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That is to say, unless and until one respects the necessary displacement of culture, and yet is always irritated by its failure to reconcile itself with other questions that matter, with other questions that cannot and can never be fully covered by critical textuality in its elaborations, cultural studies as a project, an intervention, remains incomplete. If you lose hold of the tension, you can do extremely fine intellectual work, but you will have lost intellectual practice as a politics. I offer this to you, not because that's what cultural studies ought to be, or because that's what the Centre managed to do well, but simply because I think that, overall, is what defines cultural studies as a project. Both in the British and the American context, cultural studies has drawn the attention itself, not just because of its sometimes dazzling internal theoretical development, but because it holds theoretical and political questions in an ever irresolvable but permanent tension. It constantly allows the one to irritate, bother and disturb the other, without insisting on some final theoretical closure.

Hall, Stuart. "Cultural studies and its theoretical legacies." *Stuart Hall: Critical dialogues in cultural studies* (1996): 262-275.

I don't know what to say about American cultural studies. I am completely dumbfounded by it. I think of the struggles to get cultural studies into the institution in the British context, to squeeze three or four jobs for anybody under some heavy disguise, compared with the rapid institutionalization which is going on in the United States. The comparison is not only valid for cultural studies. If you think of the important work which has been done in feminist history or theory in Britain and ask how many of those women have ever had full-time academic jobs in their lives or are likely to, you get a sense of what marginality is really about. So the enormous explosion of cultural studies in the United States, its rapid professionalization and institutionalization, is not a moment which any of us who tried to set up a marginalized Centre in a university like Birmingham could, in any simple way, regret. And yet I have to say, in the strongest sense, that it reminds me of the ways in which, in Britain, we are always aware of institutionalization as a moment of profound danger. Now, I've been saying that dangers are not places you run away from but places that you go towards. So I simply want you to know that my own feeling is that the explosion of cultural studies along with other forms of critical theory in the academy represents a moment of extraordinarily profound danger. Why? Well, it would be excessively vulgar to talk about such things as how many jobs there are, how much money there is around, and how much pressure that puts on people to do what they think of as critical political work and intellectual work of a critical kind, while also

**EXHIBIT 11111111**

TO :	DIRECTOR, FBI (100-448006)	DATE: 5/28/68
FROM :	SAC, MINNEAPOLIS (157-438)	
SUBJECT:	COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUPS RACIAL INTELLIGENCE	

ReBuairtel to Albany, cc Minneapolis, 5/28/68, Minneapolis airtel to Bureau 4/3/68, and Minneapolis letter to Bureau dated 5/28/68.

In connection with suggestions for counterintelligence operations, the following, based on recent experience in Minneapolis, is being set forth:

Immediately subsequent to the demise of Dr. MARTIN LUTHER KING, personal on-the-scene liaison with the [redacted] of the Minneapolis Police Department that might result in the effective direction of a liaison source in refuting an erroneous proclamation by a credible Negro leader that a Negro boy had been shot, and had the effect of throwing cold water on a small fire that could have resulted in a minor holocaust.

In detail, as pointed out in referenced Minneapolis letter captioned as above this date concerning activities in the counterintelligence field, this is what occurred:

A liaison source contacted an agent of this office on duty that night, and advised him that a meeting was in progress at that time. One of the leaders claimed that a Negro youth had been killed by a white man in the ghetto area of North Minneapolis. The source advised that the mixed white and Negro, but predominantly Negro, group present at this service was becoming highly disturbed. The agent was able to determine because of his on-the-scene liaison that this was a lie, that in fact a Negro had killed a white man, and relayed this information to the liaison source with instructions to immediately make it known to the assembled group that the allegation was not true and that in fact a Negro had killed a white man, rather than the reverse. The

2 - Bureau (RM)  
1 - Minneapolis

REQ 17

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[REDACTED]

III. TANGIBLE RESULTS

Regarding A. above, in no small measure due to [REDACTED] The majority of the Mississippi participants were youthful people, Negro males and females.

Regarding B. above, [REDACTED] was personally instrumental in screening out many militant Negro youths from participating in any manner in the Southern Caravan portion of the Poor People's Campaign. He was especially watchful for anyone in any manner associated with SNCC and any allegations he received in this regard were grounds for automatic elimination of individual as Southern Caravan participant.

IV. DEVELOPMENTS OF COUNTERINTELLIGENCE INTEREST

The Jackson Division has disseminated pertinent information regarding known Mississippi Black Nationalist militants to all appropriate local and state law enforcement officials. They, in turn, carefully scrutinize activities of these individuals for any indications that they may be breaking state or local laws. Any violations result in rapid arrest. In this regard, [REDACTED] Negro Black Nationalist Militants from Jackson, Mississippi, have each been arrested once by local authorities on minor infractions over the past four months.

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For Sweet Honey in the Rock

I'm gonna stay on the battlefield  
I'm gonna stay on the battlefield  
I'm gonna stay on the battlefield til I die.

I'm gonna stay on the battlefield  
I'm gonna stay on the battlefield  
I'm gonna stay on the battlefield til I die.

i had come into the city carrying life in my eyes- amid rumors of death, calling out to everyone who would listen it is time to move us all into another century time for freedom and racial and sexual justice time for women and children and men time for hands unbound i had come into the city wearing peaceful breasts and the spaces between us smiled i had come into the city carrying life in my eyes. i had come into the city carrying life in my eyes.

And they followed us in their cars with their computers and their tongues crawled with caterpillars and they bumped us off the road turned over our cars, and they bombed our buildings killed our babies, and they shot our doctors maintaining our bodies, and their courts changed into confessionals but we kept on organizing we kept on teaching believing loving doing what was holy moving to a higher ground even though our hands were full of slaughtered teeth but we held out our eyes delirious with grace. but we held out our eyes delirious with grace.

I'm gonna treat everybody right  
I'm gonna treat everybody right  
I'm gonna treat everybody right til I die.

I'm gonna treat everybody right

I'm gonna treat everybody right  
I'm gonna treat everybody right til I die.

come. i say come, you sitting still in domestic bacteria  
come. i say come, you standing still in double-breasted mornings  
come. i say come, and return to the fight. this fight for the earth  
this fight for our children  
this fight for our life  
we need your hurricane voices  
we need your sacred hands

i say, come, sister, brother to the battlefield  
come into the rain forests  
come into the hood  
come into the barrio  
come into the schools  
come into the abortion clinics  
come into the prisons  
come and caress our spines

i say come, wrap your feet around justice  
i say come, wrap your tongues around truth  
i say come, wrap your hands with deeds and prayer  
you brown ones  
you yellow ones  
you black ones  
you gay ones  
you white ones  
you lesbian ones

Comecomecomecome to this battlefield  
called life, called life, called life. . .

I'm gonna stay on the battlefield  
I'm gonna stay on the battlefield  
I'm gonna stay on the battlefield til I die.

I'm gonna stay on the battlefield  
I'm gonna stay on the battlefield  
I'm gonna stay on the battlefield til I die.

Sonia Sanchez  
Shake loose my skin: New and Selected Poems  
Beacon Press  
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MARIE-HÉLÈNE CAUVIN,  
 JÉRÔME HAVRE,  
 ELICSER ELLIOTT,  
 WAYNE SALMON  
 CHARLES CAMPBELL  
 JAN WADE,  
 STACEY TYRELL,  
 CHIKOENZERO CHAZUNGUZA,  
 MARIE-DENISE DOUYON,  
 NALEDI JACKSON,  
 KAPWANI KIWANGA,  
 STÉPHANE MARTELLY,  
 BELINDA AGEDA,  
 CHOPIN JOSEPH,  
 BISHARA MOHAMED,  
 ALLAN ANDRÉ,  
 GRACE CHANNER,  
 SYRUS MARCUS WARE

Letter to SAC, Jacksonville  
 Re: COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM AGAINST  
 PLANNED RALLY OR SUBSEQUENT DEMONSTRATION  
 100-448006

NOTE CONTINUED:

demonstrations and attempting to establish a chapter of this organization in Belvid, Florida. In this connection, [redacted] has released a pamphlet concerning his military service organization. His good record in that being he was recommended for the Silver Star.

[redacted] As a counterintelligence officer responsible regarding authority to grant this request

[redacted] In view of the extensive investigation conducted by the [redacted] into the loss of military records of New Orleans District Attorney, J.C. Carr who is probing the assassination of President Kennedy, this request should not be granted.

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT  
 Memorandum ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

TO : Mr. W. C. Sullivan DATE: May 20, 1968

FROM : O. C. Moore

SUBJECT: COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM  
 "BLACK NATIONALIST-HATE GROUPS"  
 RACIAL INTELLIGENCE  
 (POOR PEOPLE'S CAMPAIGN)

This is to recommend item regarding "Poor People's Campaign" leaders staying at plush motel be furnished cooperative news media source on confidential basis by Crime Records Division.

[redacted] who has overall responsibility for the Poor People's Campaign (PPC) as a Program Administrator of Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC), and [redacted] in charge of PPC security, are reportedly staying at the plush Pitts Motel, 1451 Belmont, N.W., Washington, D. C., while in Washington.

To contrast this with the way the PPC participants are living in their "tent city," it is recommended attached item be publicized. This will not jeopardize our sources.

RECOMMENDATION:

That attached item regarding plush living of PPC leaders be furnished cooperative news source on a confidential basis by Crime Records.

Enclosure

TJD:pab  
 (8)

1 - Mr. C. D. DeLoach  
 1 - Mr. W. C. Sullivan  
 1 - Mr. T. E. Bishop  
 1 - Mr. C. C. Moore  
 1 - [redacted]  
 1 - [redacted]

EX-115  
 100-448006-11

**CAMILLE TURNER**  
**ANNA JANE MCINTYRE**  
**ABDI OSMAN**  
**DANA INKSTER**  
**KAREN HAWKINS**  
**DEANNA BOWEN**  
**ELLA COOPER**  
**KAREN MIRANDA AUGUSTINE**  
**BUSHRA JUNAID**  
**SANDRA BREWSTER**  
**STELLA FAKIYESI**  
**STEPHEN FAKIYESI**  
**NATALIE WOOD**  
**KARA SPRINGER**  
**DENISON EWAN**  
**JESSICA KARUHANGA**  
**MICHAEL FERNANDES,**  
**MELINDA MOLLINEAUX,**  
**KAREN MIRANDA AUGUSTINE**  
**NADIJAH ROBINSON**

