Portland—at least on one side of the political spectrum.

The memo, obtained last month by WW, confirms earlier reports that the feds are classifying property damage by left-wing protesters as "domestic terrorism."

"Rioting by violent anarchist extremists at events [last November] met the criteria" for terrorism, Acting Under Secretary for Intelligence and Analysis Patricia F.S. Cogswell wrote to Wyden. "DHS has a duty to report and analyze such acts of ideologically motivated violence."

Wyden says Homeland Security's distinction between property damage and political protest is somewhat reassuring.



"DHS said the right things here," Wyden tells WW, "but I'm going to be watching closely to make sure this administration doesn't let the line between watching out for domestic terrorism and targeting peaceful protesters who are exercising their constitutional rights."

Wheeler dismisses the concept of Portland protesters as terrorists.

"The mayor does not view protesters as domestic terrorists," says Cox. "As with so many things with the federal government today, Portland is going to continue with our strategy: honoring First Amendment rights while not tolerating acts of violence, vandalism or blocking transit."

By contrast, Homeland Security hasn't made any public statement about alt-right groups, even after well-documented violence in Berkeley. A unit involved in countering right-wing extremism has been disbanded.

Even so, police spokesman Simpson pledges his agency won't play favorites.

"We aren't there to protect one group and arrest another," he says. "We're out there to keep these two groups away from each other. We'd like to see cooler heads prevail, and for people to realize there is no changing each other's mind out in the streets."

*Mike Bivins contributed reporting to this story.*

**Correction, May 24:** The print edition of this story incorrectly attributes an interview with Kyle Chapman to the National Review instead of its actual source, The New Republic. WW regrets the error.

*The nonprofit WW Fund for Investigative Journalism provided support for this story.*

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**TAB 27**



# **Portland Mayor Responds to Right-Wing Organizer's Threat of Monthly Protests: "We Do Not Want Him Here in My City, Period"**

**Ted Wheeler chastised Joe Biggs and other right-wing marchers for frightening Portlanders with the prospect of violence in the streets.**

**By Aaron Mesh** | Published August 17 Updated August 19

A defiant Portland Mayor Ted Wheeler said tonight that if Proud Boys organizer Joe Biggs follows through on a threat to return to Portland each month, he will deploy police officers "as often as I need to."

In the hours after law enforcement largely defused the tensions surrounding waterfront protests, Wheeler chastised Biggs and other right-wing marchers for frightening Portlanders with the prospect of violence in the streets.

"In this national environment, where we've had some mass shootings just a little over a week ago, there is an environment of fear," Wheeler said at a press conference this afternoon. "There is rhetoric that is aimed predominantly at women and people of color and immigrants. It creates a sense of uncertainty and a sense of fear. And so, Mr. Biggs and others saying that they're going to come here, that feeds into that sense of fear.

"So I want to be very clear: We do not want him here in my city, period."

Wheeler's remarks came in response to a threat by Biggs, a Florida right-wing talk radio host, that he would return to Portland on a monthly basis unless Wheeler would "declare Antifa an enemy of Portland and restore order."

Biggs and other right-wing groups came to Portland demanding that antifascists be designated a domestic terrorist group. Proud Boy Enrique Tarrío, who also organized the rally, also left town with an ultimatum. "Either he takes charge and removes the scourge of violent domestic terrorists from his city, or we come back month-after-month," Tarrío said.

That threat was belied by what unspooled at Tom McCall Waterfront Park today, when Proud Boys asked police for permission to march. Police said they must clear the area for a parade. They then spent much of the afternoon allegedly exchanging rumors about antifa chasing them, and fled camped for Vancouver, Wash.

***Related: Proud Boys wander lost through downtown Portland as police allow wild goose chase by antifascists.***

Wheeler, meanwhile, is looking at the first protester clash in recent memory that could end as an untarnished victory for city officials. Previous protests have either ended in bloody clashes between political foes, or have seen police deploy munitions like flash-bang grenades against leftist protesters. Today, neither happened.

In the days prior to the right-wing rally, Wheeler gathered an array of civic leaders to warn the Proud Boys to stay out of town. Police arrested six right-wing protesters, including organizer Joey Gibson, for their role in assaults outside the bar Cider Riot on May 1. Those arrests seemed to unnerve the visiting right-wingers, and one paramilitary group pulled out of the rally altogether.

The crowds today were smaller than at similarly hyped protests. Police estimated 1,200 people attended, and no more than 300 of them were allies of the Proud Boys.

Police Chief Danielle Outlaw said tonight that the Proud Boys and their allies asked police to let them leave the waterfront—and the cops allowed that, in order to keep the two groups of protesters apart.

"Shortly before noon, a group of demonstrators communicated to our liaisons that they wanted to leave the downtown area," Outlaw said. "At that point we determined that it would be in the interest of everyone's safety to allow them to remove themselves from the area. We allowed them to cross the Hawthorne Bridge at that time. We did not show preferential treatment, but rather facilitated a de-escalation of potential conflict."

Wheeler, whose day began with a tweet from President Donald Trump saying he was watching Portland and its mayor closely, offered prepared statements this evening at the Portland Police Bureau's central precinct. But he departed from those remarks after receiving questions from a right-wing livestreamer. He seemed annoyed by the idea of Biggs and his followers returning.

"When we have people like Joe Biggs say that they will come here every single month until we do whatever it is they think we should be doing," he said, "these types of demonstrations and the response cost millions of dollars. They're misusing public taxpayer resources, and I hope they think about that."

Later, the mayor turned more contemplative.

"We are now confronting the reality that in the United States, we have a rising white nationalist movement, based on white supremacy," Wheeler said. "And it is impacting the entire nation. But we're certainly seeing that play out here on the streets of Portland. ...Portland, being a very progressive city, is always going to be at or near Ground Zero when it comes to this battle. That's just the reality."

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**TAB 28**



# Proud Boys Wander Lost Through Portland as Police Allow Wild Goose Chase by Antifascists

Police strategy allowed the groups broad leeway to move along streets and sidewalks, so long as they remained far apart from each other.

By Aaron Mesh | By Nigel Jaquiss | Published August 17 Updated August 18

The Proud Boys and antifascists talked of little but each other all day. But they couldn't find each other.

The two groups wandered across downtown Portland this afternoon, but rarely encountered their adversaries, thanks to a police strategy that allowed the groups broad leeway to move along streets and sidewalks, so long as they remained far apart from each other.

So when the Proud Boys and their allies gathered north of the Oregon Museum of Science and Industry, the cops kept antifascists bottled at the west end of the Hawthorne Bridge. When a diminished contingent of the far right marched west across the Tilikum Bridge into the South Waterfront, police allowed antifa to stroll across the Burnside Bridge and wander among the warehouses of the Central Eastside.

The result? A game of cat-and-mouse that felt more like a Tom and Jerry cartoon—and kept the two groups more than a mile apart at all times, even as some said they wanted a confrontation.

**Related: Proud Boys Scamper Across Portland Waterfront, But Police Keep Them Far From Antifascists**

Police made 13 arrests, and the few moments of violence arrived mainly as the right-wing groups attempted to leave downtown in two small buses. Antifascists were seen on videos shattering the bus windows, and a right-wing protester appeared to attack the leftists from inside the bus with a hammer. (Because early videos were misleading, this post has been changed to explain who first wielded the hammer.)

Later, police clashed with frustrated leftists, arresting several and tackling at least one woman to the ground, drawing an angry crowd for a tense standoff near the Portland Outdoor Store.

Those moments will add to the highlight reel of right-wing groups who seek to portray Portland as a hotbed for leftist violence. But none of the mayhem feared in recent weeks occurred—a major triumph for Mayor Ted Wheeler and the Portland Police Bureau, who have been the subject of intense national scrutiny from the right-wing media.

Yet the visiting Proud Boys declared the day a victory, saying they had achieved their aim of draining Portland's law-enforcement resources. They pledged to return once a month until Wheeler "excises the alt-left groups from his city."



That grand rhetoric contrasts with what their day actually looked like: wandering, lost and anxious, though coming.

After retreating east across the Hawthorne Bridge, many of the Proud Boys and their supporters got in the

About 100 who had parked on the west side, however, were stuck. Police had closed the Hawthorne Bridge. Bridge.

00:27 / 01:00

Passing cyclists and OMSI patrons jeered and flipped off the American flag toting marchers. Word filtered through that antifa was planning to intercept the group as it headed to west side parking garages. Marchers donned helmets and gloves but except for a couple of antifascists on bikes, no opposition materialized.

# WILLAMETTE WEEK



Dozens of police, both on bikes and riding on the outside of trucks and vans, accompanied the Proud Boy group as they proceeded north on Second Avenue. At the Burnside Bridge, a few critics argued briefly with Vancouver, Wash.-based protest organizer Joey Gibson.

When the group crossed into Old Town, Gibson stopped to address the crowd. As he did, a woman on a 750cc Harley Davidson motorcycle pulled up to the curb and drowned Gibson out by revving her engine. Police asked her to stop. She refused and several officers yanked her from her motorcycle and cuffed her.

That ended a remarkably peaceful protest at about 2:30 pm.

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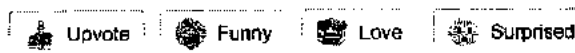
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8 Responses



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# TAB 29

69°

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## CRIME

## Patriot Prayer's Joey Gibson: I face felony riot charge

*Joey Gibson likely to face charge connected to Cider Riot brawl*

### Patriot Prayer's Joey Gibson: I face felony riot charge



by: Cole Miller, KOIN 6 News Staff

Posted: Aug 15, 2019 / 01:03 PM PDT / Updated: Aug 15, 2019 / 06:17 PM PDT

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PORTLAND, Ore. (KOIN) — Joey Gibson, the leader of the right-wing Patriot Prayer, said Thursday he will turn himself in to

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**Wheeler to protesters: Don't come here to spread hate**

**Who are the protesters coming to Portland?**

Gibson's lawyer, James Buchal, told the Associated Press Gibson has been charged with rioting in connection with the May Day brawl at Cider Riot in Northeast Portland.

Video shows people using chemical spray and several people fighting. Buchal, said none of the videos from the altercation

show Gibson being violent.

In a phone interview with KOIN 6 News, Gibson said he believes this felony charge is politically motivated and he believes the City of Portland is trying to ban him from the streets.



Joey Gibson, middle with sunglasses, at a brawl outside Cider Riot in Northeast Portland, May 1, 2019 (KOIN)

Gibson, one of the main provocateurs in the protests that have roiled Portland for the past 3 years, told KOIN 6 News he expects to surrender to authorities on Thursday. His surrender comes days before an expected protest between ultra-right wing and ultra-left wing groups in downtown Portland.



**Cole Miller**  
@ColeKOIN

In a phone interview, Gibson says "people need to show up even more now" when it comes to planned protests Saturday. I asked if he called for violence May Day, "the evidence is out there; I was trying to keep the peace as much as I could" #KOIN6News [twitter.com/KOINNews/status/1121111111](https://twitter.com/KOINNews/status/1121111111)

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3 1:21 PM - Aug 15, 2019

See Cole Miller's other Tweets

In a phone interview with KOIN 6 News, Gibson said he wants more people to show up at the protest on Saturday to stand up for 1st Amendment rights.

"This is a complete attack on the 1st Amendment, without a doubt. This is 100% political. They didn't arrest one person that was with antifa or Cider Riot," Gibson told KOIN 6 News.

The felony riot charge, he said, "basically means that if anybody goes out on to the streets to exercise their 1st Amendment right, they can be charged for standing there. ... The evidence is out there. I was trying to keep the peace as much as I could."

Gibson said he "was ready to be done with Portland," but this felony charge makes him want to fight back more, "and by fight back, I mean politically."

### **'Violence, hate at heart of paramilitary group'**

The Western States Center applauded the decision to charge Gibson. In a statement, deputy director Amy Herzfeld-Copple said:

*"We're encouraged that Patriot Prayer leader Joey Gibson is finally being held accountable for his actions. In recent years, he has intentionally and repeatedly sown violence and chaos in Portland's streets. Gibson likes to portray himself as mainstream, but violence and hate have always been at the heart of his paramilitary group. His gatherings have been frequented by bigoted, violent members of the Proud Boys and self-avowed neo-Nazis, skinheads, and white supremacists. The May attack on Cider Riot was anything but an isolated incident. It was calculated, premeditated, and part of a string of violent incidents across the region. It's part of an international trend, from Charlottesville to New Zealand, of far-right extremists working to intimidate and silence their opponents. The criminal*

69°

*may be coming to a close."*

Two other people were arrested Thursday on charges related to the May Day brawl by US Marshals after PPB requested their help.

Matthew Cooper and Russell Schultz both face riot charges. Cooper, 24, was arrested and booked into the Multnomah County Jail. Cooper, 50, was taken into custody for a riot warrant in Washington state.

Authorities said the investigation continues.

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Matthew Cooper, August 15, 2019  
(Multnomah County Sheriff's Office)

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# TAB 30



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What if the easiest thing you did today was  
start a college savings plan?



## Portland Activists Call for a Boycott of The Oregonian's Local Advertisers After Opinion Column Hails Joey Gibson

Backlash grows after a columnist writes favorably about the Vancouver, Wash.-based leader of the right-wing extremist group Patriot Prayer.

By Rachel Monahan | Published October 29, 2018 Updated October 29, 2018

Portland activists pledged to boycott local businesses that advertise in *The Oregonian* after the paper published a Sunday opinion column headlined "The misunderstood Joey Gibson," writing favorably about the Vancouver, Wash.-based leader of the right-wing extremist group Patriot Prayer.

The left-wing activist group Portland's Resistance is demanding columnist Elizabeth Hovde be fired, and the paper "issue a front-page apology to our community for their callousness and carelessness in publishing the 'The misunderstood Joey Gibson' opinion piece."

The backlash from activists is part of a larger outcry from Portlanders against the opinion column, which described Gibson—who has led right-wing protesters into Portland for two years to brawl with antifascists—as a peaceful, spiritual figure. Multnomah County Chairwoman Deborah Kafoury took to social media to denounce *The Oregonian* for running the column. Mayor Ted Wheeler also joined in, more carefully.

Among those endorsing the idea that Hovde should be fired: the mayor's political consultant Jake Weigler, who linked to a change.org petition that lists the local advertisers to boycott.



**Jake Weigler**  
@jakeweigler

Time for Hovde to go. Please sign. [change.org/p/the-oregonia...](https://change.org/p/the-oregonia...)

NEWS RESTAURANTS BARS MUSIC NIGHTS POTLANDER GUIDES WE  
"I thought this was a responsibility prior judgment both in terms of the content and in terms of the timing." Weighle... At a time when we need to be elevating the dialogue, I thought this failed in every way.

*Oregonian* Editorial page Editor Laura Gunderson admitted fault today in choosing the headline to Sunday's column—and also over its timing. (It was printed the morning after an anti-Semitic gunman killed 11 people in a Pittsburgh synagogue.)

"It would have benefited, in hindsight, with more context from Gibson's Portland protests," she wrote in a statement to local media. "We wrote the headline, not Hovde, and it missed the mark. We also regret the timing of the column, which was edited on the Friday before the shootings in Pittsburgh."

But Gunderson also argued that editorial pages need to be places to air unpopular viewpoints.

"Increasingly, I hear from readers who are angry when they read opinions that differ from their own, whether in a letter to the editor, op-ed or a local or nationally syndicated column," she said in the statement. "But our community prides itself on its civic involvement and a key element of that is civic discourse."

Hovde's column offered a sympathetic and selective look at a recent Patriot Prayer rally on the campus of Washington State University Vancouver. "Everyone I talked to...agreed that the rally itself was tame and respectful," Hovde wrote.

She described Gibson as sounding "like a modern-day prophet" in response to one question. At another point, she described him as not living up to the violent hype surrounding him.

"Gibson didn't look like the harasser and violent bully I've been reading about, even if he attracts white nationalists and violent counter-protesters," she wrote. "I'll keep watching, but I think he's far more unique in this region: Gibson has unpopular thoughts about freedom, guns, abortion and spirituality, and he voices them on a public stage."

Gibson has explicitly said that part of his objective in leading protests is to infuriate left-wing protesters in Portland so that they will show up to fight him and supporters. That tactic was disarmed last week when Washington State University Vancouver allowed students to stay home and professors to cancel classes.

#### ***Related: Joey Gibson's Strategy Now Is Just Baiting Antifa to Fight With Cops***

The column was not well received even by some of *The Oregonian's* own reporters, who have written on the violence that Patriot Prayer has brought to the streets of Portland. They included *Oregonian* reporter Shane Dixon Kavanaugh, who has covered Patriot Prayer protests and Tweeted: "Pretty surreal to see the publication you work for (unwittingly??) gaslight its readers in the Sunday paper."

Two former *Oregonian* columnists, one of whom still works for the paper, also weighed in saying they would not have written about Gibson or elevated his cause.

NEWS RESTAURANTS BARS MUSIC DRUGS POTLANDER GUIDE  
If the journalists' choice to openly criticize the column was in fact, so too was the paper's choice to  
Deborah Kafoury's tweet criticizing the paper for being "complicit" in stoking violence and hatred." Kafoury is  
known as a careful politician, and the denunciation was striking.



**Deborah Kafoury**  
@dkafoury

The Oregonian has lost their focus. Giving a voice to people who live only to stoke violence and hatred is unforgivable. To claim otherwise is not being balanced, it's being complicit.

828 7:57 PM - Oct 28, 2018

226 people are talking about this

Kafoury went further when she was challenged that her initial criticism was too mild:



**Elliott Young** @elliottyoungpdx · Oct 28, 2018  
Replying to @dkafoury

Losing their "focus" may be too polite since the editorial page seems focused very intently on endorsing Trumpists and whitewashing white supremacists.



**Deborah Kafoury**  
@dkafoury

You're right. I was being too polite. It's one thing to offer a balanced position that I may not agree with, it's quite another thing to give credibility to hate and violence.

110 8:07 PM - Oct 28, 2018

16 people are talking about this

Mayor Ted Wheeler chimed in today. "There is no place for hate, extremism, and violence in Portland or anywhere," he wrote on Twitter. "Hard to find common ground with groups who embrace all three. There is no misunderstanding."



**Mayor Ted Wheeler**  
@tedwheeler

There is no place for hate, extremism, and violence in Portland or anywhere. Hard to find common ground with groups who embrace all three. There is no misunderstanding.

[twitter.com/Oregonian/stat](https://twitter.com/Oregonian/stat)



NEWS

RESTAURANTS

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GUIDE

The column's timing, coming the day after the synagogue shooting in Pittsburgh, helped create the story. Portland's Resistance referenced that poor timing in its call for a boycott.

"Today, in the aftermath of nationwide violence including pipe bombs mailed to political leaders, African Americans murdered while grocery shopping, and the slaughter of Jews in their place of worship, Oregon's daily newspaper opted to publish an op-ed piece in defense of a white nationalist who has been inciting similar violence in our community, including the stabbing on a MAX train last year which resulted in two deaths," Portland's Resistance posted on their Facebook page just after 11 pm Sunday. "This is unconscionable, unethical, and dangerous behavior."

The advertisers on the list range from corporate giant Fred Meyer, to local nonprofits including the Portland Opera, to smaller shops such as the fabric store The Whole 9 Yards. The public transportation agency Trimet is also on the list.

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TRENDING

COMMENTS

# TAB 31

**PACIFIC NORTHWEST**

## Portland's mayor tells violent protesters not to come, warning, 'We will be ready for you': Morning Briefing for Wednesday, Aug. 7

Posted Aug 7, 2019



Oregonian/OregonLive

Mayor Ted Wheeler and Chief Danielle Outlaw had vowed to do a better job showing support for Portland police officers, after holding listening sessions this spring with many officers who expressed anger at the mayor's swift condemnation of friendly texts between Lt. Jeff Nijya, a crowd control liaison, and Patriot Prayer founder Joey Gibson. (Oregonian/OregonLive)

By Mary Mooney | The Oregonian/OregonLive

***Subscribe to get the Morning Briefing newsletter delivered to your email inbox weekdays at 7 a.m.***

## **Today's stories**

**PORTLAND PROTESTS:** Portland's mayor and police chief warn protest instigators to expect a stern police response. [Read more.](#)

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**FULL TRANSCRIPT:** Portland Mayor Ted Wheeler and Chief Danielle Outlaw's interview with The Oregonian/OregonLive: Read the full transcript. [Read more.](#)

**FIRE LAWSUIT:** A lawsuit accuses a rancher and a farm equipment manufacturer of sparking a 68,000-acre wildfire. [Read more.](#)

**POLICE SHOOTING:** State troopers fatally shot a man near an Oregon State Police office in Grants Pass, authorities say. [Read more.](#)

**OIL TERMINAL:** Portland oil terminal executives gave the mayor's staff false information. [Read more.](#)

**PORTLAND POLICE:** A man fatally shot by Portland police was likely having a mental health crisis, his family says. [Read more.](#)

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# TAB 32

# Portland City Council Passes Resolution Denouncing White Supremacist Groups

by Erica Morrison (https://www.opb.org/contributor/erica-morrison/) (Follow) OPB Feb. 7, 2019 8:17 p.m. | Updated: Feb. 8, 2019 8:17 a.m. | Portland, Ore.

The Portland City Council passed a resolution Thursday that condemns white supremacists and alt-right hate groups.



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The Portland City Council hearing on Thursday, Feb. 8, 2019, that resulted in the passing of a resolution condemning white supremacists and alt-right hate groups.

Erica Morrison/OPB

The hearing started with testimony from a senior policy advisor to Mayor Ted Wheeler.

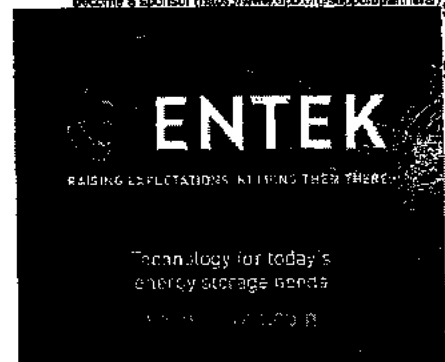
Nicole Grant spoke about how the resolution came to be and her own experiences with prejudice and hate as a black woman in Portland.

"This resolution is not about white people. It's about all people with a dedicated focus on those that are targeted as a result of their skin color," Grant said during opening remarks.

All of the commissioners offices worked together to draft the resolution.

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(https://www.opb.org/news/article/portland-oregon-city-council-jo-ann-hardesty-white-privilege/)

White Male Privilege Disrupting Portland City Council Meetings, Commissioner Says

(https://www.opb.org/news/article/portland-oregon-city-council-jo-ann-hardesty-white-privilege/)

OPB

Grant said the resolution speaks to the need for a cultural shift in Portland so white supremacists will no longer view the city as their playground and hurl threats at its residents and mayor.

Grant's comments were followed by community leaders and organizations that study hate groups.

Joey Gibson, founder of Patriot Prayer, also testified. His Vancouver, Washington-based organization has frequently held rallies in Portland, and at times those rallies have attracted white supremacists to the city. Gibson denounced the claim that Patriot Prayer is a hate group.

"I'm here to denounce all forms of white supremacy and hate," Gibson said before he read a Bible passage from Corinthians and told the commissioners that the solution to hate is love.

"I've seen hatred get out of control. And I know that I've made a lot of mistakes in the city of Portland. I stand behind my decisions," he said before thanking the council for bringing the topic to the forefront for conversation.



()

A 2017 file photo of Patriot Prayer leader Joey Gibson addressing a crowd at a rally and holding a moment of silence for the victims of the Portland MAX train stabbings.

Bryan M. Vance/OPB

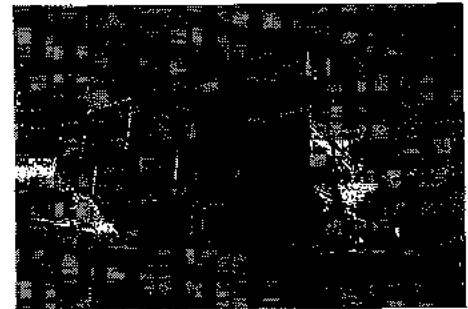
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Commissioners and testifiers alike stressed the need for the resolution to go beyond words.

"You have my commitment today, that this resolution is the beginning and not the end of a process. It's the beginning that we have an acknowledgement that we have a lot of work to do in this community and that we as a City Council are willing to stand with our community," Commissioner Jo Ann Hardesty said. "And make sure that this community is really a place where people are safe regardless of who they are, and what their skin tone is and where they were born."

Commissioner Chole Eudaly addressed the elephant in the room, a controversial item commissioners passed the day before — against Hardesty's objection — to approve a settlement with a police officer who made a racist remark about killing black people (<https://www.opb.org/news/article/portland-jo-ann-hardesty-opposes-police-officer-settlement/>).

"I want to take a moment to talk about white silence," Eudaly said. "I want to give a lot of white people the benefit of the doubt. They don't want to misspeak, they don't want to speak on behalf of community members they do not represent ... But silence isn't neutral. Silence makes us complicit," Eudaly said before acknowledging the controversial settlement agreement.

The racist remarks made by the police officer were brought forth by four fellow white officers. Eudaly celebrated them for not staying silent about what she called "unforgivable racist remarks."

Following the passage of the resolution, CAIR Oregon, Western States Center and Oregon Justice Resource held a press conference at the Oregon Jewish Museum and Center for Holocaust Education, affirming their commitment to work with the city to implement change.

Bobbin Singh, director of the Oregon Justice Resource Center, presented a list of actions for the city to take. The most significant action was trainings on white supremacy for city employees, elected officials, law enforcement and mayors from across the Pacific Northwest.

Other recommendations include listening sessions with business owners to gain understanding about the economic impact hate groups have had and disseminating a toolkit created by Western States Center, called "Confronting White Nationalism," in local schools, as well as bringing together community organizations to talk about ways to dismantle white nationalism.

Amy Herzfeld-Copple, the deputy director of programs and strategic initiatives at Western States Center, said that after the fatal Unite The Right white supremacist rally in Charlottesville, Virginia, several states and municipalities considered resolutions similar to Portland's denouncing hate and white supremacy groups. A few weeks ago Berkley, California passed theirs.

"But this is certainly one of the first and most proactive and progressive resolutions of this kind in the country," Herzfeld-Copple said.

## More News



(<https://www.opb.org/news/article/portland-oregon-forecast-rain-september-7-2019/>)

Cooler, Dampier Weather In Northwest Oregon May Mark End Of Summer

(<https://www.opb.org/news/article/portland-oregon-forecast-rain-september-7-2019/>)

# TAB 33

**PORTLAND**

## 4 new defendants named in \$1 million lawsuit filed against Joey Gibson after May Day clash

Updated May 07, 2:54 PM;

Posted May 07, 8:19 AM

Updated May 07, 2019;

Posted May 07, 2019



AP -WR

Joey Gibson speaks in a march by Patriot Prayer in Portland, Ore., on Saturday, June 30, 2018. Police dispersed clashing protesters as problems occurred when two opposing protest groups — Patriot Prayer and antifa — took to the streets. (Mark Graves/The Oregonian via AP) AP -WR

By [OregonLive.com](http://OregonLive.com)

Four additional defendants have been named in a \$1 million lawsuit filed against Joey Gibson, the founder of a group involved in a clash outside a Northeast Portland cidery last week.

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Cider Riot owner Abram Goldman-Armstrong's lawsuit claims Gibson and several other right-wing protesters showed up at his business Wednesday and fought with customers, causing mayhem and physical injury to at least one person. An amended complaint also wages a new allegation: intentional interference with economic relations.

The suit now names Christopher Ponte, a Portland cop watcher; David Willis, founder of the Oregon-based Patriots United group; Mackenzie Lewis; and Matthew Cooper. Patriot Prayer, Gibson, Ian Kramer and 25 others allegedly involved in the May Day incident are also mentioned.

Kramer, Ponte, Cooper and Willis are described in the suit as having attended Patriot Prayer activities since the group's inception. Gibson and Lewis allegedly "battered" someone in an effort to "demask" them.



The economic relations count alleges the defendants tried to interfere with Cider Riot business by harassing investors and people at the Northeast Portland cidery and tasting room — as well as through calls to file frivolous Oregon Liquor Control Commission complaints.

The remaining claims regard negligence, trespass and intentional infliction of emotional distress.

### Q&A with business owner suing Patriot Prayer, Jo...



Cider Riot on Wednesday hosted a May Day celebration, at which people who had participated in demonstrations earlier in the day gathered to listen to live music.

About 20 right-wing protesters, including Gibson, arrived at the business, and a clash between them and patrons of Cider Riot ensued. Video of the incident shows people deploying pepper spray, and several people fighting. According to the lawsuit, Kramer, a frequent Patriot Prayer rally participant, hit a female Cider Riot patron on the head with a baton and knocked her unconscious.

In response to the suit, Gibson said he was the one who was assaulted while standing on a public sidewalk.

"I walk into dangerous situations, I never fight back," he told the Oregonian/OregonLive last week. He said his intention in going to Cider Riot that day was to take video and show the event that Cider Riot was hosting. He said the event was co-hosted by Rose City antifa.

He said when he got there, people were drinking on the patio and wearing masks, and several had cans of bear spray.



He said neither he nor the people he came with had spray or any sort of weapons, although video footage shows people from both groups deploying bear spray, and members of the group that came with Gibson throwing projectiles at the bar patrons.

***Warning: Video contains graphic language.***



**Mikeford Biziths**

@itsmikebivins

Replying to @itsmikebivins

breaking: far-right protesters and Proud Boys have arrived at Cider Riot. Cider Riot has done benefits for antifa and has also been vandalized in the past. RIIIOOT. huge fight!



— The Oregonian/OregonLive

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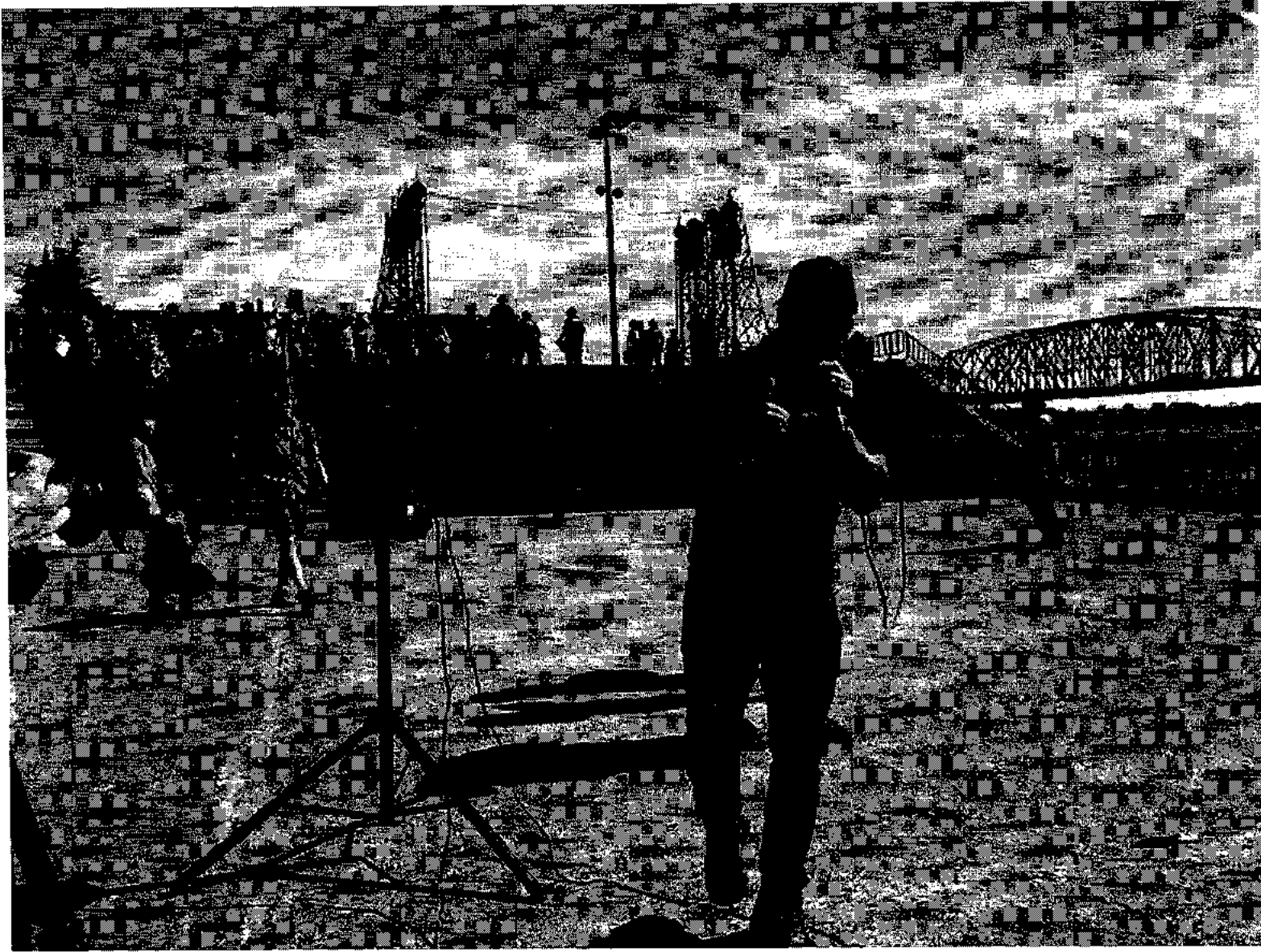
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# TAB 34

Opinion

# Editorial: Fostering discussion from our differences

Updated Jan 29, 2019; Posted Oct 31, 2018



Joey Gibson at a small Vancouver rally in September, 2017.

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Do we think Joey Gibson is misunderstood? No, we don't.

The Oregonian/OregonLive Editorial Board believes he is a provocateur who attracts white nationalists and, as a result, Antifa to his regular Portland rallies, which have increasingly become dangerous events that threaten our citizens' safety and livelihoods.

The controversial piece that ran online and in The Sunday Oregonian entitled "The misunderstood Joey Gibson" was an opinion column by freelance journalist Elizabeth Hovde. And while the Editorial Board's perspective on the leader of the right-wing Patriot Prayer doesn't align with Hovde's take, we consistently publish columns, letters and op-eds that we don't endorse or agree with.

Advertisement

Over the past month, for instance, we've published dozens of letters and op-eds favoring state ballot measures and candidates that we do not support. We welcome submissions from readers criticizing the stances we put forward in our editorials. We regularly print guest columns from progressive nonprofits, business associations, revenue reformers, tax activists and many others.

We believe fostering discussion from multiple viewpoints is the point of having opinion pages. Hovde provides our pages balance as she is our only local conservative columnist. She's a Vancouver resident who teaches at the Washington State University-Vancouver. She's not an extremist or a white supremacist. She was just someone who was curious to see Gibson in a setting outside of the Portland protests that she'd read so much about. Her observations that day led to her opinion that Gibson's message might resonate with some despite his troubling affiliations.

editing process we should have made it clearer that her one experience at a Gibson rally failed to capture the fear, violence and hate others have experienced at his numerous rallies in Portland.

Advertisement

The piece also could have had a better, less antagonistic headline.

That's on us. As we put the paper to bed Friday night, the phrasing seemed to capture Hovde's lengthy column in four simple words. But it was overly simplistic, leaving readers incensed before they'd ever read the column. If they ever did.

The worst part was the one thing we had no control over. Between the editing of the column Friday and its publication on Sunday came the deadliest attack on the Jewish community in U.S. history. A man who frequently posted anti-Semitic views on social media killed 11 Jewish congregants in Pittsburgh.

Some readers believed we'd purposefully run the piece following those events, hoping to send an even more insidious message. We did not.

The timing was unintentional and we regret it.

So why did we run it at all?

We believe in free speech, a free press and the importance of open debate to our civic health. We allow significant leeway for writers to present their opinions and argue their case. These pages are a place to air opinions, even unpopular ones.

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Sometimes readers will nod heartily in agreement. Other times, they'll feel anger and discomfort. That's the point. We believe there is value in airing those views so readers can debate, disagree and perhaps even discover their own blind spots.

These are real opinions from your fellow community members.

These opinions don't diminish or discount The Oregonian/OregonLive's newsroom, which operates independent of the editorial board and our Opinion section. And these opinions, whether in a letter, op-ed or column, won't by definition cover the same ground as a news article nor aim for the same goal.

For example, The Oregonian/OregonLive has published more than 20 stories since July 1 about Gibson and his followers going into great detail about his actions, his rhetoric and the company he keeps. One opinion column does not "normalize" him, as some have argued, or negate such deep news reporting.

One reader wrote that our responsibility is "to make sure your opinion pages reflect the reality its reporters and editors work so hard to expose." We disagree. The opinion pages aren't meant to be a mirror of the news operation.

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We recognize that reality for some of our readers on Sunday was anger and frustration with Hovde's column. We received many social media comments, emails and phone calls in response. Thank you to all who have taken the time to write us. We'll continue to post your letters and have dedicated our usual op-ed page to readers response to the column.

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We don't always get it right. No human endeavor does. But we hope you'll continue to join us in attempting a conversation.



# TAB 35



## News

[News \(/News/Topic/News/\)](#) | [Business \(/News/Topic/Business/\)](#) | [Local \(/News/Topic/Local/\)](#)

# Cider Riot Attorney Compares Patriot Prayer Lawsuit To Efforts Against KKK

by **Meerah Powell** (</contributor/meerah-powell/>) ([Follow](#)) OPB May 7, 2019 12:12 p.m. | Updated: May 7, 2019 2:01 p.m.

Oregon Justice Resource Center attorney Juan Chavez said legal action against Patriot Prayer, a Vancouver-based far-right group that attracts white supremacists and has engaged in violence, is akin to past lawsuits against the Ku Klux Klan.

Chavez is representing Cider Riot owner and cider maker Abram Goldman-Armstrong pro bono. He also represented Aaron Cantu, a protester who said he was injured by a Portland police flash-bang last year (<https://www.opb.org/news/article/portland-independent-police-review-aaron-cantu/>).

The Cider Riot lawsuit is requesting \$1 million in damages from Patriot Prayer members due to fights that broke out during a May Day event last week at the bar.

“When the Klan first appeared and began their terror campaign, Congress passed laws to allow people to fight back against that terror in court, effectively paralyzing the Klan for decades,” Chavez said during a press conference at Cider Riot on Tuesday.

Patriot Prayer leader Joey Gibson and his group have traveled to Portland for years to engage in street fights with anti-fascist protesters, which Chavez said needs to end.

“We are here again today to avail ourselves to the court and to the law to stop this terror,” he said.

The May Day event at Cider Riot was hosted by Rose City Antifa, a far-left, anti-fascist group that has also engaged in violence.

The Cider Riot lawsuit alleges that a group of about 20 Patriot Prayer members harassed Cider Riot patrons on May 1 and that the group's leader, Joey Gibson, facilitated a street fight. It lists Patriot Prayer LLC, Gibson, long-time Patriot Prayer member Ian Kramer and others as defendants.

"For too long, Joey Gibson and Patriot Prayer have used violence and intimidation to drive a wedge between our community members," Chavez said.

During the May Day violence, people used pepper spray and threw bricks, Goldman-Armstrong said.

One of Cider Riot's patrons was knocked unconscious. The lawsuit alleges specifically that Kramer hit the woman on the head with a baton, giving her a "serious vertebrae fracture."

"Thankfully, more people were not injured by these guys. They're a gang. They're a hate group that came down to attack a peaceful gathering," Goldman-Armstrong said. "I had to turn my production area into an emergency medical station."

He also said he felt "hung out to dry" by Portland police, who he said did not respond to the scene until about an hour after the group of Patriot Prayer members had left.

"We phoned them. Numerous neighbors phoned them ... and there was no appropriate response," Goldman-Armstrong said.

Videos of the confrontation show Cider Riot patrons also fought with Patriot Prayer members. Chavez said it was self-defense.

"What we saw were people who were fighting back against people who were pepper-spraying them, who were intimidating them, who wanted to start a fight with them," he said. "They drove them back; they didn't follow them down the streets. It was about self-defense."

Gibson has denied that he and his supporters attacked first, and has alleged online that antifa members attacked them.

Goldman-Armstrong said Patriot Prayer has been targeting Cider Riot for two years.

"I don't see how being an inclusive space for people to drink cider is a threat to them," he said. "We believe in standing up for what's right and what you believe in and we're not going to be kowtowed by these fascist bullies coming down, crossing state lines, to attack our establishment and our patrons."

The lawsuit claims that Patriot Prayer has repeatedly harmed Cider Riot's business.

In late January, Cider Riot, and other Portland organizations such as the IWW Union Hall and the Democratic Party of Oregon, were vandalized with graffiti. The lawsuit alleges Patriot Prayer was involved.

Goldman-Armstrong also said the group "doxed" him by posting his home address online.

"They've been targeting me personally and my business now for some time," he said, "but this isn't just a threat to me; this is a threat to everyone in our community."

Cider Riot had to recently shut down its social media and unplug its phone due to an influx of threats and hate speech from Patriot Prayer supporters, Goldman-Armstrong said.



**Earl Blumenauer**

@repblumenauer

I stand with people who stand against hate! Cider Riot walks the talk! [twitter.com/OJRCenter/stat...](https://twitter.com/OJRCenter/stat...)

**OJRC @OJRCenter**

Thank you @repblumenauer for stopping by Cider Riot and supporting our client in standing-up against hate! We are proud to represent and stand with Cider Riot in its lawsuit against the alt-right...and, we appreciate the amazing cider, also!! #LetsFightTheFearTogether



617 9:15 PM - May 6, 2019

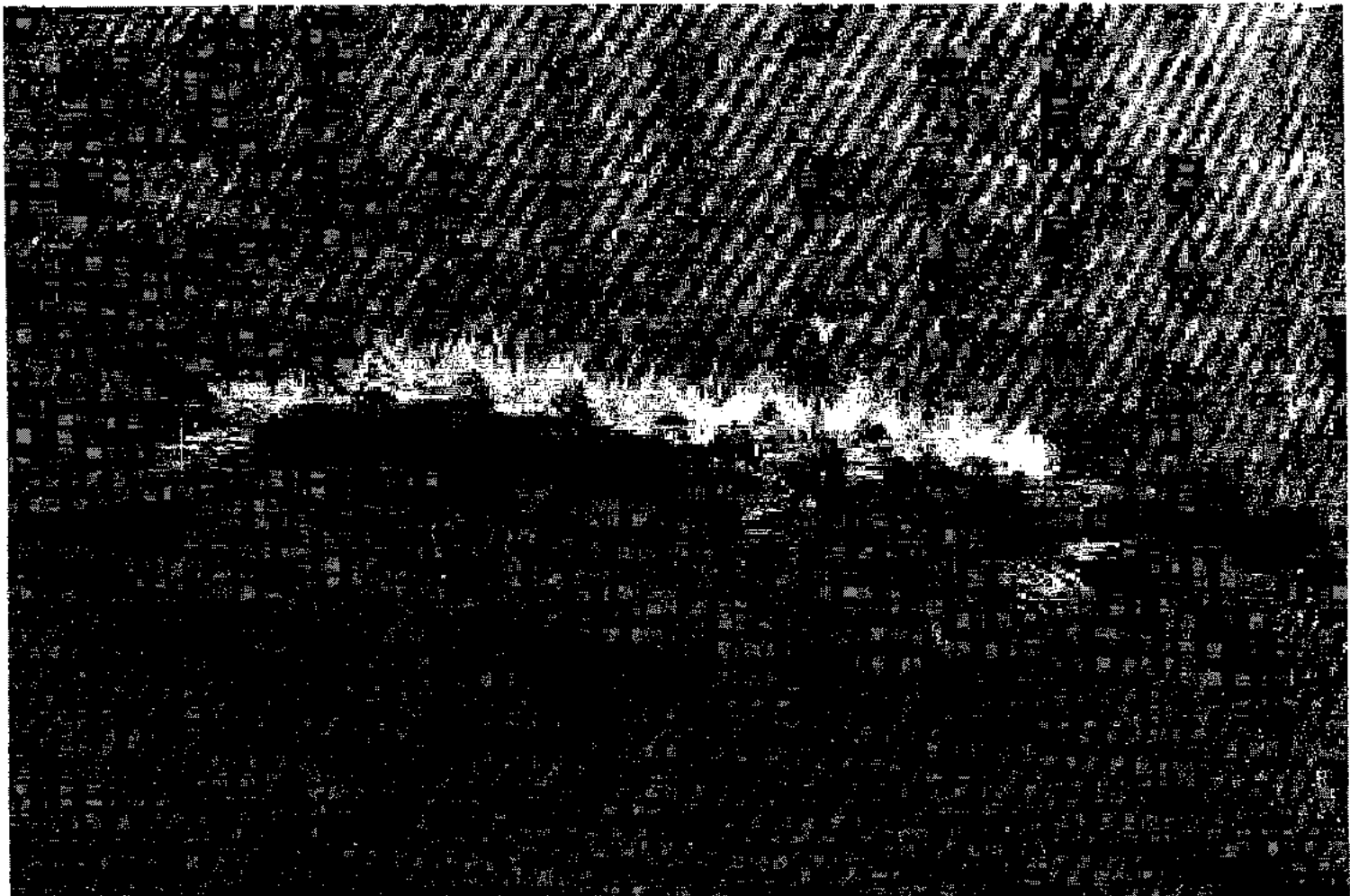
147 people are talking about this

Cider Riot has received support from community members after the May Day brawl. U.S. Rep. Earl Blumenauer, D-Oregon, stopped by the bar Monday to show his support for the business (<https://twitter.com/repblumenauer/status/1125615184934924288>).

Although he said he's worried about the safety of himself and his staff because of the May Day incident and corresponding lawsuit, Goldman-Armstrong said he's proud to stand up "against this sort of hate."

"It's come to this point and enough is enough. Gibson and his gang have been intimidating us for so long," Goldman-Armstrong said. "I'm not going to take it anymore and hopefully if we make a stand, we can remain being open and remain being a safe and inclusive space for everybody in the community — and hopefully get them to stop harassing other folks in Portland as well."

## More News



(</news/article/moth-caterpillar-outbreak-central-washington/>)

Researchers Work To Control Moth Outbreak In Washington (</news/article/moth-caterpillar-outbreak-central-washington/>)

# TAB 36

**CRIME**

## Owner of Cider Riot sues Patriot Prayer, Joey Gibson for \$1 million after May Day clash outside Portland bar

Updated May 03, 2019;

Posted May 03, 2019



LC- Mark Graves

Joey Gibson.

1.1k

By Jayati Ramakrishnan | The Oregonian/OregonLive

The owner of Portland bar Cider Riot is suing Patriot Prayer founder Joey Gibson for \$1 million, claiming Gibson and several other right-wing protesters showed up at the business on Wednesday and fought with customers, causing mayhem and physical injury to at least one person.

Abram Goldman-Armstrong, who owns Cider Riot, is suing the Patriot Prayer organization as well as Gibson, Ian Kramer and 25 others who he says were involved in the incident. The claims include negligence, trespass and intentional infliction of emotional distress.

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On Wednesday, Cider Riot hosted a May Day celebration, at which people who had participated in demonstrations earlier in the day gathered to listen to live music. About 20 right-wing protesters, including Gibson, arrived at the business, and a clash between them and patrons of Cider Riot ensued. Video of the incident shows people deploying pepper spray, and several people fighting. According to the lawsuit, Kramer, a frequent Patriot Prayer rally participant, hit a female patron of Cider Riot on the head with a baton and knocked her unconscious.

On Friday, Goldman-Armstrong said he couldn't comment further on the lawsuit. The organization representing him, the Oregon Justice Resource Center, issued a statement saying that Goldman-Armstrong had the right to operate his business in peace, and that Portland residents had been "terrorized" by Gibson and his associates for too long.



"Our community is suffering and we must respond to the seriousness of the threat posed by the actions and words of white nationalists, white supremacists and the alt-right," the group said. "We need to send a message that their brand of hate is not welcome in Portland."

In response to the suit, Gibson said he was the one who was assaulted while standing on a public sidewalk.

"I walk into dangerous situations, I never fight back," he told the Oregonian/OregonLive. He said his intention in going to Cider Riot that day was to take video and show the event that Cider Riot was hosting. He said the event was co-hosted by Rose City antifa.

"To me it's very odd that a place serving alcohol has 80 people masked up," he said.

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He said when he got there, people were drinking on the patio and wearing masks, and several had cans of bear spray. He says neither he nor the people he came with had spray or any sort of weapons, although video footage shows people from both groups deploying bear spray, and members of the group that came with Gibson throwing projectiles at the bar patrons.

***Warning: Video contains graphic language.***

breaking: far-right protesters and Proud Boys have arrived at Cider Riot. Cider Riot has done benefits for antifa and has also been vandalized in the past. RIOOOT. huge fight! [pic.twitter.com/PKeRdYCF6d](https://pic.twitter.com/PKeRdYCF6d)

— Mike Bivins (@itsmikebivins) May 2, 2019

Goldman-Armstrong said this is not the first time Gibson and Patriot Prayer have targeted his business. He said they have sprayed graffiti on his building and stolen a flag that hung in front of the business.

—Jayati Ramakrishnan; 503-221-4320; jramakrishnan@oregonian.com;  
@JRamakrishnanOR

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# TAB 37

## Nearly 100 groups join Portland mayor in warning Aug. 17 protesters

Updated Aug 14, 2019;

Posted Aug 13, 2019



Dave Killen

Multiple groups faced off in downtown Portland on Saturday, June 29, 2019. (Dave Killen/The Oregonian)

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By Jayati Ramakrishnan | The Oregonian/OregonLive

The mayor of Portland and nearly 100 city groups and individuals will meet Wednesday to warn protesters who plan to get violent at Saturday's planned event: Don't.



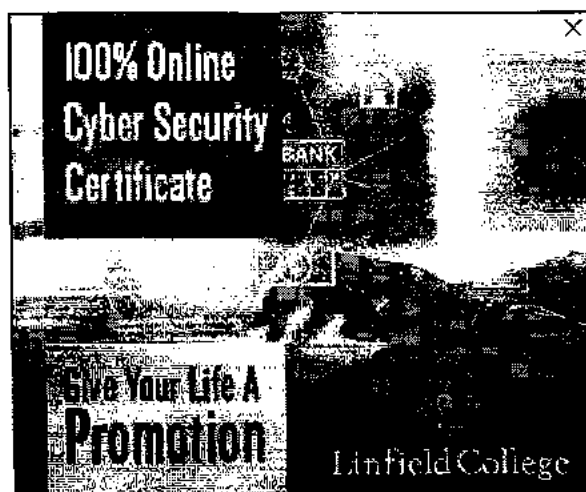
## Portland mayor gathers civic leaders in continued push against protest violence

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Mayor Ted Wheeler's office released a statement Tuesday afternoon announcing that he has gathered a group of almost 100 city agencies, labor unions, universities, other organizations, and individuals, all of whom will join him to publicly denounce violence at the upcoming protests. The groups will gather at Pioneer Courthouse Square on Wednesday from 10-11 a.m.



"To anyone planning to commit violence during demonstrations in Portland scheduled for Saturday, August 17, 2019, **you are not welcome here,**" the news release said. "If you choose to commit violence, you will face legal consequences."

The news release said Wheeler, city commissioners Amanda Fritz and Jo Ann Hardesty, Portland Police Chief Danielle Outlaw and some others from the group would speak at the event.

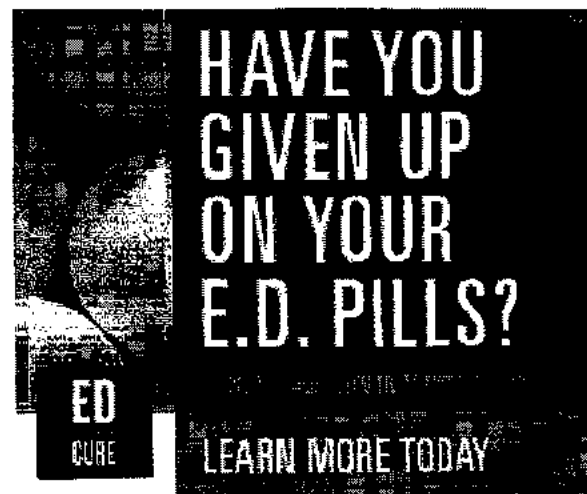
Tim Becker, a spokesman for Wheeler's office, said the city started reaching out to various organizations last week, but the groundwork for the coalition had been laid long before that. He said that while the mayor's staff contacted several groups, others reached out to the city and asked to be involved.

"So many people feel the same way — we don't want this," Becker said.

He said although there have been other protests in the past, the information officials have received about the potential size and violence of this one led them to form a coalition.

"This is unprecedented — at least for this administration," he said.

The city is anticipating a right-wing rally and a left-wing counter-protest Saturday and has been preparing for the possibility that the events could get violent. Several events have been moved or canceled for that day, and police are encouraging people to stay away from the area that day.



**Will Proud Boys, antifa showdown mark a tipping point for Portland?**

Right-wing activists from around the country have been planning a rally at Tom McCall Waterfront Park to condemn anti-fascists, or antifa. They have also been pushing to have antifa designated as domestic terrorists.

A list of the groups that have joined the mayor's coalition is below. Becker said more groups may join.

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City of Portland Auditor's Office

University of Portland

—Jayati Ramakrishnan; 503-221-4320; [jramakrishnan@oregonian.com](mailto:jramakrishnan@oregonian.com);  
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# TAB 38

## **PORTLAND**

# **Portland's anti-Trump protest turns violent, as rioters rampage in Pearl**

Updated Jan 09, 2019;  
Posted Nov 10, 2016

0

**By Jim Ryan | The Oregonian/OregonLive**

A third consecutive day of anti-Trump demonstrations turned violent Thursday night, as protesters began with a rush-hour march and chanting but eventually damaged cars at a dealership and rampaged through the Pearl District shattering business windows into Friday morning.

---

Police declared the demonstration a "riot" more than three hours after its 5 p.m. start, citing "extensive criminal and dangerous behavior." The bureau said it warned the crowd about the designation, then tweeted that rioting is a class C felony. It later tweeted that 26 were arrested in the demonstration, which lasted into early Friday morning.

### Portland anti-Trump protest Nov. 10, 2016



Officers in riot gear on numerous occasions used flash-bang grenades and fired rubber pepper ball spheres at the crowd after it refused repeated demands to disperse. Police report officers were "taking projectiles;" protesters were seen throwing objects toward officers, and some fired fireworks in their direction.

The officers didn't move in until after a small fraction of the thousands of protesters became destructive.

Police tweeted that many demonstrators were "trying to get anarchist groups to stop destroying property" and that "anarchists" were refusing to do so. Demonstrators at many points chanted "peaceful protest."

---

Sgt. Pete Simpson, a Portland police spokesman, told the Washington Post that anarchists "aligned with the Black Bloc groups" infiltrated the peaceful protest while "covered head-to-toe and carrying weapons." He didn't elaborate about what kind of weapons they were allegedly toting, though he said some demonstrators smashed electrical boxes with baseball bats.

Gregory McKelvey, spokesman for the new Portland's Resistance organization, tweeted that the group's protest wasn't responsible for the violence.

A large crowd of protesters -- at least on par with the 2,000 that gathered the night before and estimated as high as 4,000 -- started at Pioneer Courthouse Square in the early evening before taking off on a route that included a stop at the Portland waterfront and trip over the Hawthorne Bridge into Southeast Portland.

It eventually moved into Northeast Portland, where at least 19 cars at Toyota of Portland were vandalized, according to a sales manager.

Protesters then made their way west across the Broadway Bridge and into the Pearl District, where business windows along Northwest Lovejoy Street and elsewhere were smashed.



**Mikeford Biziths**  
@itsmikebivins

Car windows getting smashed left and right. #Trumpriot



About 9:45 p.m., police in riot gear confronted the crowd and shut down the North Park Blocks area. They warned that some protesters were preparing "gas and flares" and that participants should leave for their own safety.

Police said protesters should return to Pioneer Courthouse Square to continue peaceful protest, and those remaining would be arrested.

It was unclear if any arrests had been made by 10 p.m. Most protesters moved in the direction of Pioneer Courthouse Square; a few remained in the park blocks area.

Marchers headed back south into downtown along Broadway. The crowd wound its way through streets, and riot police eventually stopped the protesters after 11:30 p.m. at Southwest 6th and Yamhill Street.

### **Portland, Oregon Police Try to Disperse Protesters**



As Thursday became Friday, the standoff continued, with Oregon State Police officers also being deployed at Southwest Yamhill Street and 4th Avenue. Flash bang and less-than-lethal rounds were being deployed as officers advanced to clear the crowd.

By 1 a.m. Friday, the crowd had thinned considerably. Police continued a standoff with a relatively small spattering of protesters, and others farther back. Officers continued to advancing down the street until protesters gradually thinned out.

The crowd by 1:30 a.m. had thinned to the point where no one primary protest group appeared to exist. By 2 a.m. the city appeared to have quieted.



Protesters stayed off freeways in a departure from the previous two anti-Trump demonstrations. Early in the evening, authorities briefly closed freeways as a precaution, TriMet trains and buses were affected, and traffic was disrupted where protesters passed.

Tensions flared at times between protesters and motorists, with police tweeting they received reports of "vandalism and aggressive behavior" in the protest crowd. Altercations included a motorist's windshield being cracked while she tried to navigate through protesters, saying she needed to tend to an emergency.

Some observers reported that a woman apparently was injured after some demonstrators said she was throwing liquid Tide at protesters. A bottle of Tide lay on the ground nearby as demonstrators called for protest medics to tend to the woman, who stayed on the ground for a few minutes.

Trump tweeted mid-Thursday night about the protests that have erupted across the country, calling them "unfair" and prompted by the media.



**Donald J. Trump**  
@realDonaldTrump

Just had a very open and successful presidential election. Now professional protesters, incited by the media, are protesting. Very unfair!

205K 7:19 PM - Nov 10, 2016

120K people are talking about this

A new activist group galvanized by Trump's election was among those demonstrating Thursday in Portland. Dubbed Portland's Resistance and composed of students and youth from protests that took over freeways Wednesday morning and night, spokesman McKelvey said the organization will use anti-Trump efforts to prop up local movements.

He said before the protest that the organization doesn't support destruction and vandalism.

Protest chants included the rallying call of "Not my president," in reference to the newly elected Trump. Some protesters carried signs, among them: "Oppression thrives off isolation. Stand united." "We reject the fascist agenda." "You're fired!"

## Witness describes peaceful march turning into riot



Halim Byron, speaking from Pioneer Courthouse Square in the early evening, said he decided to join in the latest protest partly because he believes Trump flouts convention -- then flaunts it.

"He does what he wants to, and he's made that a cornerstone of his campaign," said Byron, a 60-year-old Portland resident.

Kaden Burdick, a 20-year-old Portland resident, said in the early evening he sees the election of Trump as a rise of white supremacy and wants to fight against racism, xenophobia and homophobia that Trump's comments appear to have unleashed.

As the larger rally gathered at the Waterfront, a smaller, faith-based group remained back in the small, tiered space in Pioneer Courthouse Square's northwest corner. Leaders from Muslim, Jewish, Christian, Sikh, Buddhist and First Nations faiths spoke to the crowd that lingered long after the larger Trump protest embarked onto downtown Portland's streets.

The leaders put together the event to coincide with the march, said Rev. Michael Ellick, senior minister of First Congregational United Church of Christ.

Ellick, who served as emcee for a parade of speakers, said before the event in a news release: "For just about anybody who isn't white, for anybody who isn't in the top 1 percent and -- you know -- for all women everywhere -- there is a lot of fear right now. So it's more important than ever for the spiritual and moral adults on this planet to show up, speak clearly and get organized."

The audience lingered at least an hour after the larger group departed, mostly listening to speakers and occasionally breaking into song, such as the spiritual, "We Shall Overcome."

---

They were dwarfed by a 75-foot Douglas fir that had been set up just hours earlier in preparation for the city's annual holiday tree-lighting ceremony on the day after Thanksgiving.

TriMet earlier had warned again that MAX lines and most buses would likely experience significant delays because of the protests -- in Pioneer Courthouse Square, as well as elsewhere around the city, including Mt. Tabor Park and Holladay Park.

TriMet tweeted an appeal for protesters to not block public transit. The agency said it respects the right to peacefully demonstrate, but "if you're out there making your voice heard, please don't disrupt transit service. ... Similarly, we ask that you don't vandalize our equipment."

While the smashing was going on across the river, a group of about 50 people sat on steps or stood waiting to take a microphone along the downtown waterfront as a scattering of votive candles flickered on the ground. They talked about losing a loved one to HIV, supporting Hillary Clinton and even laughed at ways to best challenge Trump.

Two people sat side by side with a sign that said "We shall overcome." A woman with children listened intently.

-- Jim Ryan and Allan Brettman

# TAB 39

## Joey Gibson's Strategy Now Is Just Baiting Antifa to Fight With Cops

Gibson says as long as antifascists keep trying to stop him, he will keep planning rallies.

By Katie Shepherd | By Anna Williams | Published September 15, 2017 Updated September 15, 2017

Portland's leftist protesters are warring with Mayor Ted Wheeler and the Portland Police Bureau in the wake of clashes between antifascist protesters and cops during a Sept. 10 waterfront demonstration.

The organizer of the far-right protest that day says setting off violence between antifa and police was the whole idea.

Joey Gibson, the leader of Vancouver, Wash. extremist group Patriot Prayer, says whether antifa protesters brawl with his supporters or just clash with police, it's a "win-win" for the far right.

**What if the easiest thing you did today was start a college savings plan?**



**Related: Police in Vancouver detained man for nearly running down antifa protesters with his truck.**

He admits to what has become an increasingly obvious strategy for right-wing street agitators across the West Coast: They show up to goad leftists into a fury, then let them fight police while TV cameras roll.

"We have to expose antifa and expose the hatred," Gibson says. "We want that on camera. We want people to see that."

The strategy isn't exactly novel: It follows a right-wing pattern in Portland since at least April, when a rumor of white supremacists marching in a parade inspired an anonymous letter threatening violence.

But it appears to mark a shift for Gibson and his Vancouver group, who talked last month of taking a unifying approach—at least until Gibson's ill-fated trip to Berkeley, Calif., where attacks by antifascist protesters earned antifa a rebuke by House Minority Leader Nancy Pelosi (D-Calif.).



That shift in the political landscape, coupled with antifa's sudden national notoriety as a left-wing boogeyman, gave Gibson an opportunity to shine.

LET RICH

"I think Berkeley woke people up," he says.

However, a few hours before counter-protesters chased Gibson out of the Berkeley protest, Gibson told the Portland State *Vanguard* that Patriot Prayer's goal was to "unite moderates."

"We can't just go from city to city just rallying," Gibson told reporters in Berkeley. "Even the word 'rally' I don't like because it just sounds like getting a bunch of people who think the same way to be like, 'Let's go get 'em,' and so I want to get away from that."

Four days later, Gibson abandoned this rhetoric and told his followers in a Facebook live stream that "exposing antifa" was his goal in California all along.

It certainly appeared to be the strategy in Portland last weekend, where only a handful of Patriot Prayer supporters set foot in downtown, leaving police and antifa to fight each other. Video of violent arrests has dominated the Portland news cycle since Sunday—with some attention going to the driver in Vancouver who sped his car toward a crowd of antifa protesters. (Police let him go.)

While his supporters continue to frequently engage in street fights with counterprotesters, it's hard to view his movement as peaceful.

"I understand the criticism," Gibson says.

Despite his recent emphasis on nonviolence in speeches and his move to keep his supporters from fighting in downtown Portland on Sunday, Gibson says he still stands by his supporters who get in fights out of "self-defense."

"I do believe in your God-given right to self defense," Gibson says. "That's why I carry concealed carry. That's why I love the Second Amendment. I love self defense."

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# TAB 40



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Texts Between Portland Police and

Patriot Prayer Ringleader Joey Gibson

## Texts Between Portland Police and Patriot Prayer Ringleader Joey Gibson Show Warm Exchange

The texts show that Lt. Jeff Niiya had a friendly rapport with far-right organizer Joey Gibson.

By **Katie Shepherd** | Published February 14 Updated February 14

Hundreds of texts between Portland police and right-wing organizer Joey Gibson reveal the extent to which law enforcement officers talked to and even coordinated with right-wing activists in order to police protests in 2017 and 2018.

The texts, obtained by *WW* through a public records request, show that Portland Police Lt. Jeff Niiya had a friendly rapport with Gibson, frequently discussing Gibson's plans to demonstrate in Portland and even joking at times.

Gibson's events, occurring regularly in the Pacific Northwest since President Donald Trump's election, have alarmed and enraged Portlanders—even prompting the mayor to propose new rules restricting protests. That's because the rallies have attracted white supremacists and other extremists, and are often thinly veiled pretexts for Gibson's group, the Vancouver-Wash-based Patriot Prayer, to wage violent street fights with masked antifascists.

Niiya is the commanding officer for the Portland Police Bureau rapid response team that patrols protests. That makes him one of the primary officers collecting intelligence about protest groups in Portland.

Niiya and the Portland Police Bureau have good reason to collect intelligence from right-wing organizers. Yet some of Niiya's texts raise questions about whether Portland Police help Patriot Prayer supporters to evade arrest during events.

Several texts involve Gibson's longtime adjunct, Tusitala "Tiny" Toese, who often brawls with antifascist protesters, has allegedly assaulted people who were not protesting, and has been arrested multiple times in Portland.

On Dec. 8, 2017, Niiya asks Gibson if Toese had "his court stuff taken care of," referring to an active warrant for Toese's arrest. Niiya goes on to say officers ignored the warrant at a past protest and tells Gibson that he doesn't see a need to arrest Toese even if he has a warrant, unless Toese commits a new crime.



≡ "Just make sure he doesn't do anything which may draw our attention," Niiya texted on Dec. 9. "If he still has the warrant on the arrest, you can't do anything so I don't see a need to arrest on the warrant unless there is a reason."

A spokeswoman for the Police Bureau says it is not unusual for officers to suggest people turn themselves in to avoid being arrested on a warrant.

"It is not uncommon for officers to provide guidance for someone to turn themselves in on a warrant if the subject is not present," says Lt. Tina Jones. "In crowd management situations, it may not be safe or prudent to arrest a person right at that time, so the arrest may be delayed or followed up on later. There is no way of knowing how often this happens, as it is not something we track."

WW asked Gibson for comment on his relationship with Niiya and the texts. His response was brief: "Sweet," he texted.

The texts also show that Niiya at times told Gibson where leftist protests were taking place, including unrelated protests as well as antifascist marches with people in black bloc intent on protesting Patriot Prayer. At least once, Niiya told Gibson that Portland police were not monitoring a protest hosted by the Queer Liberation Front in an attempt to dissuade Gibson's right-wing group from showing up.

Portland police officers attempt to reach out to all groups the bureau knows plan to demonstrate in Portland.

It's unclear whether Niiya and PPB were also communicating with antifascist organizers, though Portland Police officials have said the bureau struggles to get information from some leftist protest groups. A story by WW in 2017 showed Niiya had texted extensively with at least one antifa protester.

Portland Police have taken criticism from left-leaning activists for appearing to favor right-wing protesters in the past. Drafts of an Independent Police Review analysis of police actions at a June 4, 2017 protest noted that at least one officer viewed the right-wing protesters affiliated with Gibson's Vancouver, Wash. group, Patriot Prayer, as "much more mainstream" than left-wing antifascist groups.

Gibson and Niiya discussed those Antifa activists in their written exchanges.

In one exchange, it appears that Niiya and Gibson were discussing reporting by *The Oregonian*. They both mention organizer Luis Enrique Marquez, who has been a target of the far-right activists and has been arrested several times in Portland at protests.

"Wow, when will others realize Luis is [...] involved in so much," Niiya texted on Jan. 2, 2018, in response to Gibson complaining about the activist.

"I am going to screen shot our conversations and send it to Oregonian now," Gibson replies.



Niiya texts back: "Wonder if they will pick it up. They didn't even mention Luis in the story about June (Gia) and I even though he got arrested one prior to it on 1/28/18."

## GET RUCV

"He's a bad dude," Gibson texts. "He threw Gia under the bus while at the same time claiming PPD is taking advantage of minorities. Every single problem we run into it goes back to him."

(June Davies, who has also gone by the names Gia and Tan, is a former antifascist protester and street medic who was run out of leftist organizing groups after their texts with Niiya became public. Both *The Oregonian* and *WW* covered the fallout from the leaked messages.)

Gibson also told Niiya over text that he was planning to run for U.S. Congress in January 2018, before he formally announced his campaign. He said he would intentionally "use" protesters in Portland and Seattle to promote his run for office. From the outset, Gibson doubted his chances to win the election.

"The hate against me will multiply because I am running for office, so when I come into Portland and Seattle the energy will be high," Gibson wrote. "I know it's a pain in the ass for you guys, but I will do the best I can to work with you."

Niiya responded: "Your [sic] running for office?! Good for you. County level?"

"Running for US senate," Gibson said. "Will take a miracle for me to win but people are backing me so we will see what happens. I will be using Portland and Seattle protesters as a part of the campaign so it will impact you guys unfortunately, so I appologize [sic] now ahead of time."

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## COMMENTS



TAB 41



# WILLAMETTE WEEK

## Owner of Local Bar Sues Joey Gibson After Fistfights And Pepper Spray On May Day

**"Patriot Prayer exists as a cipher for other violent groups to conduct paramilitary actions in the Portland metro area."**

**By Katie Shepherd** | Published May 3 Updated May 4

The owner of Cider Riot, a northeast Portland bar, filed a \$1 million lawsuit today against Joey Gibson, leader of the far-right protest group Patriot Prayer, for instigating a brawl outside the bar.

The suit, filed this afternoon in Multnomah County Circuit Court, alleges Gibson interfered with business at Cider Riot on May 1, after he showed up to "expose" antifascist protesters who had gathered at the bar after participating in largely peaceful May Day demonstrations.

The suit also names Ian Kramer, who is accused of striking a woman with a baton to the back of her head hard enough to knock her unconscious, along with 25 unnamed right-wing defendants who participated in the clash.

"Patriot Prayer exists as a cipher for other violent groups to conduct paramilitary actions in the Portland metro area," the suit says. "Their activities have culminated in a number of protests marked by state and right-wing violence. Patriot Prayer's strategy and intent for doing so is to a) force a confrontation with leftist groups, b) utilize police departments and city governments into imposing harsh crowd control measures on leftists, and c) intimidate groups into not showing up."

**Read the lawsuit here.**

The suit mentions a history of violent incidents involving Patriot Prayer, including an attempt in January to crash a Democratic Socialists of America meeting at the Industrial Workers of the World union hall in Southeast Portland. A week later, an unidentified person spray painted anti-Antifa messages on the IWW building, vandalized a mural at Cider Riot and left graffiti on the Democratic Party of Oregon offices.

≡ Gibson denies that his followers had anything to do with the vandalism.

# WILLAMETTE WEEK

On May 1, Gibson and his followers approached an outdoor patio outside Cider Riot where several dozen black-clad protesters had gathered. He allegedly yelled at the antifascist group, taunting them to "do something."

In a video of the initial clash, one man standing near Gibson pepper-sprayed the people on the patio, who immediately fired back with bear mace. A brief skirmish broke out, with people on both sides throwing glasses and rocks.

## May Day fight at Cider Riot (Video by Mike Bivins)



*Video by Mike Bivins.*

The lawsuit says Gibson then became ringmaster for a one-on-one fistfight between two men in the street—one right-wing, one left-wing.

"Gibson then facilitated and refereed a street fight between two persons outside of Cider Riot," the lawsuit alleges. "He dictated the rules, and kept others from intervening while livestreaming to his followers. Gibson continued to antagonize the patrons at Cider Riot, whom were trying to force his retreat. Defendant Ian Kramer, a frequenter of Patriot Prayer rallies and associate of Gibson, used a baton to crack a Cider Riot patron on the head, knocking her unconscious."

The lawsuit alleges that the woman suffered a vertebrae fracture, which was the most serious injury reported during the incident. (The woman has not spoken to police, although antifascist organizers are raising money for her medical care.)



Although there was limited property damage, the lawsuit says Gibson acted negligently, trespassed and intentionally inflicted emotional distress on the patrons at Cider Riot. Police did not show up until the conflict had largely dissipated.

# WILLAMETTE WEEK

"No property was damaged, other than a few pint glasses broken, but one of my customers was knocked unconscious and one of Joey's goons was attacking people with a baton and spraying people in my patio with pepperspray," says Abram Goldman-Armstrong, who owns Cider Riot. He also says a dog was injured by a right-wing brawler. "We have been receiving death threats and abusive phone calls and social media posts, and Joey is apparently trying to attack again tonight, while we host a documentary screening."

Indeed, Gibson encouraged his social media followers to leave negative reviews on the Cider Riot Facebook and Yelp pages. He also posted a link to a movie screening planned at the bar May 3.

When asked by *WW* about the lawsuit, Gibson says he's unconcerned.

"I think that's great because they have to spend money for their lawyer, my lawyer, and the fines coming down on them for allowing drunk customers to spit and spray me with pepper spray numerous time while they are on Cider Riot property as I am standing on a public sidewalk," Gibson tells *WW* in a text message. "They also allowed their security at the front door to attack a neutral journalist who was seeking help from the owner at the front door."

Goldman-Armstrong is being represented pro bono by lawyers at the Oregon Justice Resource Center.

"For too long, Portlanders have been terrorized by Joey Gibson and his adherents," says Juan Chavez, one of the OJRC lawyers representing the bar. "Patriot Prayer and associated individuals and groups have repeatedly invaded our city, seeking to cause trouble, intimidate communities, and impede economic activity. Our client's complaint seeks recognition of and compensation for the damage Joey Gibson and Patriot Prayer are doing to a law abiding Portland business. We need to send a message that their brand of hate is not welcome in Portland."

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# TAB 42

## Lawyers Add New Claims and Defendants to Lawsuit Targeting Right-Wing Violence at Cider Riot

"Defendants were spoiling for a fight," the lawsuit alleges.

By Katie Shepherd | Published May 7 Updated May 7

After filing a civil suit against Patriot Prayer leader Joey Gibson, lawyers for a Portland cider bar have added new charges related to economic interference—and named four more defendants—in the \$1 million lawsuit following a riot outside the bar on May 1.

The suit, filed pro bono on behalf of Cider Riot owner Abram Goldman-Armstrong, alleges Gibson and his followers acted negligently, trespassed, intentionally inflicted emotional distress and interfered with economic relations.

"Defendants were spoiling for a fight," the lawsuit alleges.

The Oregon Justice Resource Center represents Goldman-Armstrong.

Along with Gibson, a man named Ian Kramer was named in the original complaint for allegedly hitting a woman in the back of the head with a baton, knocking her unconscious and cracking her spine.

**Read the amended complaint here.**

Now, four more people have been named in the suit. One of the new defendants is Christopher Ponte, a "cop watcher" who frequently films protests and has been convicted on gun charges. Mackenzie Lewis is accused of having "battered one individual in an effort to 'demask' the person." Matthew "Deme" Cooper, who has also regularly video taped far-right rallies, allegedly "battered Plaintiff's patrons and attempted to intimidate them."



≡ The sixth defendant is David Willis, who started a splinter far-right group called Patriots United. The lawsuit mentions social media posts by Willis urging his followers to "take the fight to Antifa" and "cleanse the streets."

# WILLAMETTE

Cider Riot's lawyers added the new claim of interfering with economic relations, citing online harassment that encouraged negative reviews and "frivolous complaints" to the Oregon Liquor Control Commission. (Some specific descriptions of incidents of violence, including a "demasking" and multiple assaults, were also newly detailed in the complaint.)

Asked about the additional allegations in the lawsuit, Gibson denied responsibility. He told *WW* he had not seen video footage that shows one of his followers was the first to use pepper spray on May 1.

"Their claim about asking people to make negative reviews, it's not accurate," he says.

Gibson did ask people to leave reviews on Cider Riot's Facebook page, which he acknowledges, but he says he did not specify that they should be negative. (He wrote: "Feel free to leave reviews on Cider Riot's FB page.")

"I believe people have a right to know that if you go to Cider Riot, there could be 100 people masked up with weapons," he says.

The right-wing protest leader did acknowledge that some of his followers threw projectiles at the black-clad crowd sitting in Cider Riot's outdoor patio. In his livestream, he told people stop throwing objects, but did nothing else to stop them.

"There were people throwing stuff," he says. "I was not OK with that."

He also admits that he has encouraged people to "demask" antifascists, which is one of the allegations in the suit. "I definitely encouraged people to do that," he says.

He adds he would readily face criminal charges if pulling people's masks off is illegal: "They should charge it," he says. "I talked to Portland Police, they said 'I'm sure they could charge you with harassment or something.' I'm willing to take it."

Portland police have been slow to make arrests for violence at far-right protests and riots. They did not make arrests on May 1 after the clash at Cider Riot, despite a woman being knocked unconscious. Police say they are seeking reports and video footage from victims and witnesses.

# TAB 43

## Portland Police Launched a Criminal Investigation After Joey Gibson Complained About an Antifascist Demonstrator

A video labeled “ANTIFA scumbag” was used to make the arrest.

By Katie Shepherd | Published July 31 Updated July 31

The Email:

**Sent:** Jan. 25, 2018

**From:** Jeffrey Niiya of the Portland Police Bureau

**To:** 10 recipients, including Franz Schoening of the Portland Police Bureau

**Subject:** FW: ANTIFA scumbag Luis Marquez trolling bicyclist at Trump impeachment rally – YouTube

*"Joey Gibson sent this to me and was upset we allowed Luis Marquez [to] violate this person's 1st amendment rights. I want you to see how Luis is dressed to blend in with the normal people who came out for this event. Yet, he is still leading the other black bloc.*

*"We need to watch for these tactics of them trying to blend in on these more mainstream events. I would argue Luis could have and maybe should have been arrested since they were in the back of the march and most likely would not have caused a huge flashpoint."*

**What It Meant:** Portland Police Lt. Jeff Niiya was the officer leading the bureau's rapid response team that patrols protests. That made him one of the primary officers collecting intelligence about protest groups in Portland—especially the extremists who repeatedly gathered in the streets for organized brawls.

In January 2018, Niiya forwarded a YouTube video sent to him by Joey Gibson, organizer of the

≡ Vancouver, Wash., far-right group Patriot Prayer.

# WILLAMETTE<sup>Q</sup>W

In the video, a well-known Portland antifascist organizer, Luis Marquez, repeatedly blocks a man on a bike from getting near a large march of people protesting President Donald Trump.

The email from Niiya appears to have launched a criminal investigation of Marquez and the incident. Three days later, another police officer, Lt. Franz Schoening, replied: "Looks like a prosecutable case to me. Ask Joey if his friend wants to sign a complaint?"

WW exclusively obtained the emails this week via a public records request.

More than a year after the email exchange, prosecutors filed a harassment charge against Marquez for repeatedly blocking the path of Gregory Isaacson, a Portland parks employee who has frequently attended Patriot Prayer rallies. Marquez has been arrested several times for his actions at past protests.

**Why It Matters:** Communications between Niiya and Gibson have drawn criticism for appearing to show coordination between police and the right-wing extremist leader. After WW and The Portland Mercury published friendly texts between the two men in February 2019, Mayor Ted Wheeler called the messages "disturbing" and, in response to their publication, launched an independent investigation into whether the Portland Police Bureau showed bias in policing protests.

Wheeler's office did not express alarm at Niiya's email about Marquez.

"When police have information about a crime occurring, they investigate regardless of who is sharing the information," the mayor's office said in a emailed statement.

More recently, the bureau has drawn criticism for not arresting violent protesters more quickly, after a conservative videographer was assaulted during a June march.

The Police Bureau says it is limited in what it can say about the case because it is an open investigation.

"I would ask that you refrain from drawing conclusions based upon two emails without the greater context or picture," bureau spokeswoman Lt. Tina Jones wrote in an emailed response to questions from WW about the exchange. "Given the ongoing investigations, I am unable to provide further context for these two emails within the timeline you have provided."



The Multnomah County District Attorney's Office reviewed the case after WW sent the police emails to the agency. The DA's office says it did not know the criminal investigation started with Gibson, but prosecutors believe Marquez committed a crime based on the evidence shared by Portland police.

"Neither Mr. Gibson, nor anyone else, had any influence on the charging decision in this matter," says DA spokesman Brent Weisberg.

Weisberg adds the DA's office does not make its charging decisions based on politics. Prosecutors recently pursued charges against two far-right brawlers, including Proud Boy Donovan Flippo, who pleaded guilty to misdemeanor assault this month.

Yet much of the worst violence in Portland, often captured on video, has not resulted in arrests.

"Seems unusual that the police and prosecutors felt that these prosecutions were worthwhile uses of their time," says Michael German, a retired FBI agent who is now a fellow with the Brennan Center for Justice, "when people were being attacked and injured on videotape and the attackers bragged about it in public social media accounts, yet weren't arrested."

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# TAB 44



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NEWS RESTAURANTS BARS MUSIC ARTS POTLANDER GUIDES GET BUSY



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# Far-Right Brawler Ian Kramer Arrested For Felony Assault And Other Crimes For May Day Attack At Cider Riot

Video published on social media shows Ian Kramer hit a woman with a baton, knocking her unconscious.

By Katie Shepherd | Published August 7 Updated August 8

Portland police today arrested far-right brawler Ian Kramer on six charges related to a May 1 assault in front of a local cidery, including felony assault, unlawful use of a weapon, unlawful use of tear gas, and disorderly conduct.

Matthew "Deme" Cooper is listed as a co-defendant in the indictment, and he faces charges for disorderly conduct and harassment, according to court records.

Portland Police searched Kramer's home and found a metal baton that may have been used in the attack.

A secret indictment was filed and unsealed by the court after Kramer's arrest Wednesday afternoon.

Kramer made headlines for attacking a group of antifascists at a local cidery, Cider Riot in Northeast Portland. Earlier in the day, Kramer had been marching with a small crowd of far-right provocateurs that included current and former Proud Boys and Patriot Prayer supporters, but the Proud Boy's elders council says no current Proud Boys were involved in the fight at Cider Riot.

The right-wing crowd had followed antifascists to Cider Riot, jeering at them and pepper spraying people sitting on the pub's patio. A fight between the two groups broke out. Kramer allegedly hit a woman in the back of the head, knocking her unconscious. A civil lawsuit against Patriot Prayer leader Joey Gibson, Kramer, Cooper and several other people involved in the May 1 incident alleges Kramer broke one of the woman's vertebrae.

"Criminal violence is not tolerated in the City of Portland and our investigators have worked diligently on this case," Chief Danielle Outlaw said in a statement on the arrest. "While these cases can take time, and delays in arrest can be perceived as indifference or lack of care, the opposite is true. Our investigators are attentive to detail, working behind the scenes to put together the strongest case possible for consideration in coordination with local, state and federal partners."



Mayor Ted Wheeler issued a warning to people threatening violence at an Aug. 17 rally that will likely attract many far-right extremists.

NEWS RESTAURANT SBAH MUSIC CARTEROTLANDER GUIDES GET BUSY

# WILLAMETTE WEEK

"The people who come to our beautiful city to commit acts of violence – and those who live here intent on doing the same – will be held accountable regardless of their political beliefs," Wheeler said in a video posted to YouTube.

Police and prosecutors have weathered criticism for failing to make arrests in violent incidents between far-right extremists and antifascists captured on camera at Portland protests. Last week, *WW* reported that police launched a criminal investigation after Gibson complained about a non-violent confrontation between an antifascist and Patriot Prayer supporter before prosecutors brought charges against the leftist protester.

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Renowned investor Tom Gardner has identified a stock that he thinks resembles Facebook in its early days.

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# TAB 45

Sunday, September 8, 2019

**Tribune**



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## Editor says Joey Gibson headline 'missed the mark'

👤 Zane Sparling 📅 Monday, October 29, 2018



Reporters for The Oregonian disliked the Patriot Prayer coverage by Elizabeth Hovde.



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TRIBUNE PHOTO: ZANE SPARLING - Patriot Prayer leader Joey Gibson is shown here during the rally that turned violent in downtown Portland on Oct. 13.

**Public criticism of newspapers is nothing new — but the state's oldest surviving daily may have leaped into a barrel of hot water for a sympathetic portrait of Patriot Prayer leader Joey Gibson.**

The Oregonian's recent opinion piece

([https://www.oregonlive.com/opinion/index.ssf/2018/10/elizabethhovde\\_the\\_misundersto.html](https://www.oregonlive.com/opinion/index.ssf/2018/10/elizabethhovde_the_misundersto.html)) on the right-wing activist ran with the headline "Joey Gibson is misunderstood" in the Sunday, Oct. 28 print edition. It also appeared online that day.

A day later, editorial page editor Laura Gunderson admitted that the title "missed the mark" and said she regretted the timing of the column, which was published a day after a horrific mass shooting (<https://pamplinmedia.com/pt/9-news/410452-310362-beth-israel-vigil-calls-for-end-to-bigotry-and-hatred>) at a Pennsylvania synagogue.

Gunderson said freelance columnist Elizabeth Hovde often writes from a conservative viewpoint, and that the Oregonian Editorial Board's broader perspective on Gibson "does not align" with Hovde's opinion.

"Gibson brought something we need more of: talk that leads to increased understanding about opposing thoughts and the people behind them," Hovde wrote in an article detailing a recent protest at Washington State University's campus in Vancouver.



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Hovde admitted that Gibson voices "unpopular opinions" that attract "white nationalists," but also said the 35-year-old sounds like a "modern-day prophet." Please log in or create an account to get access to this story Free. FAQ (http://pamplinmedia.com/circulation/email-paywall.html)

The backlash was swift.

It came from many quarters, with politicians, readers and even some of the paper's own journalists condemning the story — and has sparked rumors of a "response" by antifascists.

Email Address

"The Oregonian has lost their focus. Giving a voice to people who live only to stoke violence and hatred is unforgivable," wrote (https://twitter.com/dkafoury/status/1056741880971452416) Multnomah County Chair

Deborah Kafoury. "To claim otherwise is not being balanced, it's being complicit."

Mayor Ted Wheeler added (https://twitter.com/tedwheeler/status/1056988815074545665): "There is no place for hate, extremism, and violence in Portland or anywhere. Hard to find common ground with groups who embrace all three. There is no misunderstanding."

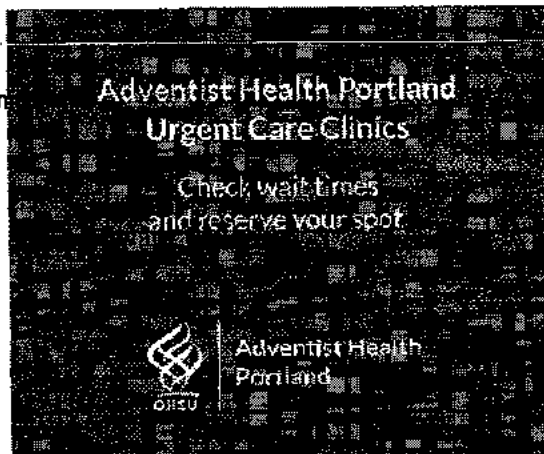
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It didn't stop there. A social media account used by Antifa organizers demanded (https://twitter.com/Pdx\_resistance/status/1056795874016149504) that the paper fire Hovde and issue a front-page apology.

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TRIBUNE PHOTO: ZANE SPARLING - Tusitala 'Tiny' Toese

On Twitter — where local journalists go to spill the tea — a staff reporter at Willamette Week called the coverage "a slap in the face (<https://twitter.com/katemshepherd/status/1056690699456790528>).\" The news editor of the Portland Mercury summed it up simply with ([https://twitter.com/alex\\_zee/status/1056701548389052416](https://twitter.com/alex_zee/status/1056701548389052416)): \"I'm nauseous.\"

\"There was a lack of context, nuance, perspective in that piece that felt either wildly out of touch or outright disingenuous,\" commented (<https://twitter.com/annagriffin/status/1056767529706696704>) Anna Griffin, the news director for Oregon Public Broadcasting.

It's worth noting that the lawless street brawls that break out routinely between Patriot Prayer members and counter-protesters has prompted Portland's mayor to call for stricter laws governing demonstrations.

Tusitala \"Tiny\" Toese — one of Gibson's closest lieutenants — was apparently captured on video (<https://twitter.com/itsmlkebevins/status/1051299619924131840/video/1>) kicking the body of a counter-protester during the most recent fight on Oct. 13.

Hovde seemed to imply that there was \"zero violence\" at the WSU rally because counter-protesters didn't show up.

Now even some of The Oregonian's own staffers are distancing themselves from the piece.



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"A man is known by the company he keeps & no one with that kind of company deserves a fawning profile," wrote (<https://twitter.com/editorswindler/status/1056766456266842112>) Samantha Swindler, a former columnist and current video producer for the paper.

"Pretty surreal to see the publication you work for (unwittingly??) gaslight its readers in the Sunday paper," another reporter wrote in a now-deleted (<https://twitter.com/shanedkavanaugh/status/1056688724191272962>) tweet.

Gunderson said the paper's editors wrote the headline, not Hovde.

"Increasingly, I hear from readers who are angry when they read opinions that differ from their own," she said in a statement emailed to the Tribune. "An Opinion page that readers universally agree with is neither advisable nor attainable."

You can read Gunderson's full statement here. (<https://twitter.com/PDXzane/status/1057022324975665152>)

*A previous version of this post incorrectly identified the actions that occurred during a violent street brawl on Oct. 13.*



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**TAB 46**

Sunday, September 8, 2019

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## Cider Riot, Patriot Prayer prepare for \$1 million lawsuit

👤 Zane Sparling 📅 Monday, May 13, 2019



Cider Riot owner Abram Goldman-Armstrong files suit after May Day brawl in Northeast Portland.  
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PMG PHOTO: ZANE SPARLING - Abram Goldman-Armstrong is the owner of Cider Riot!, which was the site of a brawl between anti-fascist and Patriot Prayer members on May Day.

**A cider shop proprietor whose patio became an impromptu host of a May Day brawl (<https://pamplinmedia.com/pt/9-news/427249-334253-may-day-ice-rally-pits-portland-protesters-against-police>) has filed a million-dollar lawsuit against six right-wing activists — alleging that their harassment and menacing sparked the street scuffle.**

Fought with projectiles, mace and fists, the battle outside Cider Riot! (<https://www.ciderriot.com/>), 807 N.E. Couch St., was caught on camera after roughly 20 conservatives approached at least twice as many black-clad anti-fascists, who had gathered for a "May Day Afterparty" co-organized by Rose City Antifa; a term coined to mean anti-fascists.

"We are a safe space for all communities, and we can't let people intimidate us," said cidery owner Abram Goldman-Armstrong during a Tuesday, May 7, press conference. "Thankfully we have a great community who didn't let these thugs get into our business."



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Goldman-Armstrong said an onslaught of online harassment has forced him to disconnect the phone and delete all social media accounts for Cider Riot!, which opened its Northeast Portland storefront in August 2016 and has seven full-time employees.



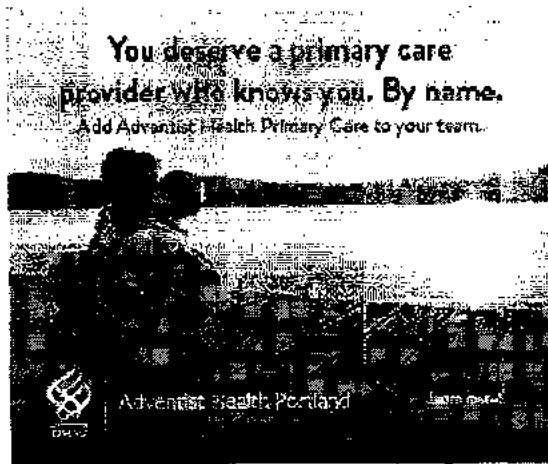
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The American Revolution. In the "Original Document" link to open the original PDF. At this time it is not possible to print the document by the author. Those demonstrations have sparked numerous riots (<https://pamplinmedia.com/pt/9-news/402604-299260-four-arrested-during-clash-between-patriot-prayer-antifa->) and fights (<https://pamplinmedia.com/pt/9-news/409057-308382-update-no-arrests-made-at-antifa-patriot-prayer-brawl>) since 2017.

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The 10-page document says Patriot Prayer leader Joey Gibson (<https://pamplinmedia.com/pt/9-news/420121-324167-collusion-or-dialogue-portland-police-texts-raise-questions>) "refereed" the May 1 fight and encouraged a co-defendant, Ian Kramer, to bludgeon a patron on the head, knocking her unconscious. Attorney Juan C. Chavez with the Oregon Justice Resource Center (<https://ojrc.info/>) is representing the plaintiffs pro bono.



PHOTO: ZANE SPARLING - Juan C. Chavez is an attorney and executive director of the Oregon Justice Resource Center.

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**"Mr. Gibson has entered on to the highways and conspired to bring people here to commit acts that I would say are civil rights violations, so I would say we also have federal actions," Chavez said.**

For his part, Gibson says he's "excited" for his day in court.

"I never fought back, never even said one hateful word. If that's illegal in this country then — guilty, I guess. But last I checked it's not," Gibson told the Tribune.

Cider Riot! was vandalized this January — foreseeably directed by Gibson, according to the suit — and the company must respond to many "frivolous" complaints now filed with the Oregon Liquor Control Commission.

In response, Gibson claims he's merely "asking people to witness what happened and give their honest opinion" to the OLCC.

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Since the violent encounter, Goldman-Armstrong says he's purchased gas masks for his bartenders and hired night-time security guards. His personal information was "doxxed" — intentionally spread for purposes of harassment — once before, in summer 2017.

"I think they saw a Jewish name and thought I was George Soros or something like that," he noted, referring to the prominent Hungarian-American investor and philanthropist.

Though his 1,000-barrel production facility was turned into a makeshift medical bay during the melee, Goldman-Armstrong said his bar will remain a safe and inclusive space for Portlanders. He said all IDs were checked on May Day, and masks were put on only after Patriot Prayer arrived.

Goldman-Armstrong said he is less happy with the Portland Police Bureau, whose officers didn't arrive on scene until about an hour after the 7:30 p.m. brawl. In a news release defending their actions, police said their airplane unit was monitoring the fight one minute after it was reported.

Officers reportedly mustered a "hasty team" nearby to respond in case of a life-threatening incident, but held off on breaking up the fight. "They observed that both groups had opportunities to disengage and leave, but appeared to be actively engaging in the violent behavior against each other," police said.



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**TAB 47**



## BLOGTOWN

NEWS

### Joey Gibson Asks Patriot Prayer Fans to Buy Him a Car

by [Blair Stenvick](#) · Nov 9, 2018 at 12:40 pm

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**Joey Gibson speaking at a pro-Trump rally he organized in 2017. DOUG BROWN**

If you need another reason not to be a **violent, far-right extremist**, here's one:  
It apparently doesn't pay well.

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Patriot Prayer leader Joey Gibson is using his fear-mongering group's **Facebook page** to fundraise for a new car. On Wednesday, a link appeared on the page to a GoFundMe website titled **"Help Joey Gibsons Family Get A Car."**

“11/6/2018 I got into an accident with my car that I just recently purchased,” reads the GoFundMe page, presumably set up by Gibson. “Please help my family get a new ride. Any donation amount is appreciated and will help. I do not have full coverage, only liability.”

As of around noon Friday, 23 people had donated, and Gibson had raised \$2,250 of his \$5,000 goal.

Here are some other causes that Gibson’s donors have contributed to on GoFundMe:

The “**Trump Unity Bridge Tour**,” whose stated goal is to “**TO PRESERVE AMERICAN CULTURE !!!**”

A fundraiser to **replace the slashed tires** of Donovan Flippo, who **was arrested for disorderly conduct** at a Patriot Prayer demonstration in Portland last year. Flippo claimed Antifa had slashed his tires, and asked for \$1,500 to replace them.

And finally, we have “**The Mariani Fall-Guy Fund**,” supporting a former opinion editor for the conservative online rag *The Daily Caller*. Robert Mariani was fired from the *Caller* last year after running a piece by racist, transphobic troll Milo Yiannapolis, who had also recently **come under fire** for appearing to support pederasty in an old interview.

When someone goes viral these days, it’s common for them to tweet out a link to their Patreon account or GoFundMe page. The lucky ones might even get a sponsored content deal pushing sketchy fitness tea on Instagram. If Gibson is as short on cash as his GoFundMe suggests, perhaps he can follow the likes of Alex Jones and Sarah Palin and become a spokesmodel for **survivalist bullshit** and **third-tier “wellness” products**.



That tactic might play out a little better than out-right asking for money. At least one self-acclaimed Patriot Prayer faithful isn't a fan of the GoFundMe link.

"I totally believe in Patriot Prayer and their message," Facebook user Kathy Ferrel commented on the link. "However, to use that to ask for money for your personal property seems like an abuse. If you want to gamble and not buy insurance, then you should pay the price."

Ferrel's got a point—shouldn't Gibson be pulling himself up by his own bootstraps?

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**TAB 48**

**Ted Wheeler**  
Mayor, City of Portland

main phone: 503-823-4120 1221 SW 4th Ave, Room 340, Portland, OR 97204



## Portland City Council Introduces Resolution Condemning White Supremacy and Alt-Right Hate Groups



Office of Mayor Ted Wheeler

City of Portland

PRESS RELEASE

MAYOR TED WHEELER

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

February 7, 2019

Contact: Eileen Park, (503) 823-6541

Eileen.park@portlandoregon.gov (<http://www.portlandoregon.gov/mailto:Eileen.park@portlandoregon.gov>)

### Portland City Council Introduces Resolution Condemning White Supremacy and Alt-Right Hate Groups

Portland, OR—Mayor Wheeler and Commissioners Eudaly, Fish, Fritz and Hardesty will introduce a resolution this afternoon to condemn white supremacy and alt-right groups in Portland, and for the City of Portland to work with community organizations to develop city-wide training on the history and impact of white supremacy, and how to identify white supremacy.

In 2018, every extremist murder had ties to far-right extremism. According to the Anti-Defamation League, last year was the fourth deadliest year for domestic extremist violence since 1970. Additionally, Portland has a documented history of white supremacist hate groups who have used intimidation and have committed violent repression of individuals in Portland. There's also been a recent surge of alt-right hate group activity and hostility, which conjures painful memories of the City's past and causes harm to current residents.

"White supremacy is fed by silence and complacency. This is a fundamental recognition that we have to prioritize these issues because our demographic and history skew towards disenfranchising and disempowering communities of color that have been unable to benefit from the City's progress," says Mayor Ted Wheeler. "This is not a silver bullet, but I'm hopeful this resolution is the start to meaningful action."

Both the City of Portland and the State of Oregon have racist governing histories, including Oregon entering the Union as a "whites-only" state," the state's refusal to ratify the 14th and 15th amendment to the U.S. Constitution, and enacting black exclusion laws. In Portland, racist governing policies have created disparities due to redlining, the displacement of black communities through the construction of Interstate 5 and other projects, the failure to protect and preserve Vanport, and a history of bias in government services, including policing, all of which have led to the gentrification and decimation of historically black neighborhoods.

This resolution lays the foundation for the City of Portland to partner with local organizations and community leaders in a collective effort to combat white supremacy.

Portland nonprofits CAIR-Oregon, the Oregon Justice Resource Center and the Western States Center are supportive of the resolution, and will propose six action items for the City to address activity of white nationalist and alt-right groups in Portland. They will hold a press conference on Thursday, Feb. 7 at 4:30 pm at the Oregon Jewish Museum and Center for Holocaust Education, 724 NW Davis St.

Representatives of the organizations will make short statements in support of the resolution and outline ideas for ways the City can address this problem.

The resolution is part of a broader effort to ensure access and inclusivity for all Portlanders, and more specifically tailored to the growing threat of white supremacy in the community. With this resolution, the City is signaling its commitment to partnering with community organizations to denounce white supremacy and live up to the City's values as a welcoming and inclusive city for all Portlanders.

Read the resolution here: <https://www.portlandoregon.gov/auditor/article/711392> (<http://www.portlandoregon.gov/auditor/article/711392>)

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# TAB 49

**Mayor Ted Wheeler** ● @tedwheeler · 29 May 2017

Please read this update (1 of 3)

happened. Two paid with their lives. A third was seriously injured.

Our community remains in shock and mourning. But we are also tremendously grateful to our heroes and their families for their selflessness and heroism. They will serve to inspire us to be the loving, courageous people we are meant to be.

As Mayor, I wanted to update you on a few developments:

1) I have reached out to all of the victims and their families, including the two women who were terrorized and subjected



May 247   184   308

**Mayor Ted Wheeler**

@tedwheeler

Follow

(2 of 3)

on June 4th or June 10th. The Federal government controls permitting for Shrunk Plaza, and it is my understanding that they have issued a permit for the event on June 4th.

3) I am calling on the federal government to IMMEDIATELY REVOKE the permit(s) they have issued for the June 4th event and to not issue a permit for June 10th. Our City is in mourning, our community's anger is real, and the timing and subject of these events can only exacerbate an already difficult situation.

4) I am appealing to the organizers of the

**Mayor Ted Wheeler** @tedwheeler · 29 May 2017

Replying to @tedwheeler

(3 of 3)

5) I am calling on every elected leader in Oregon, every legal agency, every level of law enforcement to stand with me in preventing another tragedy.

6) When and if the time is right for them, I would like to work with the families to find an appropriate way to permanently remember their sacrifice and honor their courage. Their heroism is now part of the legacy of this great city and I want future generations to remember what happened here, and why, so that it might serve to both eradicate hatred and inspire future generations to stand up for the right

533

147

343



**TAB 50**



**Mayor Ted Wheeler**

@tedwheeler

Follow



There is no place for hate, extremism, and violence in Portland or anywhere. Hard to find common ground with groups who embrace all three. There is no misunderstanding.



**The Oregonian** @Oregonian

Elizabeth Hovde: The misunderstood Joey Gibson [bit.ly/2Q1aJco](https://bit.ly/2Q1aJco)

12:19 PM - 29 Oct 2018

# TAB 51



[FEATURED](#) [NEWS](#) [TOPSTORIES](#)

# Fascism on the rise: Portland extremists reveal themselves

by ANNA WILLIAMS · JULY 24, 2017 · 17 COMMENTS



*[Note from Vanguard Editor-in-Chief, Colleen Leary]:*

In recent years, droves of new residents have flocked to Portland, many under the guise of a *Portlandia*-branded utopian liberal oasis: an easy-going city open to people of all ages, shapes, sizes, persuasions, colors and backgrounds. This perception is, quite simply, false.

Recent public displays of hate, racism, white pride and violence in the name of nationalism have solicited public response of shock and dismay. Surely this couldn't be happening in our happy, safe and inclusive Portland.

In reality, this is nothing new to Portland, a city whose history has been mired in racism and discrimination from day one. In 1859, the state of Oregon established itself as white-only, an exclusion that officially ended in 1922. At the time, the state touted the largest per capita membership of the Ku Klux Klan. In 1988, three racist skinheads attacked a 27-year-old Ethiopian named Mulugeta Seraw. One skinhead bludgeoned him to death. Until the early 2000s, Oregon legislation maintained language excluding people of color from owning or leasing property.

The recent displays of hate, racism and violence in Portland highlight a longstanding crisis, one that has apparently attracted the attention of an up-and-coming, outspoken generation of extremists whose views reflect an unfortunately familiar Portland tradition.

So who is leading the charge? What do they really think? Why do they believe what they believe? How did they land on their views? What's their intended outcome? The *Vanguard's* Anna Williams spoke with some of Portland's most well-known characters in these overlapping movements and consulted academic experts who helped shed light on how this type of ideology attracts its proponents.

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## **Fascism on the rise**

On a sunny Friday afternoon in Portland's Tom McCall Waterfront Park, a sea of leather-vested Warriors for Freedom bikers, American flags, filming iPhones, and

news reporters surrounded a calm and quiet man everyone seemed to recognize but no one seemed to know.

A skinhead.

Raul Gonzales, who Trump-supporters and antifa, or anti-fascist, counter-protesters recognized from social media, arrived to participate in the June 30 "March for Freedom" organized by Washington native and libertarian vlogger Joey Gibson.

Gonzales' identity was unmistakable: His distinct black polo branded by 1950s tennis champion Fred Perry, Levi's tucked into his boots, and white suspenders are all garb traditional British working-class skinheads in the 1960s adopted as their signature style. A "skinhead" tattoo tagged Gonzales' right forearm.

Gibson's popularly-dubbed "patriot movement" publicly denounces white supremacist groups. Gibson includes groups and fraternities like Nazis, skinheads, Ku Klux Klan, and Identity Evropa in this classification.

The night before Gibson's second visit to Portland on June 4, he announced such groups would be denied entrance into his "Trump free speech rally" held in downtown Portland's Terry Schrunk Plaza.

However, Identity Evropa, Gonzales himself, and the Oregon National Socialist Movement, deemed a hate group by the Southern Poverty Law Center, all profess to having joined in on the march. They offered cheers, zealous speeches, and insult-hurling tossed at the antifa, union groups, and "anti-hate" liberals counter-protesting to the north, east, and west of Gibson's rally.

Since Gibson brought the patriot movement to Portland, groups aligning with Gibson who call themselves western nationalists, national socialists, western identitarians, white identitarians, western chauvinists, neo-Nazis and traditional skinheads have popped up in the press, leaving Portlanders to question whether their city will retreat back to its deadly "skinhead capitol of the country" roots.

Highlighting this fear is the fact that Jeremy Christian, an alt-right, self-professed libertarian, participated in a Gibson rally last April. A few weeks later, Christian antagonized two women of color on a MAX train then stabbed three men that tried to intervene, killing two.

Christian has been unapologetic in the courtroom, calling himself a “patriot,” a title he shares with Gibson’s movement.

Gonzales told Gibson he wanted to march to support free speech. “If you supported us, you wouldn’t be here,” Gibson responded. “Because you give us a bad name.”

## **Not your typical skinhead**

Gonzales does not look like the typical white, bare-shaven skinhead portrayed in the movies. As his namesake implies, Gonzales is half-Mexican on his father’s side. Though his dark eyes and hair belie European heritage, Gonzales considers himself “a very tan white person.”

Calm and unphased, though a little awkward, Gonzales eagerly engaged in conversation about his day, his five-month-old daughter, his relationship successes and failures, and his favorite television shows.

However, Gonzales’ past proves to be anything but easy going.

Just 24 years old, Gonzales spent the majority of his life in and out of foster care in Hillsboro, Oregon. Beginning at five years old, Gonzales said he resided in 15 foster homes and six group homes, each of which were “physically, emotionally, and sexually” abusive. Gonzales’ father, he said, was entrenched in drug dealing.

Early on, Gonzales doubted his mother’s liberal worldview.

“My mom’s liberal beliefs made her think everything was OK,” he recalled. At a Boys and Girls Club owned by Beaverton police, Gonzales said he “was always getting into fights because there were gang members that wanted me to join [them].”

Gonzales recalled seeing the Columbine High School massacre on the news when he was five years old. Even at that point, Gonzales said he realized, “It’s not just me having problems, it’s the whole world. Something is going wrong. My mom’s beliefs cannot be accurate.”

## **Ideological overhaul**

As Gonzales grew older, he learned about Nazi WWII from his veteran grandfather. Gonzales' Croatian ancestors helped build German U-boats for the war. He recalled his great-aunt had harbored anti-Serbian sentiments "because she thought [Serbians] treated [Croatians] like shit."

The Ustase regime in the Independent State of Croatia exterminated what the United States Holocaust Museum estimates to be almost 350,000 ethnic Serbs between 1941 and 1945. Perhaps 200,000 more were forcefully converted to Catholicism. Having heard his aunts' beliefs, however, Gonzales thought, "Maybe some of us really were the good guys on the Axis side of things."

## **Becoming a neo-Nazi**

When Gonzales was 12 years old, he bonded with a man everyone called "J.C.," an ironic namesake, as he claimed to be a Satanist.

"When you're 12 years old and got nobody to look up to and you're getting picked on, someone's going to come along and bring their values with them and sell you the pitch," Gonzales said.

Gonzales said J.C. often carried around a copy of Adolf Hitler's manifesto *Mein Kampf*.

At the same time, Gonzales developed a taste for anti-communist, white nationalist bands such as Oi! and Skrewdriver. A foster brother stick-and-poked an "SS" tattoo onto Gonzales' right wrist. "SS" represents a coalition of the German Nazi Party, the Schutzstaffel, some factions of which were responsible for running Jewish concentration camps during WWII.

Though Gonzales claimed at the June 30 march he was not a neo-Nazi, he later told the *Vanguard*, "I'm definitely a nationalist. I guess I could be labelled as a neo-Nazi and I'd be fine with that."

Gonzales wears a swastika tattoo on his right shoulder.

The SPLC defines white nationalists as those espousing "white supremacist or white separatist" ideals. Neo-Nazis, sometimes described as national socialists,



the SPLC states, “share a hatred for Jews and a love of Adolf Hitler and Nazi Germany.”

Though Gonzales espouses nonviolence, he both doubts the validity of the Holocaust and believes whites are oppressed in America.

Gonzales echoed a sentiment common among followers of Gibson’s rallies: White freedom of speech is under attack.

## **Demystifying Identity Evropa**

During Gibson’s June 4 rally, guest speaker and alt-right celebrity Tim “Baked Alaska” Gionet livestreamed a video with Oregon Identity Evropa Regional Coordinator Jake Von Ott.

Originating on social media and “deep internet” forums and meme pages, the alt-right is a rabbit hole of racist and nationalist opinions cloaked in humor. Gionet, who worked alongside far-right provocateur Milo Yiannopoulos, has been criticized for past anti-semitic language.

In the livestream, Gionet asks Von Ott to recite the “14 words.” Smiling into the camera, Von Ott said, “We must secure the existence of our people and a future for white children.” The 14 words are arguably derived from a passage in *Mein Kampf*, which advocates for securing the future of the Aryan race.

The American 14 words were coined by David Lane, a former member of the Pacific Northwest terrorist organization The Order. In 1984, The Order assassinated a Jewish talk show host. Lane died in prison in 2007 while serving a 190-year sentence for crimes he committed as an Order member.

Von Ott, a tall, freshly turned-20-year-old with a long, confident stride, arrived at the June 4 rally with about 40 other IE members marching in formation. Gibson said IE was not allowed into the plaza, which Von Ott contends. Von Ott said some of his friends were present at the June 30 march, apparently unknown to Gibson.

In a YouTube video recently taken down by the far-right “Right Source Media” channel, Von Ott claimed a close relationship with IE founder Nathan Damigo.

Damigo, a 30-year-old former U.S. Marine Corporal, founded IE in March 2016. Damigo told the *LA Times* that IE comprises “a generation of awakened Europeans’ who ‘oppose those who would defame our history and rich cultural heritage.’”

When Damigo first presented the notion of “white identitarianism,” he was widely criticized by students of the Cal State Stanislaus ethnic studies class, where he had been invited to speak for his complex, circumspect explanation.

Von Ott told the *Vanguard* identitarianism simply means “being proud of your European heritage.” According to the SPLC, the phrase was coined in the early 2000s by Generation Identitaire, an anti-immigrant group in France that “mockingly” served soup containing pork in majority Muslim neighborhoods.

Beginning in 2007, Damigo served one year in county jail and four years in prison for holding a La Mesa, California cab driver, who Damigo thought was Iranian, at gunpoint and robbing him of \$43. This came one month after Damigo finished his second tour of duty in Iraq. According to court records, the *LA Times* reported Damigo suffered from severe post traumatic stress disorder, drug and alcohol abuse, paranoia and flashbacks.

Damigo, however, took the opportunity in prison to study race and identity. Damigo was inspired by Lane’s book *My Awakening*, as well as by racial provocateur Jean-Philippe Rushton and science writer Nicholas Wade.

Damigo came out of prison believing that different races were separated by genetic predispositions.

Von Ott agreed. “The Africans” [are] “scientifically proven to have lower IQ’s and less impulse control” than people of European, or white, origin, he claimed. “[Black Lives Matter] only proves our point in terms of low impulse control,” Von Ott said

BLM formed in 2012 after George Zimmerman was acquitted for his murder of 17-year-old Trayvon Martin. BLM, like antifa, protests police corruption and racism, and has been at the center of controversy for some demonstrations turning violent. BLM, however, also organizes vigils, participates on panels around the country, and lobbies for police reform.

Researchers from Stanford University who study genetic differences between races, condemn Wade's "speculation that recent natural selection has led to worldwide differences in IQ test results, political institutions and economic development."

Adding to a commitment to back up its views with "scientific evidence" rather than "feeling and emotion," Von Ott said, IE believes the "liberal" concept of multiculturalism is "toxic" to America. "A multiracial society is a multi-racist society," Von Ott added.

Von Ott referenced a controversial study by Harvard professor Robert D. Putnam, which found that in newly diverse populations, fewer people vote, volunteer, or donate to charities. Some people view that as a strong case against diversity, but Putnam has publicly decried that view.

In a March 2017 letter to the *Wall Street Journal*, Putnam wrote, "Ethnic diversity is, on balance, an important social asset, as the history of the U.S. demonstrates. In the short to medium run, however, immigration and ethnic diversity challenge social solidarity and inhibit social capital. In the medium to long run, on the other hand, successful immigrant societies like the U.S. create new forms of social solidarity and dampen the negative effects of diversity by constructing new, more encompassing identities."

Von Ott said he fears, however, that as more immigrants come to the U.S., white European identity will disappear.

Von Ott calls himself a "strong Christian," while adding, "Christianity is not a warrior religion by any means," but he believes every race has the right to "conquer another." He said he isn't advocating violence against any other race, but as non-white births exceed white births in America, IE sees sole reproduction with members of the Aryan race to be paramount.

Von Ott compared white people's possible "plight" to that of Native Americans. "[Native Americans] are the most likely to interracially marry and have interracial children," Von Ott said. "Their culture and [their] children have been obliterated from the face of the earth. They no longer have any relevance here at all. None."

## **Islamophobia and xenophobia**

Additionally, Von Ott argued that allowing refugees of Islamic origin into America will inevitably bring a culture of violence across the border. "In the Muslim world, at age 6 [children are] given an [AK-47] and told to go fight, go kill," Von Ott claimed. "Well, you have two cultures colliding, a European and Muslim culture. At the end of the day, who's going to win a one-on-one fight?"

In contrast, the Council on American-Islamic Relations says 2017 is set to become "one of the worst years ever for anti-Muslim hate crimes." Most incidents documented by CAIR are of non-violent harassment, but the second most common are hate crimes that involve physical violence or property destruction.

According to researchers at the University of Buffalo and the University of Alabama, on the other hand, over two decades of research have consistently shown areas of high immigration statistics to have lower crime rates than those with minimal immigrant populations.

## **I'm not a neo-Nazi, but...**

Though self-proclaimed libertarian, "American-loving" people like Von Ott and Damigo deny being neo-Nazis or fascists, the roots of IE's ideology are undeniable.

Von Ott said he admires George Lincoln Rockwell, the founder of neo-Nazism in America. Rockwell founded the American Nazi Party in 1959, which was formerly known, in more convoluted language, as the World Union of Free Enterprise and National Socialists. Rockwell, a well-documented racist, was ousted from the Navy and assassinated in a shopping mall parking lot in 1967.

Von Ott said he denounces Rockwell's violent rhetoric and behaviors. However, Von Ott qualified, "I admire his willingness and how American he was." Von Ott paused. "By how American, I mean the fact that against everybody he still stood for what he believed in."

Rockwell believed former U.S. Presidents Dwight Eisenhower and Harry Truman were "traitors" that should be "hanged."

Former Portland State professor, author, and white supremacist expert Randy Blazak explained that groups ranging from “white identitarian” to “white supremacist” operate under different language, but the same ideology.

“Hate groups don’t call themselves hate groups,” Blazak said. “They call themselves white civil rights organizations. It’s public relations. It’s a new title of an old song.”

Many such groups deny Nazi sympathy but cling to symbolism like the 14 words and “sieg heil” gestures. “Logically, they would just abandon all that to bring [new members] in,” Blazak explained. “But the reality is, that’s their roots. They feel connected to it.”

Gibson said on June 30 he was aware Gionet and Von Ott had hailed the 14 words at his June 4 rally, to his disapproval. “We’re looking into it,” Gibson said. “If a statement needs to be made, it will be made.”

Over a month later, Gibson has not issued any statements.

## **How do I look?**

Von Ott wears a neatly-clipped haircut identical to Damigo’s. Damigo’s Twitter handle, in fact, is @fashyhaircut, a play on fascism. Gonzales said he believes this “all-American teenager” image attracts young people into movements like IE and skinheads “a lot more” than “a guy wearing a band t-shirt and waving a swastika flag.”

Recently, Rose City Antifa leaked a series of overtly violent and racist statements Von Ott posted on a white nationalist Facebook page. In one of these posts Von Ott said his brother, who was dating a half-Asian woman, had “yellow fever.” Tagged to his complaint, Von Ott posted a photo of Hitler and his associates looking up with disgust, with the word “degenerate” written underneath.

In another post, Von Ott asked group members what the punishment would be if “his friend” stabbed refugees in Germany. His post was met with humor and encouragement from the group, which included his own mother. In another screenshot, Von Ott’s mother posted a sketched image of a white family, the father wearing a swastika armband, with a caption that read, “We are rising! I initial”

Von Ott confirmed these posts were his own and his mother's. Von Ott said he regrets his posts, claiming he has "matured" in the four months since, and they were merely "locker room talk." This is the same justification Donald Trump offered after he was caught saying his celebrity status allowed him to grab women by the genitals.

Von Ott explained that he posted about stabbing refugees after his cousin, allegedly, was sexually assaulted by three refugees in Europe. Neither Von Ott nor his mother mentioned any incident like this in his post.

Von Ott added that because white voices are so "silenced" in America, people like him are "forced" into online "echo chambers" where hateful statements turned to humor are a "release" for those who fear losing their jobs because of their views.

Von Ott said since creating another white nationalist group on Facebook, he deletes any posts encouraging violence. However, he admits there may be some people that actually espouse violence in online "echo chambers." Von Ott reasons such posts should be removed because they are unproductive and "we need to be professionals."

## **Spartan speaks**

John "Based Spartan" Turano showed up to Gibson's April 27 Berkeley, California rally and June 4 rally in Portland cos-playing as a Trojan soldier, sporting a plastic helmet and chest armor atop his American flag board shorts. When Turano got riled up at counter-protesters, he ripped his armor and helmet off, then flexed his arm and chest muscles at the crowd and cursed them out.

At the Berkeley protest, Turano called antifa protesters "cowards" and declared, "I'll smash on them until I can't breathe." Turano could be seen on video screaming and chucking back projectiles antifa threw at the "patriot" crowd.

On June 11, however, just one week after his appearance in Portland, Turano showed up to another "free speech" vs. antifa demonstration in San Bernardino to counter-protest the same "patriot" crowd he hailed from. Turano held a sign that read, "Resist hate, love only."

Gibson's followers were quick to call Turano a traitor.

Turano is a single father from La Puente, California. Turano's Facebook is devoid of any Based Spartan pictures, featuring only photos of him and his kids in clothing sprinkled with marijuana leaves.

Turano said he's never been a political person. He has only voted once in his life, and that was for President Trump. Turano said he disagrees with the president on immigration and women's rights issues.

Turano said he used to think all antifa "hated our guts" and intended to protest violently. When Turano came to Portland on June 4, however, he said a petite Jewish counter-protester came up to him and asked, "Does my life matter?"

"It just made me feel bad," Turano said. "I hadn't really been paying attention; I just thought we were surrounded by all these people who hated us. But I met some people that seemed so nice." Turano added that in his state of mind when he attended the Berkeley protest, he thought "these [antifa] people hate America."

Turano said as a single, working father, he did not have time to sit behind a computer screen and follow the alt-right. When Turano began to see swastikas at these protests and racial slurs on the internet, however, he came to understand how the "other side" saw "patriots."

"Racist ain't too far from the truth," Turano declared.

Being Based Spartan gave Turano a rush, but he said he now feels the patriot movement only "loved me because they thought I was violent and I looked threatening and intimidating." Turano added, "People emailed me to tell me I helped these 'idiot' groups grow, and I'm responsible for making it a family idea. I made a horrible mistake. I don't like bullies."

Turano said he thinks the discrimination he sees Latinos face in Southern California is "spearheaded by the alt-right."

"Even the good people say horrible things," Turano said. "This lady I know struck out at a [Latino] girl and I can't believe she went there. She has a Mexican husband and an immigrant mother-in-law and she said this racial slur. There's no hope."

When Turano was sixteen, he got a swastika tattoo on his right hand. Turano did not explain why. "I ended up cutting it out," he said. Turano ended up marrying an undocumented immigrant and having children.

Still visible on Turano's right bicep, however, is a "White Pride" tattoo. Turano said he got it to identify himself in prison, but he does not plan on removing it. Turano, still a conservative, declared like Von Ott and Gonzales, "I think everyone should be proud of who they are."

Perhaps this is what attracted Turano to the "free speech" patriot movement in the first place.

## **The questionable appropriation of free speech**

Gibson said if extremist groups show up to his events, "they show up." Moving forward, Gibson said he wants to empower leaders "to create their own groups."

From "Western Chauvinist" Proud Boys fleeing the rise of feminism, to alt-right "Kekistan" members who wish to free offensive "shit-posters" from liberal "social justice warriors," to IE members that claim "white genocide," every "patriot" wants First Amendment rights on their own terms.

Whatever the patriot movement seeks to empower has been lost in a name game of nit-picked, white-pride identities. As Gibson shouts "free speech" and "freedom from cultural brainwashing" from his loudspeaker, his movement brings to the surface a violent, racist, and un-American past.

Turano said he has just now come to understand that. To the people of Portland, Turano wished to say, "I'm sorry for disturbing you while supporting something I did not understand. It was during a healing time and I totally dropped the ball."

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TAB 52



## BLOGTOWN

NEWS

### Cider Riot is Suing Patriot Prayer and Joey Gibson for May Day Violence

by [Alex Zielinski](#) • May 3, 2019 at 8:25 pm

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DOUG BROWN

Two days ago, about 20 members of Vancouver, Washington alt-right group Patriot Prayer appeared at NE Portland's Cider Riot bar, yelled insults at patrons sitting outside, sprayed those patrons with mace, and promptly **started a street brawl.**

Cider Riot is suing.

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"Plaintiffs have been harmed by Patriot Prayers repeated, unwanted, alarming, and violent contacts with their business," **reads the lawsuit** against Patriot Prayer and its leader, Joey Gibson. "Citing threats of violence, Cider Riot has had to increase security, give staff additional training on safety in case of another Patriot Prayer attack, and has lost business."

Cider Riot owner Abram Goldman-Armstrong has requested a jury trial and \$1 million in damages in a lawsuit accusing Patriot Prayer and Gibson of acting negligently, trespassing, and intentionally inflicting emotional distress on his business' employees and patrons.

Gibson and members of Patriot Prayer arrived at Cider Riot the evening of May 1 after a day of peaceful May Day protests organized by local left-wing activist groups often targeted by Patriot Prayer. Many of those demonstrators met at Cider Riot in the late afternoon for a pre-planned May Day celebration at the bar.

According to the lawsuit, filed by Oregon Justice Resource Center (OJRC) attorney Juan Chavez, Gibson "coordinated with Patriot Prayer members to arrive at Cider Riot in the afternoon to 'Take the fight to Antifa.'"

In his Facebook livestream of the encounter, the suit adds, "Gibson introduced Cider Riot as 'Antifa central,' then asked his followers to look into the business, its owners, and its landlord. He then told his audience that 'If they cared about Portland... take care of this establishment.'"

Videos posted to Twitter by bystanders show members of Patriot Prayer approaching Cider Riot's outside patio dressed in armor, wearing helmets, and wielding batons. After shouting insults and hateful language at the patrons, one man in a MAGA hat sprays the people sitting on the patio with mace, kicking off a violent melee.

According to the lawsuit, Gibson "facilitated and refereed a street fight" between two people on the street outside of Cider Riot. Not long after, the suit claims, another Patriot Prayer member named Ian Kramer, "used a baton to crack a Cider Riot patron on the head, knocking her unconscious." She allegedly suffered a "serious vertebrae fracture."

"Gibson directed his group to back up, but continued to livestream and harass Cider Riot patrons while acknowledging the battery," the complaint continues.

By the time Portland police officers arrived at the scene, the fight had dissipated. In a media release, Portland Police Bureau explained that it took officers an hour to response because "it takes time for police response to spontaneous fights between groups of individuals who are armed and actively engaging in violence."

This isn't the first time Cider Riot has been targeted by Patriot Prayer. On January 24, Cider Riot's outer walls were spray painted with the phrase "Fuck Antifa." The business believes Patriot Prayer was connected to this graffiti. Gibson refutes the claim.

OJRC is representing Cider Riot pro bono. In a media statement, Chavez explains why:

"For too long, Portlanders have been terrorized by Joey Gibson and his adherents. Patriot Prayer and associated individuals and groups have repeatedly invaded our city, seeking to cause trouble, intimidate communities, and impede economic activity. They have rallied against vigils held for victims of police violence and marches for survivors of sexual violence and have hosted an event that attracted violent white supremacists from across the country days after the MAX train stabbings in May 2017. Our community is suffering and we must respond to the seriousness of the threat posed by the actions and words of white nationalists, white supremacists and the alt-right.

Our client Abram Goldman-Armstrong has the right to operate Cider Riot in peace without fearing for the safety and comfort of his customers and staff. He has already had to take measures to protect them from the alt-right and has lost business as a direct result of the actions of Joey Gibson and Patriot Prayer.

Our client's complaint seeks recognition of and compensation for the damage Joey Gibson and Patriot Prayer are doing to a law abiding Portland business. We need to send a message that their brand of hate is not welcome in Portland."

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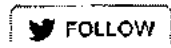
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## Alex Zielinski

Alex Zielinski is the News Editor for the *Portland Mercury*. She's here to tell stories about economic inequities, cops, civil rights, and weird city politics that you should probably be paying attention to.



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by [Andrea Damewood](#)

**TAB 53**

# Positively Sexy!

Celebrating 10 Years of SexPositive Portland

## BLOGTOWN

NEWS

### New Legal Claims and Defendants Added to Patriot Prayer Lawsuit

by [Alex Zielinski](#) • May 7, 2019 at 12:39 pm

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**Abe Goldman-Armstrong speaks during a Tuesday press conference.** ALEX ZIELINSKI

Since hosting a May Day celebration that **attracted violent opposition** at his NE Portland business Cider Riot, Abe Goldman-Armstrong has shut down the business' Facebook page, disconnected its phone, and requested security patrols to guard employees shutting down the shop at the end of the night.

"This is how bad it's gotten. We don't feel safe in our own business," said Goldman-Armstrong at a Tuesday morning press conference inside Cider Riot's warehouse. Goldman-Armstrong has filed a lawsuit against Patriot Prayer, the Vancouver, Washington-based alt-right organization, and its leader Joey Gibson, for inflicting violence on his property and at his patrons on May 1. Tuesday's press conference outlined **new additions** to the **initial lawsuit**, filed May 3.

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Cider Riot was specifically targeted by Patriot Prayer for hosting an event attended by members of Portland's anti-fascist (or, antifa) and progressive community after a day of peaceful May Day demonstrations.

"Gibson and his followers spent most of May 1st walking from peaceful march to peaceful march looking for a fight," said Juan Chavez, the attorney representing Goldman-Armstrong pro bono through the Oregon Justice Resource Center (OJRC). "When they couldn't start one in the streets, they came to Cider Riot, to make one."

Videos of the confrontation show armored, baton-carrying members of Patriot Prayer walk up to Cider Riot's outdoor patio and begin shouting insults and taunts at the patrons. Some on the patio were dressed in all-black and wearing bandanas—a familiar uniform for antifa groups.

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*"Gibson and his followers spent most of May 1st walking from peaceful march to peaceful march looking for a fight. When they couldn't start one in the streets, they came to Cider Riot, to make one."*

---

After provoking some of the patrons out of their seats, a member of Patriot Prayer appears to spray the patio with mace. Some on the patio return fire, spraying the unwelcome rabble-rousers with mace. This quickly turns into an all-out street fight between Patriot Prayer and a few Cider Riot patrons trying to keep them off the property. One woman was allegedly knocked unconscious by Patriot Prayer member Ian Kramer, and suffered a vertebrae fracture, according to the lawsuit.

"These thugs came accross state lines to assault us. They attended a peaceful gathering where people were enjoying themselves," said Goldman-Armstrong. "Thankfully our community stood up and our pub didn't get destroyed, and thankfully more people were not injured by these guys."

Goldman-Armstrong's four-count lawsuit accuses Patriot Prayer of neglecting to prevent physical harm against Cider Riot patrons, trespassing on the businesses property to cause harm, inflicting emotional distress on both employees and patrons, and interfering with Cider Riot's economic relationships (specifically, Patriot Prayer harassing Cider Riot investors and sending false reports to the Oregon Liquor Control Commission).

The original complaint specifically identified Gibson and Kramer as defendants.

But, since filing the lawsuit on Friday, Chavez has added three other members of Patriot Prayer as defendants: MacKenzie Lewis, Christopher Ponte, David Willis, and Matthew Cooper.

According to the updated lawsuit, Willis helped coordinating Patriot Prayer's May 1 visit to Cider Riot and, in earlier online messages, "had announced his intent to 'cleanse the streets.'" Lewis and Cooper allegedly "battered" Cider Riot patrons. The suit didn't clarify why Ponte, a known "cop watcher," was added as a defendant—aside from noting his longtime involvement to Patriot Prayer.



**Joey Gibson speaking at a Vancouver rally. LESTER BLACK**

During the press conference, Goldman-Armstrong expressed his disappointment in the Portland Police Bureau (PPB), who were called as soon as Patriot Prayer began assaulting Cider Riot patrons—but didn't show up for an hour.

"That's really disturbing," he said. "If we didn't have such great community support, we were kind of hung out to dry by the police. There was no appropriate response."

PPB admitted this delay in a May 2 press release, noting that "it takes time for police response to spontaneous fights between groups of individuals who are armed and actively engaging in violence." Goldman-Armstrong said he has scheduled a meeting with Mayor Ted Wheeler's public safety policy aide, Robert King, to talk about PPB's response.

The clash at Cider Riot is only the latest instance of Patriot Prayer members arriving in Portland seeking to assault progressive activists, whether it be during a downtown rally or small union meeting. It's also not the first time Cider Riot's been in Patriot Prayer's crosshairs.

"When we opened in 2016, we were determined to be a safe space for people of all walks of life, and that's something we've kept to," said Goldman-Armstrong, citing recent fundraisers for houseless veterans, the LGBTQ community, and the Feral Cat Society. "Unfortunately, that's put us on the radar of these hate groups."

Goldman-Armstrong said his business has been targeted by Patriot Prayer for hosting progressive events for two years.

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*"Abe and Cider Riot represent the best of Portland. It's a small business creating original product, creating a safe and inclusive space for this community. This is what Patriot Prayer is threatening."*

---

Bobbin Singh, director of the OJRC, said that this focus on Cider Riot illustrates how Patriot Prayer is systemically harming the Portland community.

"Abe and Cider Riot represent the best of Portland. It's a small business creating original product, creating a safe and inclusive space for this community," Singh said at the press conference. "This is what Patriot Prayer is threatening. They are threatening what is great about Portland and what we want to foster and nurture."

The Western States Center (WSC), a nonprofit focused on civil rights in the Pacific Northwest, has helped inform OJRC's legal case against Patriot Prayer. During the press conference, WSC's Amy Herzfeld-Copple spoke on the broader implications that normalizing violence from Patriot Prayer, a group that's attracted white nationalists, has on democracy.

"To characterize white nationalist violence as a free speech issue or as isolated outbreaks of street brawling ignores the growing political crisis," says Herzfeld-Copple. "That's why it's critical for local government to clearly denounce white nationalism."

She applauded Portland City Council's February passage of a resolution doing just that. According to Herzfeld-Copple, members of the WSC are meeting with city hall staff to plan employee-wide trainings on white nationalism.

Goldman-Armstrong's litigation has received outright support from US Rep. Earl Blumenauer, who dropped by Cider Riot to **purchase some six-packs** yesterday. No local politician has signaled this kind of approval.

"I hope we'll get more support from elected officials," Goldman-Armstrong said.

The city and PPB have faced harsh criticism in past years for not cracking down harder on Patriot Prayer members assaulting Portland activists. Earlier this year, an investigation by the *Mercury* found that a top PPB officer **frequently texted** Gibson during protests, helping him and other allies avoid arrest. PPB Chief Danielle Outlaw told the public she would **request an outside investigation** into those conversations in February. There's been no discussion of this investigation since.



ALEX ZIELINSKI

This, paired with PPB's inaction on the Cider Riot brawl, *and* Mayor Ted Wheeler's **failed attempt** to pass stronger (and constitutionally questionable) protest rules last November, has left the community doubtful that future Patriot Prayer attacks will play out any differently.

This legal action may change that. In his comments Tuesday morning, OJRC attorney Chavez noted this case's historic similarities.

"After the Civil War the Klu Klux Klan operated as a paramilitary group whose goal was to intimidate and cause violence," Chavez said. "When the Klan first appeared, Congress passed some laws allowing people to fight back against that terrorism in court, effectively paralyzing the Klan for decades. We're here today to avail ourselves to the court, to the law, to stop this terror."

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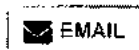


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# TAB 54



# TALKIN' DIRTY with SHRI

SEPTEMBER 26th at THE SIREN TH

## BLOGTOWN

NEWS

### Mayor's Police Liaison Leaves For Private Sector Job

by [Alex Zielinski](#) · Mar 8, 2019 at 3:02 pm

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CITY OF PORTLAND

**Update 3/12:** In a phone call with the *Mercury*, Nelson explained that the decision to leave the time-consuming city job was based solely on his desire to spend more time with his family. "I made a conscious decision to make more time

to be around my kids," Nelson said. "There's never going to be a good time to leave this position. I had to think about what was best for my family."

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***Original story:***

Berk Nelson, Mayor Ted Wheeler's senior policy advisor on public safety and livability (read: police) is resigning.

According to the mayor's office, Nelson has accepted a government relations position with Umpqua Bank. His last day is Friday, March 15.

Nelson is leaving in the midst of an investigation into how the Portland Police Bureau (PPB) engages with activists, an issue that Nelson is directly involved with.

The investigation, sparked by text message transcripts made public by the ***Mercury*** and *Willamette Week*, revealed a close, protective relationship between PPB Lt. Jeff Niiya and Joey Gibson, leader of the Vancouver, WA alt-right group Patriot Prayer. For some, the conversations confirmed a suspicion that alt-right groups received preferential treatment by police officers during their violent protests.

Nelson was Lt. Niiya's direct line to the mayor's office, and has texted Niiya to request information about Patriot Prayer's movement during a protest. **In an interview with the *Oregonian***, Nelson said he was aware that Niiya was in contact with Gibson, but he just "didn't know to what extent the conversations took place."

Nelson has also played a role in trying to prosecute members of Patriot Prayer for past acts of violence during Portland protests. He recently **shared his frustrations** about the drawn-out process with *Willamette Week*.

"This has been one of the most rewarding experiences for me because I have gained immeasurable insight into how government serves the community," Nelson said in a Friday press release. "I am grateful to the Mayor for giving me this opportunity. I have made many friends and partnerships along the way that I will carry into my next position."

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# TAB 55

# HUMP!

## BLOGTOWN

NEWS

### Portland Police Brace For August 17 Proud Boys Rally

by [Alex Zielinski](#) · Aug 2, 2019 at 11:12 am

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A Proud Boy wrestles a protester during an August 2017 clash. DOUG BROWN

The Portland Police Bureau (PPB) is gearing up for a predictably volatile August 17 visit by the Proud Boys—a national alt-right organization rooted in male chauvinism and white nationalism.

In a press alert sent Friday morning, PPB said that no organization that plans on rallying that day (anti-fascist group PopMob has also scheduled a counter-protest) has applied for an official permit to hold an event in downtown Portland.

But, PPB writes: "Based on publicly-available information, the Bureau is concerned events on August 17 may involve persons interested in participating in criminal activity."

In the past, alt-right rallies in downtown Portland have been organized by our local arm of right-wing extremists, Patriot Prayer. But this upcoming event is hosted by Joe Biggs, a Florida-based member of the Proud Boys, who boasts a loyal fanbase of right-wing provocateurs.

Biggs is a former contributor to InfoWars, Alex Jones' right-wing conspiracy website, and has made appearances at several Proud Boy protests in the past. He's framed this event as a response to violence that broke out during **Portland's last clash** between the alt-right and anti-fascist (antifa) groups on June 29.

"We want to put an end to domestic terrorism," reads Biggs' Facebook event page. "We have had enough. It's time to just say, no. [Mayor] Ted Wheeler and PPB put out a statement saying they will **START** doing their jobs(when did they stop?). Well then we are going to put that statement to the test."

PopMob, meanwhile, is planning an event called "The Spectacle," where they've asked Portlanders to "come out with the biggest, weirdest, most spectacular costumes, performances, and other fun activities" in hopes of out-weirding the Proud Boys. "Let's show them we won't let them scare us into hiding our true selves," reads PopMob's event page.

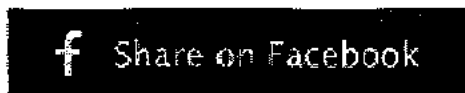
Both events will take place at the Tom McCall Waterfront Plaza.

PPB is preparing for the worst.

"There is concern about the criminal intentions being expressed in the publicly available forums which suggest some attendees plan to engage in violence," says PPB Chief Danielle Outlaw in the press release. "We are taking this into account and developing an appropriate plan with adequate resources to prepare for this eventuality.... We will also be doing outreach to provide information to local businesses, residents, and visitors so they will know what to expect and the likely areas to be impacted."

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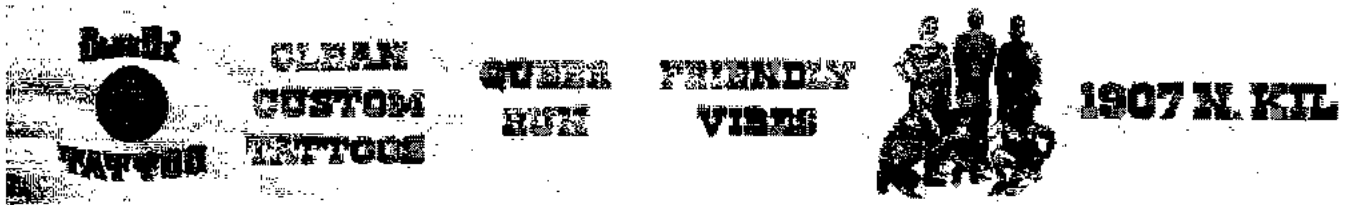
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# TAB 56





# BLOGTOWN

NEWS

## Portland Police Arrest Right-Wing Protester for May Day Assault at Cider Riot

by [Alex Ziellinski](#) • Aug 7, 2019 at 4:28 pm

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A scene from a 2017 Patriot Prayer rally. DOUG BROWN

The Portland Police Bureau (PPB) has made its first arrest following the May 1 street brawl that took place outside of Portland bar Cider Riot.

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**The Fixx at the Aladdin Theater on August 27. Legendary English new wave group returns to Portland.**

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**As first reported by *Willamette Week***, right-wing protester Ian Kramer was arrested this afternoon on six charges—second-degree assault, attempted second-degree assault, two counts of unlawfully using a weapon, disorderly conduct, and unlawful use of mace—related to his involvement in the May Day clash. A Multnomah County grand jury has accused Kramer of using a baton to beat a 31-year-old woman unconscious, along with other misconduct. Kramer's bail is set at \$250,000.

Kramer, 45, regularly attended events put on by Patriot Prayer, the right-wing extremist group based in Vancouver, Washington who organized the May 1 clash. Patriot Prayer visited Cider Riot after learning that members of Portland's anti-fascist (antifa) faction were meeting there to celebrate a day of peaceful May Day rallies. After yelling insults at Cider Riot patrons from the adjacent sidewalk, Patriot Prayer members allegedly sprayed mace at members of antifa, prompting some of the left-wing activists to leave the bar and engage in a street fight.

**A lawsuit filed by Cider Riot** against Patriot Prayer accuses Kramer of hitting a woman with a baton so forcefully that she was knocked unconscious—and suffered a vertebrae fracture.

Kramer is **one of five Patriot Prayer members** named as defendants in the May 6 lawsuit. Another is Matthew Cooper, a 24-year-old man who is also named in Kramer's indictment. The same grand jury accused Cooper of harassing the same woman allegedly assaulted by Kramer and "unlawfully and recklessly created a risk of public inconvenience, annoyance and alarm" by engaging in the street fight. The Cider Riot lawsuit also claims Cooper "battered" Cider Riot patrons.

Cooper has not yet been arrested by the PPB. When arrested, his bail will be set at \$3,000. Kramer will be arraigned tomorrow at 9:45 am at the Multnomah County Justice Center.

PPB was criticized for its delayed response to the May 1 clash—officers didn't arrive on the scene for over an hour. In a press release announcing Kramer's arrest, Police Chief Danielle Outlaw subtly responded to this critique.

"Criminal violence is not tolerated in the City of Portland and our investigators have worked diligently on this case," said Outlaw. "While these cases can take time, and delays in arrest can be perceived as indifference or lack of care, the opposite is true."

**Update, 8/8:** Cooper turned himself into the Multnomah County Sheriff's Office early Thursday morning.

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# TAB 57

# HUMP!

## BLOGTOWN

NEWS

### New Evidence Shows Joey Gibson's Role in Planning May Day Attack at Cider Riot

by [Alex Zielinski](#) • Aug 22, 2019 at 11:38 am

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**Joey Gibson at a August 17 rally in downtown Portland.** KAREN DUCEY / GETTY IMAGES

The legal team representing local cider bar Cider Riot in a lawsuit against far-right group Patriot Prayer has filed a **new motion** containing potentially damning evidence.

The lawsuit came after members of Patriot Prayer—including leader Joey Gibson—instigated a brawl with Cider Riot patrons on the sidewalk and street outside of the NE Couch business on May 1. Cider Riot attorney Juan Chavez, with the Oregon Justice Resource Center (OJRC), argues that Patriot Prayer intentionally targeted the business because people who identified as anti-fascists (or, antifa) were meeting there to celebrate a day of peaceful May Day demonstrations. **The lawsuit**, filed on May 3, accused Gibson and six other members of Patriot Prayer of acting negligently and trespassing on private property—and requests a trial by jury.

Gibson has since **requested a judge dismiss** this lawsuit, claiming Cider Riot and Chavez are trying to silence Gibson's political opinions. Gibson's lawyer, Multnomah County GOP Chair James Buchal, believes that his client is the target of a Strategic Lawsuit Against Public Participation (SLAPP), a name for litigation that appears specifically crafted to intimidate and silence critics.

Buchal argues that Gibson was simply standing on a public sidewalk and using his First Amendment rights to oppose antifa, and "there was not planning or organization by him or [Patriot Prayer]" to show up at Cider Riot and engage in violence.

OJRC's latest motion in this case, however, undermines this narrative.

"Gibson claims that the charges against him are 'a shame' because they are 'political' and not based on anything he did on May 1," writes Cliff Davidson, an attorney familiar with anti-SLAPP cases hired by OJRC, in the Wednesday evening filing. This, he adds, is "in direct contradiction of law enforcement."

Davidson is referring to **last week's indictment** from the Multnomah County District Attorney charging Gibson of "inciting a riot" at Cider Riot on May 1. Gibson turned himself in for this felony charge on Friday, August 16. He was released on bail later that afternoon.

"The indictment indicates that there is probable cause to believe that Gibson coordinated or participated in the violent acts affecting plaintiffs on May 1," Davidson writes.

This isn't the only piece of evidence Davidson uses to show Gibson's involvement in planning the violent confrontation.

The Wednesday motion also includes four videos taken by someone walking with Patriot Prayer before the group arrived at Cider Riot. The most incendiary of the clips show a small group of Patriot Prayer members milling about a few blocks from the cider bar, waiting for instructions from Gibson.

"Who's texting Joey?" Someone asks when the group seems to be without a game plan. Another man says, "Tell Joey and them to hurry the fuck up. I hope they got like ten big dudes with them."

**mayday before the fight**





As the group waits, they discuss their weaponry. A few men consider which way the wind's blowing to avoid getting "spray" in their eyes. Another man holds a thick wooden dowel, and practices swinging it like a baseball bat. Some wear goggles, helmets, and tactical gloves. One woman is holding a brick.

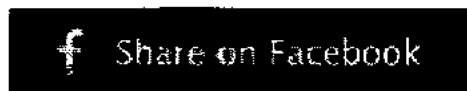
"Who's the guy with the weapons here?" A man holding a police baton says, appearing to become agitated that the group has to wait for Gibson. "Me!"

A little later, someone in the group tells a person on speakerphone, "There's going to be a huge fight," and gives them directions to Cider Riot.

This new motion asks Multnomah County Judge Andrew Lavin to allow for discovery—a pre-trial process where lawyers can obtain evidence from the opposing parties, including sworn depositions from the accused. It's not yet clear when Lavin will rule on this motion.

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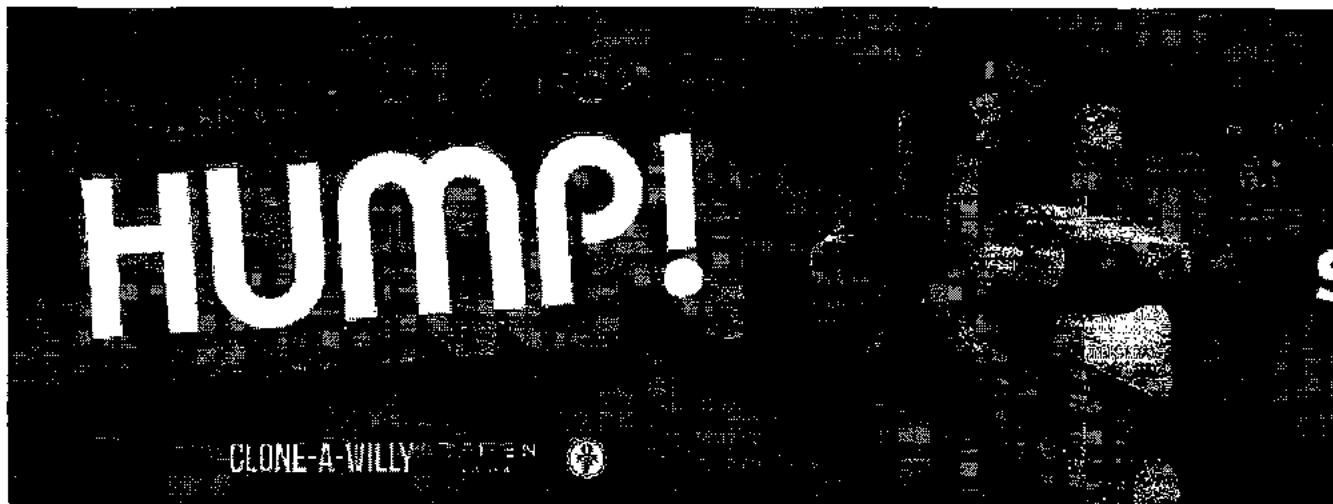
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# TAB 58



## BLOGTOWN

NEWS

# Undercover in Patriot Prayer: Insights From a Vancouver Democrat Who's Been Working Against the Far-Right Group from the Inside

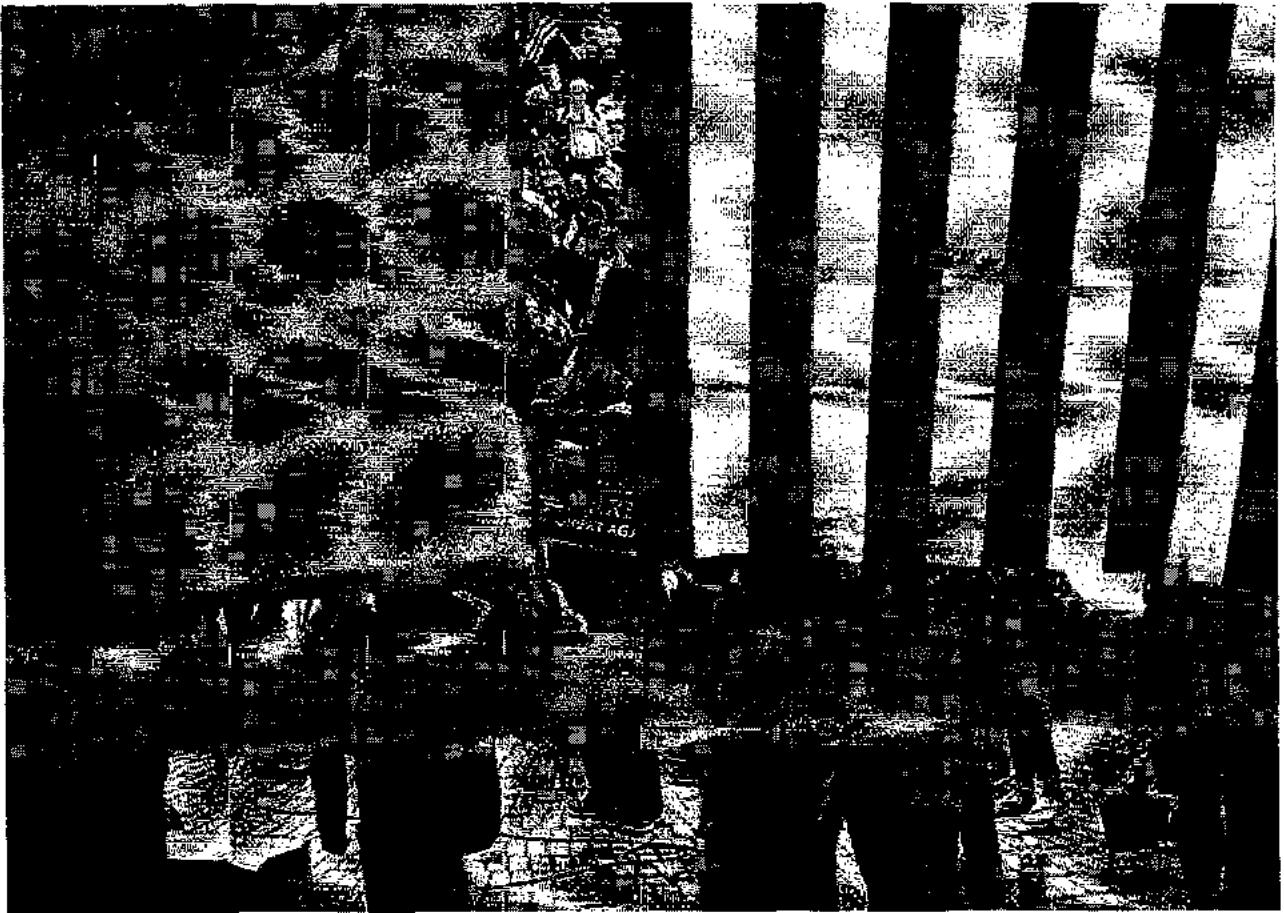
by [Alex Zielinski](#) • Aug 26, 2019 at 9:23 am

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AARON LEE

Since 2017, far-right groups have flocked to notoriously liberal Portland to march, yell, and engage in violent clashes with left-wing activists. Most of these demonstrations were planned by Patriot Prayer, a small coalition of Trump-supporting provocateurs based in Vancouver, WA.

Ben has marched alongside Patriot Prayer for nearly every major Portland demonstration—events with such vague names as “Rally for Trump and Freedom,” “Freedom March,” and “Trump Free Speech Rally.”

What the far-right group didn't know was that Ben was a spy.

However, in a matter of weeks, Ben's long-hidden identity will be made public, meaning his days of being undercover with the group have come to an end. Video footage shot by this left-of-center Democrat will soon be used in court against longtime members of Patriot Prayer—including its leader, Joey Gibson.

Ben—not his real name, as he wishes to keep his name private a *little* longer—is a tall, 30-something man with a reddish-blond beard and pale skin. He’s easy to spot in a crowd. It doesn’t hurt that he always wears the same shirt to rallies: a red tee emblazoned with the Marvel Comics antihero Deadpool.

A self-described “everyday anti-fascist,” Ben’s two years of quietly documenting the inner-workings of the local far-right have come to a close. But his experience offers an unprecedented peek into how Portland’s alt-right agitators function.

Ben’s interest in local activism began in 2011, after a four-year stint with the US Navy ended during the height of the recession. While he didn’t consider himself a staunch liberal at the time, Ben grew frustrated with the feds’ response to the financial crisis and began participating in Occupy Portland rallies. While earning a psychology degree at Washington State University, Ben joined the Young Democrats of Clark County and began canvassing for local Democrats running for school boards or city council seats.

It was only after Donald Trump’s election that Ben began hearing about Patriot Prayer’s increasingly contentious events. Wanting to witness the Vancouver group’s tactics firsthand, Ben decided to attend—and document—a Patriot Prayer rally in downtown Portland on June 4, 2017.



**Police block anti-fascist protesters on June 4, 2017. DIRK VANDERHART**

It was a mess. Patriot Prayer was joined by **three left-wing protest groups** and a pack of heavily armored police officers. Police used pepper spray on several anti-fascist (commonly shortened to “antifa”) protesters, arrested 14 participants, and ended up detaining more than a hundred attendees—including several journalists—when the crowds didn’t disperse.

Ben managed to avoid the police, and instead documented protesters on the periphery of the clashing rallies. That’s when he encountered four people affiliated with Patriot Prayer beating up a left-wing protester on a sidewalk.

“I was shocked by the violence,” Ben says. “I remember thinking, ‘Patriot Prayer is only going to get more violent. And no one is going to stop them.’”

Ben, who calls veterans the “original” anti-fascists, says his time in the Navy inspired him to take action.

“When I joined the military, I made an oath to defend the constitution against all enemies, foreign and domestic,” says Ben. “There’s no expiration date on that oath. I want to live my ideals.”

So Ben decided to fight back. But instead of joining local anti-fascist groups, Ben set his sights on weakening Patriot Prayer from the inside.

The idea: Get far-right activists on camera—to help others identify them—and act as an “early warning system” by leaking Patriot Prayer’s plans to counter-protesters in real time.

Fortunately, Ben knew it wouldn’t be too difficult to infiltrate the right-wing group.

“I’m a big, bearded white guy from Vancouver—I blend in,” says Ben. “I was cashing in on my privilege.”

Ben began joining Patriot Prayer at major demonstrations, using his phone to capture anti-liberal diatribes, impromptu strategizing, and intermittent violence. He found that blending in was even easier than he expected.

“They never asked me any serious questions—like who I was with or why I was filming,” says Ben. “There was no vetting. They’re just not very curious people. I think part of it is fearing that a new person might be associated with right wing groups more extreme than they are.”

Past Patriot Prayer rallies have attracted members of white nationalist organizations like Identity Europa, misogynist alt-right clubs like the Proud Boys, and anti-government militia groups like the Oath Keepers and Three Percenters.

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*“When I joined the military, I signed an oath to defend the constitution against all enemies, foreign and domestic. There’s no expiration date on that oath.”*

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Ben says there are only about 15 core members of Patriot Prayer. It’s the group’s partnerships with other far-right organizations that boost their numbers during major protests.

“It doesn’t matter if you have different beliefs,” Ben says. “The only thing that matters to them is that you hate the left.”

Ben says he mostly “acts like himself” during protests—cracking jokes, fist-bumping protesters, and even subtly promoting liberal ideas with MAGA-hat-wearing members. The only lie he tells is that he’s a conservative.

He spends most of his time befriending people he calls “true believers,” or members who have nothing to gain from their involvement in Patriot Prayer. He contrasts these followers with people like Gibson or fellow Patriot Prayer organizer Haley Adams—two people who use their polished social media platforms to collect online donations from fans.

“I’ve intentionally avoided grifters like Joey and Haley because they are sharper about interacting with strangers like me,” says Ben.

Another person he includes in the “grifter” category: Andy Ngo, a conservative writer who’s built a Twitter persona around filming fights between antifa and right-wing extremists (that, and trying to convince people that hate crime allegations **raised by LGBTQ+ Portlanders** are simply “hoaxes”).

Ngo tags along with Patriot Prayer during demonstrations, hoping to catch footage of an altercation. Ben says Ngo doesn’t film Patriot Prayer protesters discussing strategies or motives. He only turns his camera on when members of antifa enter the scene.

“There’s an understanding,” he says, “that Patriot Prayer protects him and he protects them.”





**Joey Gibson and Haley Adams at a Portland protest** STEVE DYKES / GETTY IMAGES

On May 1, 2019 Ben joined Patriot Prayer in Portland, where the group intended to confront antifa activists who were protesting US Immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE) policies. When Patriot Prayer's attempt to provoke the protesters fizzled, the majority of the group retreated to an I-84 overpass by the Lloyd Center to wave American flags at passersby. Gibson remained at the ICE protest.

"I'm mostly here so that I can text people in case any of the fash [shorthand for fascists] attempt to go to where the counter-protesters are," Ben told his Facebook Live viewers that afternoon from the overpass. "And I'm getting who's present so I can pass that information on to other people."

Ben livestreams all far-right protests he attends on Facebook, allowing the public to follow along and ask questions. Occasionally he steps away from the crowd to let his viewers in on his secret: That he's an anti-fascist embedded with the opposition. Knowing his friends are following his livestream gives Ben an extra boost of confidence—he knows they'll be quick to act if anything goes awry.

"I tell them to call the police if I ever start singing the National Anthem," says Ben. "Fortunately, that hasn't happened yet."

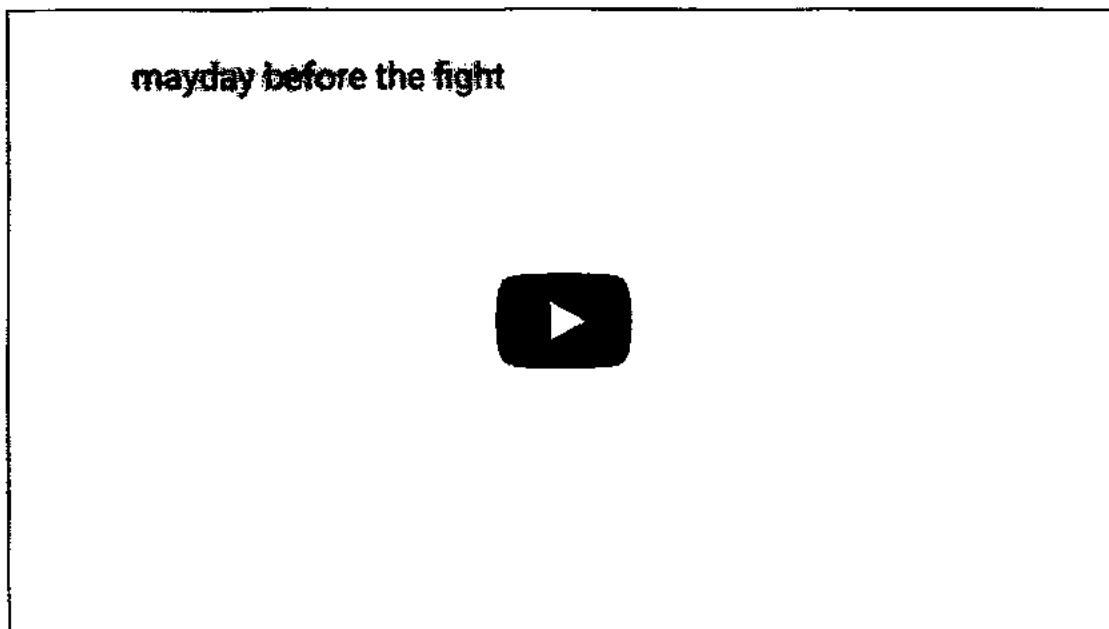
After his livestream ends, Ben's video can only be viewed by his Facebook friends. Ben says he sometimes sends his films to anti-fascist groups, like Rose City Antifa, who use them to identify local members of the far-right.

Ben spent most of May 1 filming what he considered "the most uneventful" May Day gathering he'd ever seen. But then he heard about the Cider Riot plan.

"You guys want to go to Cider Riot, because Joey [Gibson]'s going," says a man carrying a "Don't Tread On Me" flag by the I-84 overpass, captured on Ben's livestream. "We should back him up."

Gibson had apparently learned that members of antifa were planning on meeting up at the NE Couch cidery after the day's protests wrapped up. He told his followers to meet him there at 6 pm.

After stepping away from the far-right flag-wavers to relay this information to his livestream followers, Ben temporarily stopped filming. When he switches the stream back on, he's walking through NE Portland neighborhoods with the far-right protesters and Ngo, the conservative writer. They're headed toward Cider Riot.



Ben says that he paused his livestream to call Cider Riot and warn the staff about Patriot Prayer's planned visit.

For the next 20 minutes, Ben films as the group loiters a few blocks away from Cider Riot, waiting for Gibson to show up.

As the group waits, they discuss their weaponry. A few men try to guess which way the wind's blowing to avoid getting "spray" in their eyes, presumably when they use it against members of antifa. Another man holds a thick wooden dowel, and practices swinging it like a baseball bat. A woman carries a red brick in her hand. Some don goggles, helmets, and tactical gloves.

"Who's texting Joey?" Someone asks when the group seems to be without a game plan. Another man says, "Tell Joey and them to hurry the fuck up."

Ben captures someone telling a person on speakerphone, "There's going to be a huge fight," and gives them directions to Cider Riot.

Ngo doesn't film any of the conversations, and smiles when the group cracks jokes.

"He overheard everything," Ben recalls, "and said nothing."

As soon as Gibson appears with Adams, the group walks the remaining blocks to Cider Riot. People sitting on the cidery's patio, many of them dressed in all black (a tactic called "black bloc," used by some anti-fascists), appear prepared. What happened next was May Day's headline-maker: A massive street brawl instigated by members of Patriot Prayer, featuring oddly structured fist fights in a haze of pepper spray and name-calling.

"This is so fucking weird," Ben tells his livestream followers as he films the fights, pausing to wipe pepper spray from around his eyes. Officers with the Portland Police Bureau (PPB) didn't arrive on the scene for an hour.

Ben says the Cider Riot fight was the first time he directly intervened in action taken by Patriot Prayer.

"It's time to leave, guys," Ben is heard yelling at the group after one man—later identified as Ian Kramer—used a baton to knock a woman out cold. "Calm your shit!" His video ends after the group is chased down the street by shouting people dressed in black bloc.

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*"I think every person should try to infiltrate these groups, if they're in the position to do so. This is what patriotism looks like."*

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Since this May Day clash, Patriot Prayer and its supporters have uploaded edited clips of the fight to social media, trying to prove that their unprovoked attack was actually an act of self defense. Gibson claimed it was an impromptu visit.

Meanwhile, **Cider Riot filed a lawsuit** against Gibson and six other Patriot Prayer members for acting negligently and trespassing on private property.

People on all sides called for arrests. None came.

It was Ben's video that helped Portland Police Bureau (PPB) confidently secure arrest warrants against Gibson and five other members of Patriot Prayer who followed him to Cider Riot that afternoon. On August 22, a Multnomah County grand jury indicted Gibson and five other members of Patriot Prayer **on felony charges** for inciting a riot. Several of the men face multiple charges, including assault and unlawful use of a weapon.

While Ben's video of the clash is a useful piece of evidence, it's his footage of the group planning the alleged riot that might put the suspects behind bars. This clip has also been **included in a new motion** filed in Cider Riot's civil case against Patriot Prayer as evidence that Gibson had orchestrated the attack.

Ben says it didn't hit him while he was filming that he might have captured criminal evidence. It was only when Cider Riot filed their lawsuit against Patriot Prayer on May 3 that Ben decided to send his footage to the cidery's legal team. Weeks later, Ben got a call from PPB detective looking for that same footage. Ben handed the video over, and cautiously agreed to be a witness.



**Cider Riot owner Abe Goldman-Armstrong speaks at a press conference announcing his lawsuit against Patriot Prayer. ALEX ZIELINSKI**

"I think police are a weapon that can point at you or you can point to someone else," says Ben. "Either way, someone is going to get cut. I'd rather it not be me."

Ben isn't concerned about facing any legal charges himself, since he's on film discouraging the group from following through with their attack. But he is worried about what will happen when his true identity is inevitably made public through the legal system—both in the civil and criminal cases.

"I have a good safety net of friends and community members looking out for me," he says. "But it's definitely unnerving."

He's also a little bittersweet about leaving his DIY undercover work behind.

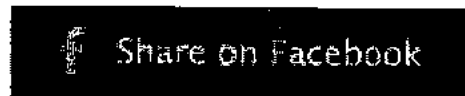
"My ability to gather intelligence on this terrorist group has ended," says Ben. "Unless I wear a really good disguise, I won't be able to go unseen in this group anymore."

However, he suspects he's not the only closeted leftie who's joined local far-right groups in hopes of undermining their work. He hopes his story inspired others to follow suit.

"I think every person should try to infiltrate these groups, if they're in the position to do so," he says. "This is what patriotism looks like."

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## Alex Zielinski

Alex Zielinski is the News Editor for the *Portland Mercury*. She's here to tell stories about economic inequities, cops, civil rights, and weird city politics that you should probably be paying attention to.



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