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TESTIMONY OF ABBIE HOFFMAN MR. WEINGLASS: Will you please identify yourself for the record? THE WITNESS: My name is Abbie. I am an orphan of America. MR. SCHULTZ: Your Honor, may the record show it is the defendant Hoffman who has taken the stand? THE COURT: Oh, yes. It may so indicate. . . . MR. WEINGLASS: Where do you reside? THE WITNESS: I live in Woodstock Nation. MR. WEINGLASS: Will you tell the Court and jury where it is? THE WITNESS: Yes. It is a nation of alienated young people. We carry it around with us as a state of mind in the same way as the Sioux Indians carried the Sioux nation around with them. It is a nation dedicated to cooperation versus competition, to the idea that people should have better means of exchange than property or money, that there should be some other basis for human interaction. It is a nation dedicated to-- THE COURT: Just where it is, that is all. THE WITNESS: It is in my mind and in the minds of my brothers and sisters. It does not consist of property or material but, rather, of ideas and certain values. We believe in a society-- THE COURT: No, we want the place of residence, if he has one, place of doing business, if you have a business. Nothing about philosophy or India, sir. Just where you live, if you have a place to live. Now you said Woodstock. In what state is Woodstock? THE WITNESS: It is in the state of mind, in the mind of myself and my brothers and sisters. It is a conspiracy. Presently, the nation is held captive, in the penitentiaries of the institutions of a decaying system. MR. WEINGLASS: Can you tell the Court and jury your present age? THE WITNESS: My age is 33. I am a child of the 60s. MR. WEINGLASS: When were you born? THE WITNESS: Psychologically, 1960. MR. SCHULTZ: Objection, if the Court please. I move to strike the answer. MR. WEINGLASS: What is the actual date of your birth? THE WITNESS: November 30,1936. MR. WEINGLASS: Between the date of your birth, November 30, 1936, and May 1, 1960, what if anything occurred in your life? THE WITNESS: Nothing. I believe it is called an American education. MR. SCHULTZ: Objection. THE COURT: I sustain the objection. THE WITNESS: Huh. MR. WEINGLASS: Abbie, could you tell the Court and jury-- MR. SCHULTZ: His name isn't Abbie. I object to this informality. MR. WEINGLASS: Can you tell the Court and jury what is your present occupation? THE WITNESS: I am a cultural revolutionary. Well, I am really a defendant--full-time. MR. WEINGLASS: What do you mean by the phrase "cultural revolutionary?" THE WITNESS: Well, I suppose it is a person who tries to shape and participate in the values, and the mores, the customs and the style of living of new people who eventually become inhabitants of a new nation and a new society through art and poetry, theater, and music. MR. WEINGLASS: What have you done yourself to participate in that revolution? THE WITNESS: Well, I have been a rock and roll singer. I am a reporter with the Liberation News Service. I am a poet. I am a film maker. I made a movie called "Yippies Tour Chicago or How I Spent My Summer Vacation." Currently, I am negotiating with United Artists and MGM to do a movie in Hollywood. I have written an extensive pamphlet on how to live free in the city of New York. I have written two books, one called Revolution for The Hell of It under the pseudonym Free, and one called, Woodstock Nation. MR. WEINGLASS: Taking you back to the spring of 1960, approximately May 1, 1960, will you tell the Court and jury where you were? MR. SCHULTZ: 1960? THE WITNESS: That's right. MR. SCHULTZ: Objection. THE COURT: I sustain the objection. MR. WEINGLASS: Your Honor, that date has great relevance to the trial. May 1, 1960, was this witness' first public demonstration. I am going to bring him down through Chicago. THE COURT: Not in my presence, you are not going to bring him down. I sustain the objection to the question. THE WITNESS: My background has nothing to do with my state of mind? THE COURT: Will you remain quiet while I am making a ruling? I know you have no respect for me. MR. KUNSTLER: Your Honor, that is totally unwarranted. I think your remarks call for a motion for a mistrial. THE COURT: And your motion calls for a denial of the motion. Mr. Weinglass, continue with your examination. MR. KUNSTLER: You denied my motion? I hadn't even started to argue it. THE COURT: I don't need any argument on that one. The witness turned his back on me while he was on the witness stand. THE WITNESS: I was just looking at the pictures of the long hairs up on the wall. . . . THE COURT: . . . I will let the witness tell about this asserted conversation with Mr. Rubin on the occasion described. MR. WEINGLASS: What was the conversation at that time? THE WITNESS: Jerry Rubin told me that he had come to New York to be project director of a peace march in Washington that was going to march to the Pentagon in October, October 21. He said that the peace movement suffered from a certain kind of attitude, mainly that it was based solely on the issue of the Vietnam war. He said that the war in Vietnam was not just an accident but a direct by-product of the kind of system, a capitalist system in the country, and that we had to begin to put forth new kinds of values, especially to young people in the country, to make a kind of society in which a Vietnam war would not be possible. And he felt that these attitudes and values were present in the hippie movement and many of the techniques, the guerrilla theater techniques that had been used and many of these methods of communication would allow for people to participate and become involved in a new kind of democracy. I said that the Pentagon was a five-sided evil symbol in most religions and that it might be possible to approach this from a religious point of view. If we got large numbers of people to surround the Pentagon, we could exorcize it of its evil spirits. So I had agreed at that point to begin working on the exorcism of the Pentagon demonstration. MR. WEINGLASS: Prior to the date of the demonstration which is October, did you go to the Pentagon? THE WITNESS: Yes. I went about a week or two before with one of my close brothers, Martin Carey, a poster maker, and we measured the Pentagon, the two of us, to see how many people would fit around it. We only had to do one side because it is just multiplied by five. We got arrested. It's illegal to measure the Pentagon. I didn't know it up to that point. When we were arrested they asked us what we were doing. We said it was to measure the Pentagon and we wanted a permit to raise it 300 feet in the air, and they said "How about 10?" So we said "OK." And they threw us out of the Pentagon and we went back to New York and had a press conference, told them what it was about. We also introduced a drug called lace, which, when you squirted it at the policemen made them take their clothes off and make love, a very potent drug. MR. WEINGLASS: Did you mean literally that the building was to rise up 300 feet off the ground? MR. SCHULTZ: I can't cross-examine about his meaning literally. THE COURT: I sustain the objection. MR. SCHULTZ: I would ask Mr. Weinglass please get on with the trial of this case and stop playing around with raising the Pentagon 10 feet or 300 feet off the ground. MR. WEINGLASS: Your Honor, I am glad to see Mr. Schultz finally concedes that things like levitating the Pentagon building, putting LSD in the water, 10,000 people walking nude on Lake Michigan, and a \$200,000 bribe attempt are all playing around. I am willing to concede that fact, that it was all playing around, it was a play idea of this witness, and if he is willing to concede it, we can all go home. THE COURT: I sustain the objection. MR. WEINGLASS: Did you intend that the people who surrounded the Pentagon should do anything of a violent nature whatever to cause the building to rise 300 feet in the air and be exercised of evil spirits? MR. SCHULTZ: Objection. THE COURT: I sustain the objection. MR. WEINGLASS: Could you indicate to the Court and jury whether or not the Pentagon was, in fact, exercised of its evil spirits? THE WITNESS: Yes, I believe it was. . . . MR. WEINGLASS: Now, drawing your attention to the first week of December 1967, did you have occasion to meet with Jerry Rubin and the others? THE WITNESS: Yes. MR. WEINGLASS: Will you relate to the Court and jury what the conversation was? THE WITNESS: Yes. We talked about the possibility of having demonstrations at the Democratic Convention in Chicago, Illinois, that was going to be occurring that August. I am not sure that we knew at that point that it was in Chicago. Wherever it was, we were planning on going. Jerry Rubin, I believe, said that it would be a good idea to call it the Festival of Life in contrast to the Convention of Death, and to have it in some kind of public area, like a park or something, in Chicago. One thing that I was very particular about was that we didn't have any concept of leadership involved. There was a feeling of young people that they didn't want to listen to leaders. We had to create a kind of situation in which people would be allowed to participate and become in a real sense their own leaders. I think it was then after this that Paul Krassner said the word "YIPPIE," and we felt that that expressed in a kind of slogan and advertising sense the spirit that we wanted to put forth in Chicago, and we adopted that as our password, really. . . . Anita [Hoffman] said that "Yippie" would be understood by our generation, that straight newspapers like the New York Times and the U.S. Government and the courts and everything wouldn't take it seriously unless it had a formal name, so she came up with the name: "Youth International Party." She said we could play a lot of jokes on the concept of "party" because everybody would think that we were this huge international conspiracy, but that in actuality we were a party that you had fun at. Nancy [Kursham] said that fun was an integral ingredient, that people in America, because they were being programmed like IBM cards, weren't having enough fun in life and that if you watched television, the only people that you saw having any fun were people who were buying lousy junk on television commercials, and that this would be a whole new attitude because you would see people, young people, having fun while they were protesting the system, and that young people all around this country and around the world would be turned on for that kind of an attitude. I said that fun was very important, too, that it was a direct rebuttal of the kind of ethics and morals that were being put forth in the country to keep people working in a rat race which didn't make any sense because in a few years that machines would do all the work anyway, that there was a whole system of values that people were taught to postpone their pleasure, to put all their money in the bank, to buy life insurance, a whole bunch of things that didn't make any sense to our generation at all, and that fun actually was becoming quite subversive. Jerry said that because of our action at the Stock Exchange in throwing out the money, that within a few weeks the Wall Street brokers there had totally enclosed the whole stock exchange in bulletproof, shatterproof glass, that cost something like \$20,000 because they were afraid we'd come back and throw money out again. He said that for hundreds of years political cartoonists had always pictured corrupt politicians in the guise of a pig, and he said that it would be great theater if we ran a pig for President, and we all took that on as like a great idea and that's more or less---that was the founding. MR. WEINGLASS: The document that is before you, D-222 for identification, what is that document? THE WITNESS: It was our initial call to people to describe what Yippie was about and why we were coming to Chicago. MR. WEINGLASS: Now, Abbie, could you read the entire document to the jury. THE WITNESS: It says: "A STATEMENT FROM YIP!" Join us in Chicago in August for an international festival of youth, music, and theater. Rise up and abandon the creeping meatball! Come all you rebels, youth spirits, rock minstrels, truth-seekers, peacock-freaks, poets, barricade-jumpers, dancers, lovers and artists! "It is summer. It is the last week in August, and the NATIONAL DEATH PARTY meets to bless Lyndon Johnson. We are there! There are 50,000 of us dancing in the streets, throbbing with amplifiers and harmony. We are making love in the parks. We are reading, singing, laughing, printing newspapers, groping, and making a mock convention, and celebrating the birth of FREE AMERICA in our own time. "Everything will be free. Bring blankets, tents, draft-cards, body-paint, Mr. Leary's Coc, food to share, music, eager skin, and happiness. The threats of LBJ, Mayor Daley, and J. Edgar Freako will not stop us. We are coming! We are coming from all over the world! "The life of the American spirit is being torn asunder by the forces of violence, decay, and the napalm-cancer fiend. We demand the Politics of Ecstasy! We are the delicate spores of the new fierceness that will change America. We will create our own reality, we are Free America! And we will not accept the false theater of the Death Convention. "We will be in Chicago. Begin preparations now! Chicago is yours! Do it!!" "Do it!!" was a slogan like "Yippie." We use that a lot and it meant that each person that came should take on the responsibility for being his own leader---that we should, in fact, have a leaderless society. We shortly thereafter opened an office and people worked in the office on what we call movement salaries, subsistence, thirty dollars a week. We had what the straight world would call a staff and an office although we called it an energy center and regarded ourselves as a tribe or a family. MR. WEINGLASS: Could you explain to the Court and jury, if you know, how this staff functioned in your office? THE WITNESS: Well, I would describe it as anarchistic. People would pick up the phone and give information and people from all over the country were now becoming interested and they would ask for more information, whether we were going to get a permit, how the people in Chicago were relating, and we would bring flyers and banners and posters. We would have large general meetings that were open to anybody who wanted to come. MR. WEINGLASS: How many people would attend these weekly meetings? THE WITNESS: There were about two to three hundred people there that were attending the meetings. Eventually we had to move into Union Square and hold meetings out in the public. There would be maybe three to five hundred people attending meetings. . . . MR. WEINGLASS: Where did you go [March 23], if you can recall THE WITNESS: I flew to Chicago to observe a meeting being sponsored, I believe, by the National Mobilization Committee. It was held at a place called Lake Villa, I believe, about twenty miles outside of Chicago here. MR. WEINGLASS: Do you recall how you were dressed for that meeting? THE WITNESS: I was dressed as an Indian. I had gone to Grand Central Station as an Indian and so I just got on a plane and flew as an Indian. MR. WEINGLASS: Now, when you flew to Chicago, were you alone? THE WITNESS: No. Present were Jerry, myself, Paul Krassner, and Marshall Bloom, the head of this Liberation News Service. MR. WEINGLASS: When you arrived at Lake Villa, did you have occasion to meet any of the defendants who are seated here at this table? THE WITNESS: Yes, I met for the first time Rennie, Tom Hayden---who I had met before, and that's it, you know. . . . MR. WEINGLASS: Was any decision reached at that meeting about coming to Chicago? THE WITNESS: I believe that they debated for two days about whether they should come or not to Chicago. They decided to have more meetings. We said we had already made up our minds to come to Chicago and we passed out buttons and posters and said that if they were there, good, it would be a good time. MR. WEINGLASS: Following the Lake Villa conference, do you recall where you went? THE WITNESS: Yes. The next day, March 25, I went to the Aragon Ballroom. It was a benefit to raise money again for the Yippies but we had a meeting backstage in one of the dressing rooms with the Chicago Yippies. MR. WEINGLASS: Do you recall what was discussed? THE WITNESS: Yes. We drafted a permit application for the Festival to take place in Chicago. We agreed that Grant Park would be best. MR. WEINGLASS: Directing your attention to the following morning, which was Monday morning, March 26, do you recall where you were at that morning? THE WITNESS: We went to the Parks Department. Jerry was there, Paul, Helen Runningwater, Abe Peck, Reverend John Tuttle---there were a group of about twenty to thirty people, Yippies. MR. WEINGLASS: Did you meet with anyone at the Park District at that time? THE WITNESS: Yes. There were officials from the Parks Department to greet us, they took us into this office, and we presented a permit application. MR. WEINGLASS: Did you ever receive a reply to this application? THE WITNESS: Not to my knowledge. MR. WEINGLASS: After your meeting with the Park District, where, if anywhere, did you go? THE WITNESS: We held a brief press conference on the lawn in front of the Parks Department, and then we went to see Mayor Daley at City Hall. When we arrived, we were told that the mayor was indisposed and that Deputy Mayor David Stahl would see us. MR. WEINGLASS: When you met with Deputy Mayor Stahl, what, if anything, occurred? THE WITNESS: Helen Runningwater presented him with a copy of the permit application that we had submitted to the Parks Department. It was rolled up in the Playmate of the Month that said "To Dick with Love, the Yippies," on it. And we presented it to him and gave him a kiss and put a Yippie button on him, and when he opened it up, the Playmate was just there. And he was very embarrassed by the whole thing, and he said that we had followed the right procedure, the city would give it proper attention and things like that. . . . December 29, 1969 MR. WEINGLASS: I direct your attention now to August 5, 1968, and I ask you where you were on that day. THE WITNESS: I was in my apartment, St. Marks Place, on the Lower East Side in New York City. MR. WEINGLASS: Who was with you? THE WITNESS: Jerry Rubin was there, Paul Krassner was there, and Nancy. Anita was there; five of us, I believe. MR. WEINGLASS: Can you describe the conversation which occurred between you and Abe Peck on the telephone? THE WITNESS: Mr. Peck and other people from Chicago, Yippies---had just returned from a meeting on Monday afternoon with David Stahl and other people from the City administration. He said that he was quite shocked because---they said that they didn't know that we wanted to sleep in the park. Abe Peck said that it had been known all along that one of the key elements of this Festival was to let us sleep in the park, that it was impossible for people to sleep in hotels since the delegates were staying there and it would only be natural to sleep in the park. He furthermore told me in his opinion the City was laying down certain threats to them in order to try and get them to withdraw their permit application, and that we should come immediately back to Chicago. MR. WEINGLASS: After that phone conversation what occurred? THE WITNESS: We subsequently went to Chicago on August 7 at night. MR. WEINGLASS: Did a meeting occur on that evening? THE WITNESS: Yes, in Mayor Daley's press conference room, where he holds his press conferences. MR. WEINGLASS: Can you relate what occurred at this meeting? THE WITNESS: It was more or less an informal kind of meeting. Mr. Stahl made clear that these were just exploratory talks, that the mayor didn't have it in his power to grant the permits. We said that that was absurd, that we had been negotiating now for a period of four or five months, that the City was acting like an ostrich, sticking its head in the sand, hoping that we would all go away like it was some bad dream. I pointed out that it was in the best interests of the City to have us in Lincoln Park ten miles away from the Convention hall. I said we had no intention of marching on the Convention hall, that I didn't particularly think that politics in America could be changed by marches and rallies, that what we were presenting was an alternative life style, and we hoped that people of Chicago would come up, and mingle in Lincoln Park and see what we were about. I said that the City ought to give us a hundred grand, a hundred thousand dollars to run the Festival. It would be so much in their best interests. And then I said, "Why don't you just give two hundred grand, and I'll split town?" It was a very informal meeting. We were just sitting around on metal chairs that they had. All the time David Stahl had been insisting that they did not make decisions in the city, that he and the mayor did not make the decisions. We greeted this with a lot of laughter and said that it was generally understood all around the country that Daley was the boss of Chicago and made all the decisions. I also said that I considered that our right to assemble in Lincoln Park and to present our society was a right that I was willing to die for, that this was a fundamental human right. . . . MR. WEINGLASS: On August 14, approximately three days later, in the morning of that day, do you recall where you were? THE WITNESS: I went to speak to Jay Miller, head of the American Civil Liberties Union. I asked if it was possible for them to work with us on an injunction in the Federal court to sue Mayor Daley and other city officials about the fact that they would not grant us a permit and were denying us our right to freedom of speech and assembly. MR. WEINGLASS: Now, can you relate to the Court and jury what happened in court when you appeared at 10:00 A.M.? THE WITNESS: It was heard before Judge Lynch. There was a fantastic amount of guards all over the place. We were searched, made to take off our shirts, empty our pockets--- MR. SCHULTZ. That is totally irrelevant. There happened to be threats at that time, your Honor--- THE WITNESS: He is right. There were threats. I had twenty that week. THE COURT: The language, "There were a fantastic amount of guards," may go out and the jury is directed to disregard them. MR. WEINGLASS: After the--- THE WITNESS: We came before the judge. It was a room similar to this, similar, kind of wall-to-wall bourgeoisie, rugs and neon lights. Federal courts are all the same, I think. The judge made a couple of references to us in the room, said that our dress was an affront to the Court. It was pointed out by a lawyer that came by that Judge Lynch was Mayor Daley's ex-law partner. As as result of this conversation we went back into court about twenty, thirty minutes later. MR. WEINGLASS: Did you speak to the Court? THE WITNESS: I spoke to Judge Lynch. I said that we were withdrawing our suit, that we had as little faith in the judicial system in this country as we had in the political system. He said, "Be careful, young man. I will find a place for you to sleep." And I thanked him for that, said I had one, and left. We withdrew our suit. Then we had a press conference downstairs to explain the reasons for that. We explained to the press that we were leaving in our permit application but withdrawing our Federal injunction to sue the city. We said it was a bit futile to end up before a judge, Judge Lynch, who was the ex-law partner of Mayor Daley, that the Federal judges were closely tied in with the Daley and Democratic political machine in Chicago and that we could have little recourse of grievance. Furthermore, that we suspected that the judge would order us not to go into Lincoln Park at all and that if we did, that we would be in violation of contempt of court, and that it was a setup, and Judge Lynch planned to lynch us in the same way that Stahl was stalling us. I pointed out that the names in this thing were getting really absurd, similarities. I also read a list of Yippie demands that I had written that morning---sort of Yippie philosophy. MR. WEINGLASS: Now, will you read for the Court and jury the eighteen demands first, then the postscript. THE WITNESS: I will read it in the order that I wrote it. "Revolution toward a free society, Yippie, by A. Yippie. "This is a personal statement. There are no spokesmen for the Yippies. We are all our own leaders. We realize this list of demands is inconsistent. They are not really demands. For people to make demands of the Democratic Party is an exercise in wasted wish fulfillment. If we have a demand, it is simply and emphatically that they, along with their fellow inmates in the Republican Party, cease to exist. We demand a society built along the alternative community in Lincoln Park, a society based on humanitarian cooperation and equality, a society which allows and promotes the creativity present in all people and especially our youth. "Number one. An immediate end to the war in Vietnam and a restructuring of our foreign policy which totally eliminates aspects of military, economic and cultural imperialism; the withdrawal of all foreign based troops and the abolition of military draft. "Two. An immediate freedom for Huey Newton of the Black Panthers and all other black people; adoption of the community control concept in our ghetto areas; an end to the cultural and economic domination of minority groups. "Three. The legalization of marijuana and all other psychedelic drugs; the freeing of all prisoners currently imprisoned on narcotics charges. "Number four. A prison system based on the concept of rehabilitation rather than punishment. "Five. A judicial system which works towards the abolition of all laws related to crimes without victims; that is, retention only of laws relating to crimes in which there is an unwilling injured party; i.e. murder, rape, or assault. "Six. The total disarmament of all the people beginning with the police. This includes not only guns but such brutal vices as tear gas, Mace, electric prods, blackjacks, billy clubs, and the like. "Seven. The abolition of money, the abolition of pay housing, pay media, pay food, pay education, pay clothing, pay medical health, and pay toilets. "Eight. A society which works towards and actively promotes the concept of full unemployment, a society in which people are free from the drudgery of work, adoption of the concept 'Let the machines do it.' "Number ten. A program of ecological development that would provide incentives for the decentralization of crowded cities and encourage rural living. "Eleven. A program which provides not only free birth control information and devices, but also abortions when desired. "Twelve. A restructured educational system which provides a student power to determine his course of study, student participation in over-all policy planning; an educational system which breaks down its barriers between school and community; a system which uses the surrounding community as a classroom so that students may learn directly the problems of the people. "Number thirteen. The open and free use of the media; a program which actively supports and promotes cable television as a method of increasing the selection of channels available to the viewer. "Fourteen. An end to all censorship. We are sick of a society that has no hesitation about showing people committing violence and refuses to show a couple fucking. "Fifteen. We believe that people should fuck all the time, any time, wherever they wish. This is not a programmed demand but a simple recognition of the reality around us. "Sixteen. A political system which is more streamlined and responsive to the needs of all the people regardless of age, sex, or race; perhaps a national referendum system conducted via television or a telephone voting system; perhaps a decentralized of -power and authority with many varied tribal groups, groups in which people exist in a state of basic trust and are free to choose their tribe. "Seventeen. A program that encourages and promotes the arts. However, we feel that if the free society we envision were to be sought for and achieved, all of us would actualize the creativity within us; in a very real sense we would have a society in which every man would be an artist." And eighteen was left blank for anybody to fill in what they wanted. "It was for these reasons that we had come to Chicago, it was for these reasons that many of us may fight and die here. We recognize this as the vision of the founders of this nation. We recognize that we are America; we recognize that we are free men. The present-day politicians and their armies of automatons have selfishly robbed us of our birthright. The evilness they stand for will go unchallenged no longer. Political pigs, your days are numbered. We are the second American Revolution. We shall win. "YIPPIE." MR. WEINGLASS: When you used the words "fight and die here," in what context were you using those words? THE WITNESS: It is a metaphor. That means that we felt strongly about our right to assemble in the park and that people should be willing to take risks for it. It doesn't spell it out because people were capable of fighting in their own way and making their own decisions and We never would tell anyone specifically that they should fight, fistfight. MR. WEINGLASS: Did you during the week of the Convention and the period of time immediately before the Convention tell any person singly or in groups that they should fight in the park? MR. SCHULTZ: Objection. THE COURT: I sustain the objection. MR. WEINGLASS: Directing your attention to the morning of August 19, 1968, did you attend a meeting on that day? THE WITNESS: Yes. I went to the office of the Mobilization Committee. MR. WEINGLASS: Was there a discussion? THE WITNESS: I never stayed long at these meetings. I just went and made an announcement and maybe stayed ten or fifteen minutes. . . . MR. WEINGLASS: Was there a course given in snake dancing on that day also? THE WITNESS: Yes. Yes. People would have a pole and there would be about six people, and then about six people behind them, holding them around the waist, four or five lines of these people with men, women, and kids maybe eight years old in on this whole thing, and people would bounce from one foot to the other and yell "Wash oi, Wash oi," which is kind of Japanese for "Yippie," I guess. And they would just march up and down the park like this, mostly laughing and giggling, because the newsmen were taking this quite seriously, and then at a certain point everybody would turn in and sort of just collapse and fall on the ground and laugh. I believe we lost about four or five Yippies during that great training. The exciting part was when the police arrested two army intelligence officers in the trees. MR. WEINGLASS: During the course of that day when you were in the park, did you notice that the police were hanging any signs in the park? THE WITNESS: Late in the day, maybe four or five, I became aware that there were police nailing signs on the trees that said "11:00 p.m. curfew," maybe a few other words, but that was the gist of the signs. MR. WEINGLASS: From Friday, August 23, on to the end of Convention week, did you ever discuss with any people the question of staying in the park after the curfew hours? THE WITNESS: At a meeting on August 24, that subject came up, and there was lengthy discussion. . . MR. WEINGLASS: Now, did you hear Jerry Rubin speak at that meeting? THE WITNESS: Jerry said that the park wasn't worth fighting for; that we should leave at the eleven p.m. curfew. He said that we should put out a statement to that effect. MR. WEINGLASS: And did you speak at that meeting? THE WITNESS: I reported on a meeting that morning with Chief Lynskey. I had asked the Chicago cops who were tailing me to take me to Chief Lynskey who was in charge of the area of Lincoln Park. I went up to the chief and said, "Well, are you going to let us have the Festival?" He said "No festival under any circumstances. If anybody breaks one city ordinance in that park, we clear the whole park." He said, "You do any one thing wrong and I will arrest you on sight." He said, "Why don't you try to kick me in the shins right now?" And I said NBC wasn't there. And he said, "Well, at least the kid's honest," and stuff like that. Then I gave a speech to the police that were all assembled and I said, "Have a good time." I said, "The National Guard's coming in, they're probably going to whip you guys up, and I hope your walkie-talkies work better than ours," and stuff like that. And I just walked out. Then we discussed what we were going to do. I said it was my feeling that Chicago was in a total state of anarchy as far as the police mentality worked. I said that we were going to have to fight for every single thing, we were going to have to fight for the electricity, we were going to have to fight to have the stage come in, we were going to have to fight for every rock musician to play, that the whole week was going to be like that. I said that we should proceed with the festival as planned, we should try to do everything that we had come to Chicago to do, even though the police and the city officials were standing in our way. MR. WEINGLASS: During the course of this Saturday and prior to this meeting, did you have occasion to meet Iv Rock in the park? THE WITNESS: Oh, I met Iv Rock Saturday afternoon during some of the marshal training. Marshal training is a difficult phrase to use for Yippies. We always have a reluctance to marshals because they are telling people what to do and we were more anarchistic than that, more leaderless. I sort of bumped into Iv Rock. I showed him a---it wasn't a gas mask but it was a thing with two plastic eyes and a little piece of leather that I got, I purchased in an army-navy store for about nineteen cents, and I said that these would be good protection against Mace. He started running down to me all this complicated military jargon and I looked at him and said, "Irv, you're a cop, ain't you?" He sort of smiled and said, "No, I'm not." "Come on," I said, "We don't grow peaceniks that big. We are all quarterbacks. You've got to be a cop." I said, "Show me your wallet." So he said, "No, no. Don't you trust me?" So I said, "Irv," I said, "Last night there was a guy running around my house with a pistol trying to kill me," that I had twenty threats that week, and at that point I didn't trust Jerry Rubin. . . . MR. WEINGLASS: Directing your attention to approximately two o'clock in the morning, which would now be Monday morning, do you recall what you were doing? THE WITNESS: I made a telephone call to David Stahl, Deputy Mayor of Chicago at his home. I had his home number. I said, "Hi, Dave. How's it going? Your police got to be the dumbest and the most brutal in the country," I said. "The decision to drive people out of the park in order to protect the City was about the dumbest military tactic since the Trojans let the Trojan horse inside the gate and there was nothing to be compared with that stupidity." I again pleaded with him to let people stay in the park the following night. "There will be more people coming Monday, Tuesday, and subsequently Wednesday night," I said, "and they should be allowed to sleep." I said that he ought to intercede with the Police Department. I said to him that the City officials, in particular his boss, Daley, were totally out of their minds. I said, "I read in the paper the day before that they had 2,000 troops surrounding the reservoirs in order to protect against the Yippie plot to dump LSD in the drinking water. There isn't a kid in the country," I said, "never mind a Yippie, who thinks that such a thing could be done." I told him to check with all the scientists at the University of Chicago---he owned them all. He said that he knew it couldn't be done, but they weren't taking any chances anyway. . . . MR. WEINGLASS: Can you tell the Court and jury where you were in Lincoln Park at approximately 11:30 Monday night? THE WITNESS: I was walking through the barricade, my wife Anita and I. MR. WEINGLASS: Did you see Allen Ginsberg at the barricade? THE WITNESS: Yes. He was kneeling. There was a crowd of people around. He was playing that instrument that he plays and people were chanting. There was a police car that would come by and I believe it was making announcements and people would yell at the police car, you know, "Beat it. Get out. The parks belong to the people. Oink Oink. Pig Pig. Pigs are coming. Peace Now." People were waving flags. People were running around being scared and people were running around sort of joyous. I mean, it was strange, different emotions. It was very dark in that place. MR. SCHULTZ: The witness is not answering the question any more. He is giving another essay. I object. MR. WEINGLASS: When the police finally came to the barricade, from what direction did they come? THE WITNESS: They came in through the zoo. They proceeded to climb and immediately started to club people. They were throwing parts of the barricade, trashcans, at people. MR. WEINGLASS: Now, at the time the police came to the barricade what did you do? THE WITNESS: Well, I was coughing and spitting because there was tear gas totally flooding the air, canisters were exploding all around me---I moved with the people out this way, out of the park trying to duck, picking up people that were being clubbed, getting off the ground myself a few times. The police were just coming through in this wedge, solid wedge, clubbing people right and left, and I tried to get out of the park. MR. WEINGLASS: Directing your attention to approximately six o'clock the following morning, do you recall where you were? THE WITNESS: I got in the car of the police that were following me and asked them to take me to the beach---the beach part of Lincoln Park. MR. WEINGLASS: What was occurring when you got there? THE WITNESS: Allen Ginsberg and about---oh 150-200 people were kneeling, most of the people in lotus position which is a position with their legs crossed like this---chanting and praying and meditating. There were five or six police cars on the boardwalk right in back, and there were police surrounding the group. Dawn was breaking. It was very cold, very chilly. People had a number of blankets wrapped around them, sitting in a circle. I went and sat next to Allen and chanted and prayed for about an hour. Then I talked to the group. People would give talks about their feelings of what was going on in Chicago. I said, "I am very sad about what has happened in Chicago. "What is going on here is very beautiful, but it won't be in the evening news that night. "The American mass media is a glutton for violence, and it would be only shots of what was happening in the streets of Chicago." I said, "America can't be changed by people sitting and praying, and this is an unfortunate reality that we have to face." I said that we were a community that had to learn how to survive, that we had seen what had happened the last few nights in Lincoln Park. We had seen the destruction of the Festival. I said, "I will never again tell people to sit quietly and pray for change." . . . MR. WEINGLASS: Now, directing your attention to approximately 6:00 A.M. the following morning, Wednesday, August 28, do you recall what you were doing? THE WITNESS: I went to eat. I went with Paul Krassner, Beverly Baskinger, and Anita and four police officers--- Paul also had two Chicago police officers following him, as well as the two that were following me. We walked and the four of them would drive along behind us. MR. WEINGLASS: Could you describe for the jury and the Court what you were wearing at that time? THE WITNESS: Well, I had cowboy boots, and brown pants and a shirt, and I had a grey felt ranger cowboy type hat down over my eyes, like this. MR. WEINGLASS: What, if anything occurred while you were sitting there having breakfast? THE WITNESS: Well, two policemen came in and said, "We have orders to arrest you. You have something under your hat." So I asked them if they had a search warrant and I said "Did you check it out with Commander Braasch? Me and him got an agreement"---and they went to check it out with him, while we were eating breakfast. MR. WEINGLASS: After a period of time, did they come back? THE WITNESS: They came back with more police officers---there were about four or five patrol cars surrounding the restaurant. The Red Squad cops who had been following us came in the restaurant, four or five police, and they said, "We checked. Now will you take off your hat?" They were stern, more serious about it. MR. WEINGLASS: What did you do? THE WITNESS: Well, I lifted up the hat and I went "Bang! Bang!" They grabbed me by the jacket and pulled me across the bacon and eggs and Anita over the table, threw me on the floor and out the door and threw me against the car, and they handcuffed me. I was just eating the bacon and going "Oink Oink!" MR. WEINGLASS: Did they tell you why you were being arrested? THE WITNESS: They said they arrested me because I had the word "Fuck" on my forehead. I had put it on with this magic marker before we left the house. They called it an "obscenity." I put it on for a couple of reasons, One was that I was tired of seeing my picture in the paper and having newsmen come around, and I know if you got that word on your forehead they ain't going to print your picture in the paper. Secondly, it sort of summed up my attitude about the whole thing---what was going on in Chicago. I like that four letter word---I thought it was kind of holy, actually. MR. WEINGLASS: Abbie Hoffman, prior to coming to Chicago, from April 1968 on to the week of the Convention, did you enter into an agreement with David Dellinger, John Froines, Tom Hayden, Jerry Rubin, Lee Weiner or Rennie Davis, to come to the city of Chicago for the purpose of encouraging and promoting violence during the Convention week? THE WITNESS: An agreement? MR. WEINGLASS: Yes. THE WITNESS: We couldn't agree on lunch. MR. WEINGLASS: I have no further questions. THE COURT: Cross-examine. MR. SCHULTZ: Thank you, your Honor. . . . MR. SCHULTZ: Did you see numerous instances of people attacking the Guardsmen at the Pentagon. Mr. Hoffman? THE WITNESS: I don not believe that I saw any instances of people attacking National Guardsmen. In fact, the attitude was one of comradeship. They would talk to the National Guardsmen continuously and tell them they were not the people that they had come to confront, that they were their brothers and you don't get people to oppose [their ways] by attacking them. MR. SCHULTZ: Mr. Hoffman, the guards and the troops were trying to keep the people from entering into the Pentagon for two days, isn't that right? THE WITNESS: I assume that they were there to guard the Pentagon from rising in the air possibly. I mean, you knows what they are there for? Were you there? You probably watched it on television and got a different impression of what was happening. That is one aspect of myth-making---you can envisualize hoardes and hoardes of people when in reality that was not what happened. MR. SCHULTZ: Did you see some people urinate on the Pentagon? THE WITNESS: On the Pentagon itself? MR. SCHULTZ: Or at the Pentagon? THE WITNESS: There were over 100,000 people. People have that biological habit, you know. MR. SCHULTZ: Did you symbolically urinate on the Pentagon, Mr. Hoffman? THE WITNESS: I symbolically urinate on the Pentagon? MR. SCHULTZ: Yes. THE WITNESS: I didn't get that close. Pee on the walls of the Pentagon? You are getting to be out of sight, actually. You think there is a law against it? MR. SCHULTZ: Are you done, Mr. Hoffman? THE WITNESS: I am done when you are. MR. SCHULTZ: Did you ever state that a sense of integration possesses you and comes from pissing on the Pentagon? THE WITNESS: I said from combining political attitudes with biological necessity, there is a sense of integration, yes. MR. SCHULTZ: You had a good time at the Pentagon, didn't you. Mr. Hoffman? THE WITNESS: Yes I did. I'm having a good

time now too. I feel that biological necessity now. Could I be excused for a slight recess? THE COURT: Ladies and gentlemen of the jury, we will take a brief recess. (brief recess) MR. SCHULTZ: On the seventh of August, you told David Stahl that at your liberated area you--- THE WITNESS: What meeting was this, August 7? MR. SCHULTZ: That's when you just flew in from New York. THE WITNESS: Crossing state lines--- MR. SCHULTZ: At this meeting on the evening of August 7, you told Mr. Stahl that you were going to have nude-ins in your liberated zone, didn't you? THE WITNESS: A nude-in? I don't believe I would use that phrase, no. I don't think it's very poetic, frankly. I might have told him that ten thousand people were going to walk naked on the waters of Lake Michigan, something like that. MR. SCHULTZ: You told him, did you not, Mr. Hoffman, that in your liberated zone, you would have--- THE WITNESS: I'm not even sure what it is, a nude-in. MR. SCHULTZ: ---public fornication. THE WITNESS: If it means ten thousand people, naked people, walking on Lake Michigan, yes. MR.KUNSTLER: I object to this because Mr.Schultz is acting like a dirty old man. MR. SCHULTZ: We are not going into dirty old men. If they are going to have nude-ins and public fornication, the City officials react to that, and I am establishing through this witness that that's what be did. THE COURT: Do you object? MR. KUNSTLER: I am just remarking, your Honor, that a young man can be a dirty old man. THE WITNESS: I don't mind talking about it. THE COURT: I could make an observation. I have seen some exhibits here that are not exactly exemplary documents. MR. KUNSTLER: But they are, your Honor, only from your point of view-making a dirty word of something that can be beautiful and lovely, and--- MR. SCHULTZ: We are not litigating here, your Honor, whether sexual intercourse is beautiful or not. We are litigating whether or not the City could permit tens of thousands of people to come in and do in their parks what this man said they were going to do. In getting people to Chicago you created your Yippie myth, isn't that right? And part of your myth was "We'll burn Chicago to the ground," isn't that right? THE WITNESS: It was part of the myth that there were trainloads of dynamite headed for Chicago, it was part of the myth that they were going to form white vigilante groups and round up demonstrators. All these things were part of the myth. A myth is a process of telling stories, most of which ain't true. MR. SCHULTZ: Mr. Hoffman--- Your Honor, Mr. Davis is having a very fine time here whispering at me. He has been doing it for the last twenty minutes. He moved up here when I started the examination so he could whisper in my ear. I would ask Mr. Davis, if he cannot be quiet, to move to another part of the table so that he will stop distracting me. THE COURT: Try not to speak too loudly, Mr. Davis. MR. DAVIS: Yes, sir. THE COURT: Go ahead. THE WITNESS: Go ahead, Dick. MR. SCHULTZ: Didn't you state, Mr. Hoffman, that part of the myth that was being created to get people to come to Chicago was that "We will fuck on the beaches"? THE WITNESS: Yes, me and Marshall McLuhan. Half of that quote was from Marshall McLuhan. MR. SCHULTZ: "And there will be acid for all" ---that was another one of your Yippie myths, isn't that right? THE WITNESS: That was well known. MR. SCHULTZ: By the way, was there any acid in Lincoln Park in Chicago? THE WITNESS: In the reservoir, in the lake? MR. SCHULTZ: No, among the people. THE WITNESS: Well, there might have been, I don't know. It is colorless, odorless, tasteless. One can never tell. . . . MR. SCHULTZ: The fact is, Mr. Hoffman, that what you were trying to do was to create a situation where the State and the United States Government would have to bring in the Army and bring in the National Guard during the Convention in order to protect the delegates so that it would appear that the Convention had to be held under military conditions, isn't that a fact, Mr. Hoffman? THE WITNESS: You can do that with a yo-yo in this country. It's quite easy. You can see just from this courtroom. Look at all the troops around--- MR. SCHULTZ: Your Honor, may the answer be stricken? THE COURT: Yes, it may go out. . . . MR. SCHULTZ: Mr. Hoffman, in the afternoon on that Thursday you participated ;in a march, and then you laid down in front of an armored personnel carrier at the end of that march, at 16th or 19th on Michigan, laid down on the street? THE WITNESS: Was that what it was? I thought it was a tank. It looked like a tank. Do you want me to show you how I did it? Laid down in front of the tank? MR. SCHULTZ: All right, Mr. Hoffman. Did you make any gestures of any sort? THE WITNESS: When I was laying down? See. I went like that, lying down in front of the tank. I had seen Czechoslovakian students do it to Russian tanks. MR. SCHULTZ: And then you saw a Chicago police officer who appeared to be in high command because of all the things he had on his shoulders come over to the group and start leading them back toward Grant Park, didn't you? THE WITNESS: He came and then people left---and went back to the park, yes. MR. SCHULTZ: Did you say to anybody, "Well, you see that cat?", pointing to Deputy Superintendent Rochford. "When we get to the top of the hill, if the cat doesn't talk right, we're going to hold him there, and then we can do whatever we want and the police won't bother us." Did you say that to anybody out there, Mr. Hoffman? MR. WEINGLASS: That's the testimony of the intelligence officer, the intelligence police officer of the Chicago Police Department. THE WITNESS: I asked the Chicago police officers to help me kidnap Deputy Superintendent Rochford? That's pretty weird. MR. SCHULTZ: Isn't it a fact that you announced publicly a plan to kidnap the head pig--- THE WITNESS: Cheese, wasn't it? MR. SCHULTZ: ---and then snuff him--- THE WITNESS: I thought it was "cheese." MR. SCHULTZ: ---and then snuff him if other policemen touched you? Isn't that a fact, sir? THE WITNESS: I do not believe that I used the reference of "pig" to any policemen in Chicago including some of the top cheeses. I did not use it during that week. . . . MR. SCHULTZ: You and Albert, Mr. Hoffman, were united in Chicago in your determination to smash the system by using any means at your disposal, isn't that right? THE WITNESS: Did I write that? MR. SCHULTZ: No, did you have that thought? THE WITNESS: That thought? Is a thought like a dream? If I dreamed to smash the system, that's a thought. Yes, I had that thought. THE COURT: Mr. Witness, you may not interrogate the lawyer who is examining you. THE WITNESS: Judge, you have always told people to describe what they see or what they hear. I'm the only one that has to describe what I think. MR. WEINGLASS: I object to any reference to what a person thought or his being tried for what he thought. He may be tried for his intent. THE COURT: Overrule the objection. THE WITNESS: Well, I had a lot of dreams at night. One of the dreams might have been that me and Stew were united. MR. SCHULTZ: Mr. Hoffman, isn't it a fact that one of the reasons why you came to Chicago was simply to wreck American society? THE WITNESS: My feeling at the time, and still is, that society is going to wreck itself. I said that on a number of occasions, that our role is to survive while the society comes tumbling down around us; our role is to survive. We have to learn how to defend ourselves, given this type of society, because of the war in Vietnam, because of racism, because of the attack on the cultural revolution---in fact because of this trial. MR. SCHULTZ: Mr. Hoffman, by Thursday, the twenty-ninth, the last day of the Convention, you knew you had smashed the Democrats' chances for victory, isn't that a fact? THE WITNESS: No. My attitude was it was a type of psychic jujitsu where the people smash themselves--or the party wrecks themselves. The same way this trial is. MR. SCHULTZ: By Thursday there was no doubt in your mind when you saw the acceptance speech that you had won, and there would be a pig in the White House in '69? THE WITNESS: Well, that was our role in coming here, to nominate a pig. That pig did win. He didn't actually---which one did? MR. SCHULTZ: And you went out for champagne, and you brought it back to Mobilization headquarters and toasted the revolution, you did just that, right? THE WITNESS: We drank some champagne. It was warm, warm champagne. MR. SCHULTZ: And toasted to your success, to your victory, isn't that right? THE WITNESS: We toasted to the fact that we were still alive. That was the miracle as far as I saw it, is still being alive by that last Thursday. MR. SCHULTZ: That's all, your Honor. THE WITNESSS: Right on! THE COURT: Have you finished your cross-examination? MR. SCHULTZ: Yes, I have. THE WITNESS: Right on! Chicago 7 Trial Homepage

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