"SOME ADVICE FOR CITIES ACROSS THE COUNTRY IN THE WISE WORDS OF THE WU-TANG CLAN WAKE THE F**K UP BEFORE YOU GET WOKE THE F**K UP"

True Leap Press & Distribution
P.O. Box 408197
Chicago IL 60640
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felt that if we were excluded just the same way the militants in the black community were going to be excluded, well, we'll just crash the party and hope others feel up to doing the same thing. And so a call went out for an anti-authoritarian bloc (or "Black Bloc" as the slang goes).

Along there was a lot of ambivalence towards the official CHE protest march. Some carefully orchestrated public displays of submissiveness like 'peace prayer' sessions where a few Over-the-Rhine residents would join hands with groups of white suburbanites set the mood. The few radical BUF members who got involved had to fight tooth-and-nail just to give the march at least the surface appearance of the militant culture of the rebellion, like having the neighborhood marching band "The Bucket Boys" lead the way. (This was initially vetoed by organizers for being 'too loud'!) What little organized black opinion we in ARA were in touch with seemed to be split — on one hand, a feeling that the time was still ripe to tear up the city, and if we could help with that, so much the better, and on the other, a more resigned "Screw them, let them have their march, do something in a white neighborhood if y'all want to do something" attitude. In the end, only two points were clear to us: one, that simply swelling the ranks of an essentially racist recuperation march wasn't really an option, and two, that whatever we from the outside anarchist movement would do, we'd have to be on our own for the most part cause the local community had already done more than its share of fighting.

ARA's organizing for the June 2nd march really only seriously started a week or so ahead of time when a few out-of-towners stopped by to help out the local activists. At that point there was still no clear plan for action, so we started by flyers a few neighborhoods with our call and our demands — primarily amnesty for everyone arrested during the rebellion. While we got about 500 leaflets out beforehand in a few racially mixed working-class neighborhoods, we didn't have the chance we needed to really talk to people. As a result, local involvement in the march leaned heavily toward the liberals.

Planning for the anti-authoritarian bloc ran up against a few clear political problems. It became clear that the CHE organizers were pulling out all the stops to keep the anarchist presence from stealing their thunder. Members of the Nation of Islam who had volunteered to do community work directed to watch out for the anarchists, to physically stop any disruption, and to take pictures for the police if necessary. The clear threat to us was a media spectacle of a mainly white anti-authoritarian bloc going to war.

**BLACK PEOPLE HAVE A RIGHT TO REBEL**

A massive anti-cop rebellion has broken out in Cincinnati over the police shootings of 15 Black men, ranging in ages from 12-44 years old, all unarmed. The latest case is of Timothy Thomas, a 19 year-old brother, allegedly wanted for misdemeanor traffic offenses, who was gunned down last week by a crazed white cop. The Black community has risen up in a massive protest against this racist occupying army, poverty, and other forms of mistreatment. Now, we are being told by various White politicians and their paid Uncle Toms that even more massive police violence should be trained on us "to keep the peace" and "stop the violence." Not the cop violence and murder, which has gone on for years, but the current rebellion by our people against police forces.

I have heard this garbage for years. Going back to the 1965 Watts rebellion, when Black folks rebelled after years of LAPD racist brutality, it was a line put forth by the white ruling class and its Negro spokespersons that we were "torching our own neighborhoods." Never mind that we didn't own a damn thing in the ghetto, that it was the cops themselves shooting and torching Black homes, and that this was a clearly a struggle with deep roots in historical oppression, the government's line was duly picked up by the Negro bourgeoisie, and passed off as "truth," along with "the police right to stop looters" and "we need peace." Not about justice, not about stopping police murders of our
do not think that AI is not welcome at any action they organise, and we
know that.

Rachel Action decided to get involved with the CEU and made it
out of the door. It was one of a series of displays at this point in time.

Rachel Action, the community it was represented, was speaking for
the people to keep the community it was represented and connected
with the people who were facilling for the discussion and connected
with the people who were speaking for the discussion. It was
safe to take charge and call for a March for Justice. Fairly it
was.

Finally, when the anger had dissapeared, the CEC fell.

Related Happenings

The space of the black people and the city's social economy
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In every place, the community is organized. Strong enough, the

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protests, whatever form they take.

A recent scandal in York, PA offers a few warnings. Mayor Charlie Robertson was arrested recently on a murder charge stemming from his role as a cop in a gang war in the summer of 1969. At the time two white youth gangs had made an alliance in a conflict with several crews from black neighborhoods. As the two white crews were meeting in a park, a police cruiser approached and the kids began to scatter until Robertson got close enough and yelled out "white power," reconvening the meeting but on a whole new level. During the meeting Robertson told the crews that if he weren't a cop he'd be leading commando raids against niggers in the black neighborhoods." Robertson was also seen supplying ammunition along with a few other cops from an armored police vehicle to the kids on Newberry St. Soon enough Lillie Belle Allen was shot dead beside her family car. Two local white youth gangs were drawn into the conflicts first by fate of history and circumstance and then pushed over the edge by the cops. These two crews were no more committed to white power politics than any other teenage white boys of their time, but their crew affiliations were manipulated by police into serving police repression efforts. The specific geopolitics of cliques and crews beyond just those affiliated with any outright political sect or ideology need to be understood and some basic mutual understandings developed.

HOW QUICKLY THINGS FALL BACK INTO PLACE

Two months after the rebellion, the white liberal left has finally and dramatically achieved its goal of taking back the momentum of the struggle.\(^5\) No longer a shared outrage of the black community and its allies, the struggle is now seen as a reform issue in which they and their hand-picked black representatives call the shots. (And even that tokenism will probably soon disappear when the city announced the membership of their 'special taskforce on race' it was - no surprise - almost all police and white politicians.) That this happened was probably inevitable - after suffering over 800 arrests and seeing no reinforcements build dual power bases, and begin to win over the masses of the people, build a militia to protect it, and push the police and white government out of the community entirely. We must begin to govern ourselves, and create a new zone of Black power. The activists have got to stop looking in from the outside and doing all our organizing on the comfortable college campuses or suburbs, and begin to organize in the impoverished neighborhoods where the action is taking place. As activists, we have got to stop waiting on crises like the Cincinnati rebellion, and begin to set up organizing projects to make sure they don't happen\(^1\), and when they do we can effectively retaliate. Yes, we have a right to rebel in Cincinnati, Los Angeles, New York, Atlanta, and anywhere else we are oppressed.

We are a class of poor and oppressed peoples who are fighting capitalism and racism all over the world. We are not alone, and when we fight we will find that the people of the world support our struggle.

- Lorenzo Kambaa Ervin, April 16, 2001

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\(^5\) In April 10th, as the protests got even rowdier, the white liberals stepped in with their "peace marches" and press conference to try and reclaim the initiative. However, there was just too much energy to divert, or more likely, the organizers just had next to zero support in the communities that were keeping the protests alive. There was even an idea pushed by CBG (Citizens for a Humane Economy), the left-liberal group trying to take over the protests, to limit the press conference to WHITE speakers to be acceptable to liberal suburbanites, but the radical momentum of the protests made this impossible.

\(^1\) [Publisher's Note] In general, we publish texts even if we may disagree with parts of them. But we feel this argument of Lorenzo's warrants a footnote because we see it as utterly destructive to opening up the difficult and exciting discussions around the spirit and direction of revolt.
support for the black community.

We should be explaining the role of police, making some cultural and social changes, and...
its mainly white police force is notorious for a long history of abuse against African Americans who make up 43% of the city’s populace. Last November another Black man, Roger Owensby Jr. was strangled to death while in police custody. In mid-March the ACLU and Cincinnati Black United Front filed a lawsuit charging the police department with 30 years of illegally targeting and harassing Blacks on the basis of race. Still, no one anticipated the explosion that erupted after the killing of Timothy Thomas.

As news spread of his death, several hundred mainly Black protesters, including Thomas’ mother, came to City Hall on Monday, April 9. It became a clash between two different worlds. Police Chief Streicher refused to apologize for the killing, saying the police thought that Thomas was armed. Mayor Charlie Luken acknowledged the city’s “racial problems” but denied that had anything to do with Thomas’ death. City Council members said there was little they could do since the city charter limits their power to hire or fire police chiefs.

Angered at these responses, the crowd proceeded to take over City Hall. Windows were smashed, the American flag was removed from the flagpole and turned upside down, and the mayor was forced to leave via the back door. Hundreds more protesters arrived at City Hall that night. As the crowd swelled to 1,000, they marched to the central police station. At midnight the police fired tear gas and beanbags filled with metal pellets to disperse the crowd.

The next day 20 youth held a protest at the corner of Vine and 13th Streets. The crowd soon swelled into the hundreds. Many then marched to Findlay Market, throwing rocks at police, breaking into stores, clearing out shelves. By the evening a full-scale urban revolt (dubbed “riot” by the press) was underway. Though merchants who gouged the community were a target, most of the anger was directed at the police. At 10 p.m. the police substation at Montgomery Road and Woodburn Avenue was set ablaze.

Byron Jones, 30, of Bond Hill, who joined protesters as they made their way through downtown and Over-the-Rhine (the neighborhood in which Thomas was shot), said what happened Tuesday was “the only way to get their attention. We’ve asked and we’ve asked and we’ve asked. We’re not going to ask anymore.”

A Black youth who took part in the revolt told me, “I decided to do something because what happened to Timothy Thomas could’ve happened to every Black I know. How many white 19 year-olds have

More of an immediate problem for Cincinnati’s black community, although harder for us to counter, are the ‘respectable’ racists who actually managed meetings with people in power. Klansman David Duke reportedly somehow met with the county district attorney and convinced him to press ‘hate crime’ charges against people arrested during the rebellion - his work is already showing fruit as 14 year-old kids are getting convicted as adults and sent away for ten years or more just for getting caught up in what was happening. And Richard Barrett, head of the Mississippi-based Nationalist Movement, held a rally in support of the FOP where he was invited onto their property to speak in front of their memorial to fallen officers. These big-name clowns can really only be fought by publicizing their involvement and using it to attack the police who are stupid enough to meet with them.

**BUILDING WORKING-CLASS SOLIDARITY**

But even without the efforts of the white power groups, far too many working class whites are going to fall victim to the race hysteria pumped by media and insecurities over how to relate to black rage. Every city in the Northeast and Midwest is full of otherwise seemingly cool and anti-racist white dudes who’ll tell stories about standing by the window in Zips store during the 60’s riots with a shotgun. And a lot of old people still remember the anti-black race riots of the 40’s too. Beyond countering white power activity, we need to build sympathy and
West Bank or Gaza Strip. Hundreds of youth in red and blue bands
with red hair. It's the Druze. It was the Druze they were to be hit. The
incident occurs on April 15. He said, "The situation has become
more inflamed and handkerchiefed.
Aroundler's words have resonated with other Black areas like Evanston,
Wichita, Kansas. April 4. The police responded with force. Firing a
23-year-old
Vicious Police Repression

to live this outcome. From ringing a sock of destruction, we get to tell them we are not going
many whites have worn down hanging black cops on their way home.
been stopped and ticketed for times for not wearing a seat belt. How
See, the radical right wing knows how to manipulate white fears and racial tensions to their advantage. Look at the recent troubles going on in northern England, where white supremacists and Pakistanis fight each other in the streets and the only clear winners are the fascist Nationalist Party. What happened in Cincinnati was a completely different situation, but if it's allowed to be seen as a black vs. white 'race riot,' then it fits perfectly into the Nazis' strategy the same way.

Related was the fascists' propaganda trying to ridicule whites who were involved in the uprising - just a slightly more sophisticated version of the 'race traitor' diatribes they go on all the time. The third-positionist "Libertarian Socialist News" put out an article complete with phony quotes from the Refuse & Resist kids who were beaten up, concluding snottily: "Communist and left-leaning groups for the past few days have been trying to deny the racial character of the riots, and have been ordering their local white members to go out and get involved to make it appear as if the riots are not racial. Their efforts, as can be seen, have been less than successful."

See, black riots like these are just the kind of scenes that trigger militia end-of-the-world fantasies, and send every little crew of would be racial holy warriors rioting. What are the objectives of the right wing at a time like this? Glimpses of white power activity during the riots in Cincinnati suggest a range of responses. To what extent there were coherent overall strategies is unclear. If they're anything like the "left," white power activists probably operated on a few half-baked, dog-eared battle plans.

There was one case where a 20-year-old white man got arrested for throwing a brick through a black man's windshield and yelling some racial shit. Not too much of anything there. The initial reports from Nazis and third-positionists made it sound like there were groups of white vigilantes out all over attacking blacks in 'retaliation.' For the most part throwing rocks at police... stores and shops ablaze... cops firing off rubber bullets and beanbag projectiles at 11 and 12 year-olds... whole areas sealed off from the rest of the city by a wall of shotgun-toting cops... it COULD have been the Middle East.

Yet the situation was distinctively "American." It was a response to the constant racial profiling by police that has affected virtually every man, woman, and child in the Black community. It was a response to a social reality in which 40% are unemployed in Over-the-Rhine, compared to 4% in Cincinnati as a whole. It was a response to the gutting of public housing, education, and welfare. Only blocks from where Thomas was shot, public housing is being torn down. Recently the state sent letters to Ohio's welfare recipients warning them that their benefits will be cut off in 30 months. This is the social context of the revolts that broke out in response to Thomas' murder.

While the imposition of martial law and the curfew got people off the streets, it did not silence the revolt. Meetings, forums, and protests continue to be held. They have exposed not only the chasm separating the African-American community from the white power structure, but also the division of the Black masses from Black political leadership.

**TWO WORLDS: MASSES VS. LEADERS**

At Thomas' funeral on April 14, an array of Black political officials spoke of "restoring civil peace" in Cincinnati. Rev. Damon Lynch III of Cincinnati's Black United Front called on several city officials to be fired, adding, "There is enough violence in our city right now without us adding to it." Kweisi Mfume of the NAACP called for changes in the city's power structure but urged the youth to "remain calm." Jamal Muhammad of Louis Farrakhan's Nation of Islam said, "Don't get angry and tear up your neighborhood. Get angry and register to vote."

The youth who spearheaded the week of actions, however, had a decidedly different perspective. As one declared at a rally following the funeral, "These preachers and politicians are the same ones who a week ago were calling us undisciplined and shiftless. But if it weren't for what we did over the last few days, no one would even be here to listen to them. We're the ones who did something by taking over the streets, but you don't hear about us now. I'm tired of all their talk."

Darrell, a Black man living in Over-the-Rhine, said, "The Black leadership and civil rights organizations are trying to quiet everything
BACKASHCUMS

spots. All that appeared to be what we noticed was the possibility of finding something that might be of interest to the reader. The black and white photograph of a man in a hat was also notable. However, the writing on the page was not clear enough to make out the content. The article seemed to be discussing the role of leadership and how it influences the way people perceive and act upon issues.

The article starts with a quote from the title, "It is notwhat we do in our lives that matters most, but whether we are living our lives with integrity and purpose."

In the next paragraph, the author discusses the importance of leadership and how it affects society. They mention the role of leaders in shaping public opinion and influencing the way people think and behave.

The article then goes on to discuss the challenges faced by leaders in today's world and how they can overcome these challenges. The author highlights the importance of staying true to one's values and principles, even in the face of adversity.

The article concludes with a call to action, encouraging readers to be active participants in their own lives and to take responsibility for their own well-being and the well-being of others.
different outside interventions during and after the Cinci riots, with varying results.

On Saturday, the day of Timothy Thomas’s funeral, an attempt was made on the part of Anti-Racist Action/Black Bloc veterans to hit the streets in support of the community struggle. The crew however was spotted by police helicopter ‘looking too much like anarchists,’ rounded up and robbed by cops within ten minutes of their feet touching ground. Keep in mind this was one of the tensest days since the main fighting died down - on the same day a SWAT team rolled up on people walking peacefully from the church where the funeral was held, and with no warning, opened fire with ‘bean bag bullets,’ then drove off without identifying themselves.

The riots also brought out the graf writers who no doubt saw a chance to get up like crazy as well as offer their skills to the moment. After being asked to borrow cans and markers on so many occasions by neighborhood kids, some writers came back with crates of supplies and handed them out in Washington Park with much success. Graffiti played a minor but important role in supporting the rebellions throughout - like a street-level Independent Media Center - from helping put out the community’s messages against the police during the uprising to painting swastikas on the FOP building weeks later to draw attention to the welcome given by police to white supremacist groups.

There are some basic rules we would draw out as anti-authoritarians. An obvious mistake to avoid is the typical white leftist arrogance of trying to propagandize the people actively resisting. There will always be locals to defend the neighborhood’s interests, and hopefully there will arise revolutionary black leadership that can articulate the politics of the rebellion and organize in its aftermath. We should be on the ground hearing the word from the rebellion - both from the ‘radicals,’ the neighborhood kids with red bandanas on the street, and the older civilian elements of the communities. Any alliances we make should be based on the mood we understand coming from the community as a whole. The desire to make alliances with ‘respectable leadership’ just to have some way of being involved in the situation is understandable, but it doesn’t help anything in the long run. And the backward politics of some of the alliances that get made on these terms end up trivializing the demands of the protest itself.

Plenty of solidarity actions can also be taking place outside the areas where rioting is happening to great effect. Some well-planned targets

Angela 1992, we are witnessing the emergence of new forms of revolt, resistance, and self-organization which point us beyond the parameters of existing political structures.

When people move to tear up a world that doesn’t belong to them, that is hostile to them; when they come together in collective action on the streets; when they take commodities from the shelves without paying - why is this not recognized as an act of liberation, as a drive toward something new, as a refusal to accept what is? It is that reason which needs to be developed and discussed - not a condemnation of the masses’ activity or a mere “solidarity” with it based on tactics.

Cincinnati shows that the struggle to be free is real, is as much a part of the actuality of this world as its opposite - the stifling oppression we all live under. The concrete content, the self-development gained through confrontation with oppressive conditions and internal contradictions, is the point of departure for any further meaningful development.

-Peter Hudis, May 2001
OUTSIDE INTERVENTIONS

This situation raises the question of what role outsiders, particularly white outsiders, could play in trying to support the riots. Just being involved on the streets would be plenty inspiring and exciting, but there are a lot of other things that could be done as well. We're aware of a few

"..."
Maybe the next time the black community throws up mass protests like this, we'll have thought things through and be in a position to support things better. We're hoping especially to reach people who find themselves in similar positions, but we welcome criticism or dialogue from any perspective.

WHY RIOT? WHY NOT? JUST DO IT.

Over the last decade or so, the "zero tolerance" school of policing first introduced in Giuliani's NYC has spread to dozens of other cities, including Cincinnati. Police forces which have converted to the "New York model," along with the introduction of a new chief or FOP [Fraternal Order of Police] president trained in New York, emphasize tighter discipline in the ranks and an increased independence of the police as a political force in the city's politics. This means that police "partnerships" with social service agencies, drug treatment facilities, etc., are being neglected or dropped. States attorney's offices are being pressured to reorganize their priorities for prosecutions in line with police strategies, and that ghetto areas (especially those with real estate potentials) are targeted with relentless zero-tolerance pig saturation.

As far as the 'Race War' aspects there have been some problems. 2 R&R [Refuse & Resist] kids got a really bad beat-down from some rather angry black teenagers in separate incidents and had to be hospitalized briefly. People are in fact being pulled from their cars and having their asses kicked. However this feature of what's going on is far from a dominant aspect of what's going on. But don't deny it's there. White Radicals now are not in the fighting at night because of this danger at the advice of Black Radicals who feel like they can no longer protect folks. [But] hy and large folks on the ground in OTR are resisting on a class rather than race basis on their own without having to hear a book out of the mouth of college radicals about the necessity of doing so.

- Local Anti-Racist Action (ARA) members

As the days went on, the large crowds got dispersed and the 'rioting' was carried on by smaller crews of friends. This period coincided with the
...But this is a critical moment in our history. We have an opportunity to take bold action to protect our communities and our country. We must act now to ensure a future where everyone is safe and respected. ...