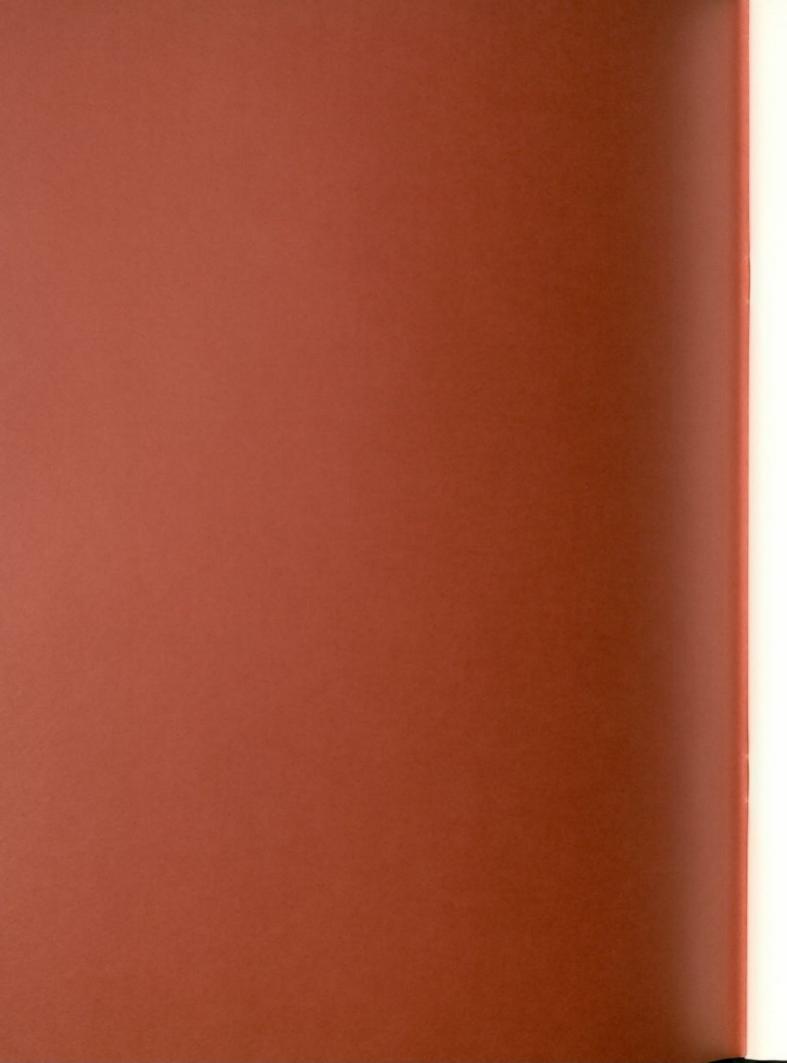
SURVEILLANGE





SURVEILLANCE

An Exhibition of Video, Photography, Installations

C Los Angeles Contemporary Exhibitions

FEBRUARY 27 - APRIL 12, 1987

EXHIBITION CURATORS: Branda Miller: video, installations

Deborah Irmas: photography

L A C E
Los Angeles Contemporary Exhibitions

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ON THE COVER:

Louis Hock, from *The Mexican Tapes:* A Chronicle of Life Outside the Law, 1984-86, from the monitor of La Migra (the border patrol) at Tijuana, Mexico

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INTRODUCTION

It is timely in the 1980's to present the exhibition, "Surveillance," as we are engrossed in the age of computerization and technological advances which carry implications of enormous magnitude. Because technology has progressed at such a high speed and the legal process operates at such a slow pace, laws have yet to be devised that limit access to much of this technology or curtail its uses. Today, there are more people being watched and more people watching. Artists have gained access to equipment and information systems and use the same technologies to examine and deconstruct the very institutions that have developed these systems.

"Surveillance" is about gathering, processing, and presenting information, specifically information that can lead to the curtailment of the freedom of the individual and the right-to-privacy. Coincidentally, artists tend to be observers, gathering information, processing it and presenting it. The artist's role in society is to exercise the right to freedom of the individual, particularly freedom of expression.

Some artists see their role as one of identifying and making public those issues that curtail freedom — that is what this exhibition is about: bringing one's attention to the technology and policies that currently affect our constitutional rights. Artists' Organizations occupy the same position in relationship to other institutions (i.e. museums, commercial galleries, etc.) as artists do to society. LACE, as an Artists' Organization, strives to be free from the constraints of the commercial art market or

a mandate, as with museums, to interpret and preserve a collection and to be concerned only with the ability to let artists present their work uncensored. Therefore, it is most appropriate that LACE presents this exhibition, conceived by artist Branda Miller, and curated by Branda Miller and Deborah Irmas. The curators have made a successful attempt to demystify the concept of surveillance by providing facts on the "new surveillance" - clearly defined in Gary Marx's article and the numerous fact sheets reprinted in this catalogue and by presenting artists who make use of the tools of technology not as gimmick or spectacle but rather to get across their ideas. Using photography, video and installations, artists have transformed LACE into a concentrated microcosm of an all-pervasive element in contemporary life. LACE is both the surveyor and the object of surveillance, demonstrating that this show is not about paranoia, a term often used when discussing this subject, it is about its opposite - exposing reality and all its implications.

Many people deserve thanks for their contribution to the exhibition: Michael Bock, Anne-Marie Duguet, Guadalupe Echevarria, John Hanhardt, Barbara London, Gary Marx, Muntadas, Sumie Nobuhara, Robin O'Hara, Pierce Rafferty, Don Roy, Julia Scher, Bob Stein, Amy Taubin, Bruce Yonemoto, Lori Zippay, and especially Lyn Blumenthal. Kathy Rae Huffman, David Miller and Rick Prelinger, who provided invaluable information to Branda Miller for this catalogue and exhibition. The Fund for Open Information and Accountability allowed us to include the FOIA kit in this catalogue. Electronic Arts Intermix, the Kitchen, Petrified Films and Video Databank furnished many of the single

channel tapes and Bruce Martin, of Audio Graphic Films and Video, compiled the tapes included in the video screening room.

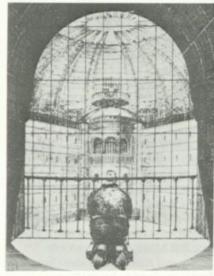
Stephen White, White Gallery of Photography, Los Angeles; Jeffrey Fraenkel, Fraenkel Gallery, San Francisco; Jacki Ochs; Nick Sheidy, Sonnabend Gallery, New York; and Magda Sawon, Postmasters Gallery, New York; assisted Deborah Irmas in obtaining the photographs included in this show. Sam Samore provided Deborah Irmas with invaluable discussions about the issues of surveillance and photography and assistance was given by Nicki Marx; Robert Blake; I.C.P. in New York City; and Susan Kismaric, Museum of Modern Art, New York.

I particularly want to thank curators Branda Miller and Deborah Irmas for the time, energy, insight and thoughtfulness they have given to this project. Special thanks is due to the dedicated LACE staff members that committed themselves to the success of this exhibition: Jeff Mann, Exhibition Coordinator and Anne Bray, Video Coordinator; assisted by Nancy Barton, Bookstore Manager; Judith Teitelman, Development Coordinator; and Martin Kersels, Administrative Assistant. Kimberly Baer and Terri Scarborough patiently deciphered all the information and presented a cohesive and inventive catalogue design. Most importantly, I want to thank all of the artists in this exhibition for providing inspiration and reminding us at LACE about what we do and why we do it.

Joy Silverman Executive Director

THE ART OF INVASION

by Branda Miller



Modeled after J. Bentham's plan of the Panopticon. N. Harou-Romain, Plan for a Penitentiary, 1840

In the 18th century Jeremy Bentham conceived of the Panopticon, envisioning a prison space with a central tower, where one gaze reaches out, continuously monitoring individual activities for discipline and control.

In "Discipline and Punish," Michel Foucault applies the Panoptic mechanism to examine the exercise of power in society, writing:

It [the Panopticon] is an important mechanism, for it automatizes and disindividualizes power . . . in order to be exercised, this power had to be given the instrument of permanent, exhaustive, omnipresent surveillance, capable of making all visible, as long as it could itself remain invisible. It had to be like a faceless gaze that transformed the whole social body into a field of perception: thousands of eyes posted everywhere, mobile attentions ever on the alert, a long hierarchized network

In 1980, I lived in Skid Row in Los Angeles, across the street from the downtown Los Angeles Police Control Facilities and Motor Transport Division, known as "The Bunker." I spent hours gazing out of the window with a feeling of disbelief as I watched with horror the spectacle of the police apparatus combatting displaced people, "to clean up the area" for urban development. I was fascinated by the secretive aspects of my center of observation.

The idea of curating an exhibition about surveillance began here, with my own latent voyeurism—hidden from view in my window, using a zoom lens and a video camera, I shot L.A. NICKEL, which premiered at LACE in 1983. Setting a continuous monitoring system of the street corner from my downtown loft window, and hiding radio mics on "audio agents" who ventured onto the street to gather sound, I attempted to capture information without disrupting the daily activities of the area.

I again employed surveillance techniques during the shooting of UNSET BLVD. from MEDIA HOSTAGES, yet changed the methods of operating the technology, passing the control of the surveillance tools to the subject of the tape. Sherry Davis, contestant of the Living Billboard Contest, self-activated the equipment (a continuously panning camera mounted on top of the billboard where she lived), therefore taking control of her own monitoring process.

Being at once inside and outside of the Panopticon's central tower, led me to question the consequences of power relationships that result from having access to sophisticated technology, how those tools are used and in whose hands. How had other artists worked with the surveillance process? What value systems did they apply to their own investigations? What alternative applications of the technology had they produced?

Examining the benefits as well as the dangers posed by our information-age gluttony, particularly as it reduces our perception of self and de-limits the boundaries of community, was a primary concern in my selection of the works exhibited.

This show underscores various processes of surveillance and the effects that its institutionalization has wreaked on everyday life. Here, artist/activists such as Michael Klier, Dieter Froese and Elsa Cayo use the weapons of surveillance—35mm cameras, TV cameras, monitors and tape recorders—to deconstruct the industry while others appropriate its techniques. Margia Kramer, for example, has used the Freedom of Information Act—a fissure in the Agency's protective seal—to gain access to Jean Seberg's government files;



L.A. NICKEL, 1983, Branda Miller.

SURVEILLANGE

while Ann Mari Buitrago's book ARE YOU NOW OR HAVE YOU EVER BEEN IN THE FBI FILES² is a how-to guide for those who want to secure and interpret their FBI files.

The subject of surveillance offers an excellent opportunity to examine the relationship between different artistic mediums, stimulating the viewer to look beyond the fetishistic examination of the technology itself in favor of the multifaceted information gathering process's greater implications. Although personally interested in video and installations, I consider the historical evolution of the still photograph as relevant, and invited Deborah Irmas to curate a photography section for the exhibition. Her overview adds a historical context, and brings an added dimension through the exhibition of video with its predecessor, photography.

Related mediums not incorporated within the dimension of this show include film, television, music, theatre and performance. Government Cold War vintage films like THE BATTLE OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA (narrated by J. Edgar Hoover) and THE CASE OF COMRADE X look back on never before publicized activities of G-men versus Nazi spies and saboteurs, employing hidden clips of camera footage recorded for their lurky trade. More recent feature films, from Hitchcock's REAR WINDOW (1954) to Powell's British classic PEEPING TOM (1959) to Copolla's THE CONVERSATION (1974), have applied surveillance techniques significant in the films' construction. Godard, in the TV tapes SIX FOIS DEUX/SUR ET SOUS LA COMMUN-ICATION (1976), experimented with a camera hidden during interview sequences. La Paluche (slang for 'the hand") camera was created in the early '70s especially for Godard by Jean Pierre Beauviala; it could be strapped to a leg or attached to the body, enabling the camera to be used in an inconspicuous experimental way.

Early television's CANDID CAMERA, first broadcast in 1948, attempted through humor to incorporate living with surveillance into the social body, while today's Geraldo Rivera employs surveillance techniques to sensationalize drug busts and boost ratings, both tapping on the audience's voyeuristic delights.

In VARIATIONS IV (1963), John Cage used surveillance as an element for a musical performance, playing to a mix



Michael Snow, DE LA, video installation, The National Gallery of Canada, 1971.

of pre-recorded sound and live audio tracks fed from the exterior and interior of a Los Angeles gallery. Squat Theatre combined a live and played-back video feed from the street with theatre performance in ANDY WARHOL'S LAST LOVE (1978). Bill Beirne's video installation and performance RUMOR AND INNUENDO (1979), was designed specifically for the architectural space of the Whitney Museum. Delineating surveillance areas in the non-exhibition spaces of the museum (curator's office, lobby, restaurant, etc.), intermittent unannounced performances by 20 actors behaving like the public allowed an exploration of the modification of behavior to adapt to those monitored situations. These examples from other mediums offer a broader scope of artists working conceptually with surveillance, and are noteworthy when examining the LACE exhibition.

The individual spectator's perception and the viewer's awareness as subject can be identified as primary concerns by artists who first explored video as an art form. There was a new sense of the medium affecting the entire environment, and as the spectator increasingly entered the physical situations, the result would be an aspect of self-confrontation. This seems to parallel the reinforcement and circulation of the surveillance apparatus distributed throughout the social network, present everywhere, exercising an invasive power over the individual.

For example, in Bruce Nauman's VIDEO SURVEILLANCE (1970), viewer becomes subject by means of camera and video monitor. As the spectators move through long corridors in a realm of perceptual technology, they must keep up with a certain game to remain in view with the camera and thereby their images on the monitor. Michael Snow's mechanical sculpture

DE LA (1969-1972), incorporates electronic controls, television camera and four monitors, its rotating arc transforming real time and actual space into fleeting images on the TV screen. In Frank Gillette and Ira Schneider's WIPE CYCLE (1969), nine monitors repeat a cycle of live surveillance, with delayed feedback and broadcast television; the mediated access of time-and-space-lag enhance a sense of "information overload." Dan Graham's TWO VIEWING ROOMS (1980), leads the viewer into a closed circuit of video and mirror images; as spectators assume the role of voyeur, they observe their projection of "self." Other installations serve as an early warning of technology's invasive power to penetrate even the seemingly private space of the mind. The interaction of people's real brainwaves are recorded on video in Nina Sobel's ELECTRO-ENCEPHALOGRAPHIC VIDEO DRAWINGS (1973-1983). These are just a few examples of pioneering video works that altered visual and spatial perceptions as spectators were confronted with their own mediated images. These fundamental investigations with perceptual technology significantly overlap much of the video works and installations presented in this exhibition.

LACE UNDER SURVEILLANCE

SURVEILLANCE places the entire gallery under surveillance by artists' installations, thus the viewer becomes part of the spectacle. The gallery-goer trips invisibly projected infra-red beams at the entrance's exterior, setting off an alarm and flashing lights in targets of human torsos imbedded in P.R.A. (Personal Reception Area), the painted banner of Julia Scher.

The chain continues as the hidden microphones in Gary Lloyd's THE HEART OF LOS ANGELES sculpture and RADIO PAINTING pick up the screeching of the alarm's buzzer as well as passing comments of those unknowing gallery-goers/targets entering the space.

Simultaneously, within the closed circuit of NOT FOR BIG BROTHER'S SPY CYCLE, by Dieter Froese, three real cameras pan along with three dummy cardbord cameras, recording the spectators as they move through the photographs and installations. Nine real monitors and nine dummy cardboard monitors also loop throughout the gallery space, encapsulating real-time surveillance mixed with pre-recorded "fake" surveillance and interrogations, transforming the viewer into suspect, caught in the absurd trap of the everwatching cycle. The threatening voice of the interrogator on the screen demands:

"Do you plan to overthrow the system?"

"Have you abused your NEA grant?"

"Do you engage in art politics?"
"Who are your informants?"

While the viewer experiences the fabricated impositions of the surveyed space, Margia Kramer's video installation JEAN SEBERG/THE FBI/THE MEDIA offers an important reminder of a real life and death story of harassment and surveillance. Watching a monitor through phototext panels of selected documents from declassified F.B.I. files, one learns of Jean Seberg, target of the U.S. government's Counterintelligence Program.

In the LACE bookstore, roles reverse again as suspect becomes agent. Rick Prelinger's audio scanning installation, LISTENING POST, enables the gallerygoer to become a communications professional, eavesdropping on the airwaves throughout the Los Angeles area. One hundred frequencies can be scanned with the turn of a dial, including those of the police, federal agents, emergency medical and fire, disaster units, sanita-

tion, media and the film industry, museums and educational institutions, and "private" conversations from car telephones, providing an opportunity to hear actual surveillance and investigative operations as they happen.

But the agent is not the only one activating the surveillance in this picturewatching eyes scan silently from the high corners as the cameras deployed in Louis Hock's installation FOR YOUR OWN PROTECTION record both bookstore and behind-the-scene staff offices. Taking the technological control away from the viewer, the monitoring process is installed in a separate location of the gallery. There, the viewer/victim is reduced to tiny image fragments within twenty seven 1" monitors, the feed from each camera forming the separate letters of the word DON'T, beckoning/warning the spectator about to enter the Video Screening Room.

Within the Screening Room, fifteen single channel videotapes divided into six programs redefine the representation of surveillance for the viewing audience.

PROGRAM 1- PRIVATE SPACE/PUBLIC SPACE

Whether in the home or in the subway, one can no longer escape anonymity.

An excerpt from Michael Smith's, IT STARTS AT HOME (1982, 25:00) begins the program with a humorous note. Unaware that he is being broadcast, Mike realizes the technicians who visited his home have done more than connect his Cable TV. Mike is now plugged into a continuously monitoring system, his own TV set reflecting as a mirror his every move. In the bars, living rooms and media producer's offices around the country, the public follows on their TV monitors in fascination, as all watch Mike in the routine setting of his private home.

Carol Rainey and Steven Feldman employ the narrative format for another view into the home, with MOMMA GETS HER READY (1985, 12:00). Taking a cue from child psychiatrist B.F. Skinner, "good parenting" means continuously surveying one's own child from a home "central control room."

Chip Lord, in ABSCAM (FRAMED) (1981, 10:30), re-frames a publicly shared TV news event, where deceptive uses of video surveillance sufficiently convicted the defendants. Playing a whispering newsman returning to the scene of the crime, Lord mixes original surveillance footage with "fake" artists' surveillance, re-enacting the "evidence."

West German artist Heiner Mühlenbrock's BILDERMASCHINEN (1982, 15:00) reconstructs footage from the surveillance cameras at the International Congress Center in West Berlin, editing onto its soundtrack the scores from old crime movies. Transforming the banal comings and goings of businessmen/ women into suspect actions, the routine public setting becomes a scenario of suspicion and intrigue.

Two monitors fill the screen like the piercing eyes of the unseen specialized agent in Peter D'Agostino's PARIS METRO: comings and goings (1977, 5:00). The sped-up, stop-framed imagery shakily monitors the undifferentiated mass in the routine of the Paris Metro, as a voice-over presents the etymology of the word "metro":

"Metro: measures (verse) madness for measures . . . metro: uterus . . poly: many . . . poly: sell . . metropolis . . .

metro: mother . . . pol: city . . . mother city . . . altogether, a source of confusion"

This "source of confusion" is felt by the individual as one's body, time and every day activities are subjected to the institutionalized mechanisms of control. This seemingly unlimited access "starts at home;" spreads through the "metropolis," and extends beyond our planet, as spectator becomes an object of representation.

PROGRAM 2- CONFRONTATION

In Program 2- CONFRONTATION, artists challenge the institutionalization of surveillance, through surveillance tactics, deconstruction and parody.

Video pioneers Paul Ryan and Michael Shamberg's SUPERMARKET (1969, 14:30) documents the highly visible early surveillance systems of a Safeway Supermarket, using ½" reel-to-reel B&W unedited imagery. As they record the large signs hanging from the ceiling, stating, "Smile You Are On

Photo-Scan T.V.", the manager demands they turn off their camera, insisting it is illegal to shoot any images in the store. Arguing, "You're taking pictures of us on TV, so why can't we take pictures of you?", this early video confrontation questions the rights of an individual in a public environment.

In QUI VOLE UN OEUF VOLE UN OEUF — HE WHO STEALS AN EGG STEALS AN EGG (1982, 15:00), Peruvian born artist Elsa Cayo plugs her video recorder into a Parisian supermarket's surveillance circuit, made possible by the complicity of the supervisor of the security monitoring console. Cayo plays an adversarial game of recording images of herself shoplifting, changing her role as involuntary target into artist/provocateur. She transforms a routine setting of surveillance for deterrence to her own performance stage.

Paper Tiger TV Collective looks inward with a mock self-incriminating surveillance scene in NOLAN BOWIE READS ARTICLES ABOUT PRIVACY (1985, 28:00). As Nolan Bowie, former director of Citizens Communication Center in Washington, D.C., reads articles about the government's surveillance activities, the Collective superimposes their own fictitious "classified" FBI records over B&W monitoring of the live studio set.

Aron Ranen's TELEVISION BELIEVERS (1986, 26:00) serves as a revealing expose of Peter Popoff, a selfproclaimed faith healer who uses sophisticated audio technology to "perform his miracles." While the artist records the on-the-surface reality of the location, psychic debunker the Amazing Randy, with the help of specialized agent Alec Jason, record the inner-reality of the event: the preacher is fed information about the audience by his wife on a hidden audio channel.

(Wife of Popoff, during an audio test):

"Hello, Petie. I love you. Can you hear me? If you can't, you're in trouble."

The combined data produces an exceptional alliance of artist and specialized agent using surveillance technology to debunk myths perpetrated on the public.

PROGRAM 3- GOVERNMENT SPOOKS

Government operatives are referred to as "spooks." Many lives are touched by these ghosts, innocents turned into targets. Few share the surveillance tools to fight back.

In an excerpt from Louis Hock's THE MEXICAN TAPES (1985, 3:50), dark running figures glow green on La Migra's (Border Patrol) monitor, as the helicopters, bright lights and infra-red cameras transform people into criminals. Transcending the traditional privacy afforded by darkness, the advanced surveillance technology leaves the illegal immigrants nowhere to hide.

RED SQUAD (1971, 45:00) by Pacific Street Films, documents an alliance between the FBI and the NYPD called the Red Squad, who were (and are) engaged in illicit surveillance activities of American citizens since 1912. In direct confrontation with the government's illegal use of power, the filmmakers engage in a battle of the cameras, following the Red Squad and openly recording their activities. Who uses surveillance and why, and citizens' rights within a democratic society to fight back with the same technology, are issues effectively brought up in this documentary.

PROGRAM 4- VIEWER/VOYEUR

Bruce Charlesworth's SURVEILLANCE (1984, 21:00) employs a single, fixed. 21-minute shot, as two undercover detectives stake out a window, using binoculars to monitor the activities of an unknown suspect across a lake. The boredom and frustrations of their routine give way to paranoia and shock at the realization that they are being watched as well. Roles of agent and target become intertwined, as the audience discovers they too are participants in the monitoring process.

In Martha Rosler's VITAL STATISTICS OF A CITIZEN SIMPLY OBTAINED (1977, 38:00), a woman is measured, and statistics are accumulated and analyzed - "standard, above standard, below standard." The viewer becomes participant in the external vision of the self, surveying the woman's body, which is being monitored from the outside as if divorced from itself. Continuous measurement and control, through extraneous data, applied categorically and revealed inferentially,

intrudes into privacy, probing further into the body and deeper into the social landscape.

(Rosler's Voice-over):

"This is a tape about perception of self, meaning of truth, definition of fact, this is a work about being done to . . . about scrutiny on a mass level."

PROGRAM 5- DER RIESE-THE GIANT

Berlin filmmaker Michael Klier's DER RIESE (1982-1983, 82:00) is a classic essay comprised of real surveillance images displaying our society under the constant watch of our ubiquitous surveillance cameras.

Where and what the images were taken

- 1. Airport surveillance, Berlin-Tegel.
- 2. Private property surveillance (house and garden), Hamburg.
- 3. Department store surveillance (shoplifter, store detective), Berlin.
- 4. Bank teller and money transporting surveillance, Furth.
- 5. Gas station surveillance, Berlin.
- 6. Peep-show surveillance, Berlin.
- 7. Traffic surveillance, pedestrian zone, Hamburg.
- 8. Surveillance of the annual Parade of the Allies (excluding the Soviet Union), on the street, the 17th of June, West Berlin.
- 9. Police investigation image generator, Dusseldorf.
- 10. B-level surveillance, Hamburg.
- 11. Monitoring of a conversation between a doctor and a patient in a psychiatric hospital, Berlin.
- 12. Driving a simulator for tank drivers, Ulm.

PROGRAM SIX- LOVE HOTEL (xxx)

LOVE HOTEL (1986, 30:00) was presented by an anonymous donor to Japanese artist Noriaki Nakagawa. In a high-tech Love Hotel in Japan, clientele enter hotel rooms rigged with surveillance equipment. Voluntarily activating the monitoring of their own sex acts, they satisfy their personal desires for voyeurism. While the camera's presence alters their behavior, the mysterious video burglar steals a permanent record, passing it on to Nakagawa, who digitizes the faces and genitalia into mosaic patterns to protect the identities in this reallife encounter. (X-rated)

CONCLUSION

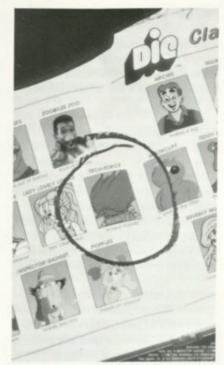
Surveillance has become omnipresent in our society, an essential element to maintaining the political and economic status quo. Its future manifestations, however, promise to extend the power beyond simply surveying, categorizing, and analyzing. Surveillance of the future could be "coming next fall" from your favorite network, reaching through your television screen to effect physical changes in your home.

From THE HOLLYWOOD REPORTER, Friday, January 16, 1987:

ACT angry over new interactive TV shows:

. . . "the next trend" in kidvid . . . "Moto Monsters and the Tech Force" and "Captain Power" . . . Both shows emit inaudible signals that allow viewers to participate by responding to on-screen "targets" with the toy . . . applied for and received FCC approval to broadcast the hidden signals . . . a new chapter in children's television. "There won't be a show without an inaudible beep". . . Calling petitions to the FCC a "waste of time" under the Reagan administration, ACT President Charren said ACT will ask congress to pass legislation compelling the FCC to re-evaluate children's programming policy, including consideration of the impact of new technologies.

Obviously this mechanism could be easily perverted. In today's technological vortex, mythology becomes reality, science fiction fact. The artists in SURVEILLANCE were selected to provocatively deconstruct the myth of surveillance in the real world of recording and processing. A response to the fragmentation and isolation resulting from the accelerated development and distribution of information could be the desire for anonymity, a wish for invisibility. Yet with the burden of anxiety comes the opportunity for awareness, growth and political action.



From the cover of ANIMATION SPECIAL REPORT, The Hollywood Reporter, Jan. 22, 1987.

Notes

'Michel Foucault, *Discipline and Punish, The Birth of the Prison*, Vintage Books, a division of Random House, New York. © 1977 by Alan Sheridan

³Ann Mari Buitrago and Leon Andrew Immerman, Are you Now or Have You Ever Been in the FBI Files, How to Secure and Interpret Your FBI Files, Grove Press, 196 West Houston Street, New York, N.Y. 10014.

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SURVEILLANGE

AIN'T IT THE GOD'S TRUTH?

by Deborah Irmas

"You slew him with that tomahawk; and as you stood over his body with the letter in your hand, you thought that no witness saw the deed, that no eye was on you—but there was, Jacob M'Closkey, there was. The eye of the Eternal was on you—the blessed sun in heaven, that, looking down, struck upon this plate of the image of the deed. Here you are in the very attitude of your crime!"

Now we know that photography can easily lie. But the truth addicts of the nineteenth century strongly believed that it didn't and couldn't so that they could use it as evidence. Photography was a science that replicated nature . . . and nature was god-while science was truth. How fitting to use this medium to point the finger at suspicious behavior. They hoped that photography-the god's truthwould change society, and thus make everyone behave accordingly. Years before the medium developed to the stage where it was even feasible to put this notion into practice, men yearned to use it for the purpose of exposing secrets that they imagined must be exposed.

These envisioned capabilities of early photography, described in plays and short stories, magically followed performers of evil deeds, or young lovers and watched over them. The word "surveillance" is from the words "watch" and "over." Like the writers who imagined what truth the photograph might reveal, surveillance photographers surmised beforehand what could be uncovered. They knew the



George Fenwick, 1856, salt print (Courtesy, Stephen White Gallery of Photography, Beverly Hills)

punchline before telling the joke. An impetuous private act revealed forever in black and white, or the extended construction of a visual dossier would only be actuated if a healthy possibility of finding an unknown truth existed.

This element of "deduction," or the self-fulfilling prophecy is a critical component in surveillance work. A surveillance photographer monitoring a subject asks beforehand, what sort of acts photograph best? Where would they most likely occur and most importantly what kind of person will most likely perform them? Finally the question of where the photographer situates himself in relation to the deed is considered . . . in the open but with a concealed camera? Secreted from public view? Or miles away from the action itself?

A portrait from 1856 clearly reveals how little was understood about the nature of having one's picture taken. An unsuspecting young woman standing beside a group about to be photographed is, herself, an integral part of the image. Purposely incorporating her, the photographer establishes his position of authority and the image defines a gap between the surveillor and the subject, setting up a baseline for the discussion of surveillance photography. Eventually subjects become more aware; cameras became smaller and photographers learned to invent subversive means in order to acquire evidence without the collaboration of a subject. By the end of the century, the public's level of awareness and understanding of the camera had increased to the point that they

understood the relationship between their stance and the camera's gaze.

Paul Strand's famous series of portraits of 1916 taken on the streets of New York underscore this point. Made with the assist of a fake lens mounted to the side of his lunchbox-sized Graflex. Strand circumvented the expected responses and attitudes people assume when a camera is pointed at them. Although these photographs are considered monuments of modernism, they must also be considered within the realm of surveillance methodology-the artist employed deceitful means to acquire an image. These extra precautions taken to insure that he would not be discovered before or after securing the pictures places them squarely within this discussion.

By the end of the 1920s, the development of the miniature camera-coupled with the advancement of fast lensesenabled indoor shooting without the use of blinding flash, Erich Salomon's photographs of meetings of heads of state have the appearance of surveillance photography-grainy, contrasty, prints with subjects completely oblivious to the photographer. But even to have entered into the room required permission, and his Ermanox camera still required the use of every visible tri-pod. The spirit of cooperation (although not evident) is an element that separates surveillance photography from other kinds of documents.



Walker Evans, © 1940 (Courtesy, Fraenkel Gallery, San Francisco)

In 1938 and 1941 Walker Evans strapped a LEICA around his neck and attempted a series of "unposed portraits" in the New York subways. Purposely concealing it underneath his jacket he positioned himself in front of his subjects and much like a detective released the shutter intermittently, without looking directly at the subject. In an unpublished draft of a text written to accompany these portraits he says:

"The portraits on these pages were caught by a hidden camera, in the hands of a penitent spy and an apologetic voyeur..."

Evans perceives this method of working as ultimately pure because the photographer takes no care to "pre-visualize" the image. Rather, the happenstance release of the shutter either secured an image or it didn't. Morally Evans finds this secretive gathering of visual information pure because he is able to sidestep the usual issues of vanity that arise when subjects engage with the photographer in the making of a picture. The young woman standing to the side of the group posing for the portrait in the 1850s would now be subconsciously primping for the camera. For Evans this false gesture would interfere with his 20th century concept of "truth" in a photograph as much as the photographer's own hand/eye maneuvering. And yet he encourages the kind of observation that is considered socially

discourteous (for research?):

"Stare. It is the way to educate your eye and more. Stare, pry, listen, eavesdrop. Die knowing something. You are not here long." 3

Curiously he raises the issue of privacy but defends his actions by arguing that he has waited twenty years before showing the portraits or publishing them.

"... the rude and impudent invasion involved has been carefully softened and partially mitigated by a planned passage of time."

Weegee, however, was not the least concerned with the issues of privacy and was known to photograph people in any public situation that would make an interesting picture and then publish them as soon as a newspaper or magazine would buy them. Infrared film allowed him the opportunity to photograph in a darkened theater where the audience believed their physical responses were undetected. In the 1940s he photographed Frank Sinatra's young audience at the Paramount Theater. Their stolen frenzied expressions captured in his camera are thought to be documents of popular American culture as well as indicative of his boisterous individual photojournalistic style. Considered within the realm of surveillance photography these photographs further demonstrate the radical technical means photographers would take in order to acquire what they believed to be a "good shot" without any cooperation or interaction with their subject.

These photographers set the stage for a wide range of contemporary photographic work. Artists today have coopted the latest high-technology, or conceptually seized the procedures that their predecessors took to acquire images. But whereas Strand, Evans and Weegee quested after an image saturated with a declaration of pictorial modern reality, contemporary artists reject the belief of an imaged truth and employ or subvert these procedures in order to illustrate the lunacy of the concept of truth itself. Before, the means justified the end; now, in the post-modern era, the inverted version carries more weight. The means themselves have not only become the end, but they also perform as questions to a society that has forgotten the morality of chosen means.

In Borrowed Time, Jake Seniuk for instance, follows Paul Strand's tactic of remaining in full view while secretly photographing. Strand's New York sidewalk however, is now the Seattle freeway. Situated above an overpass, Seniuk peers into the private retreats of contemporary man that travel at (freeway) speeds of 50 miles per hour. Piercing the windshield with his gaze, we see the same blank generic expressions that Strand recorded. Seniuk's account however is not only to picture the unpicturable but also to declare the insidious presence of the unseen camera in our urban culture . . . even if it is his own.

This excessive hunger for chronicling information-even worthless information—and the ongoing paranoia that necessitates the research and development of highly sensitive and grossly expensive recording tools are the stimulus for Richard Lowenberg's body of work. His performance, installation, and video work co-opts the state-of-theart technology employed by the government and private enterprise surveillance industry. As in his other work, the night photographs of military installations circumvent the entire system of information gathering and the corporate vow of secrecy. To the artist, these secrets are not worth keeping. High-powered equipment loaned by individuals who work inside the "military-industrial complex" are used to photograph radar sites, and activity and installations in restricted

areas. His work is as much about this "collaboration" as it is about what he photographs.

Lewis Stein, too, looks the everpresent surveillance instruments straight in the eye. His bold blurry square pictures of scanning devices used in banks and public buildings are instructive reminders of the rampant imaging of normal day to day public activities. Stein's work raises the question: does the presence of these monitoring devices subconsciously alter our behavior in public?

Sam Samore's Suspect appropriates the methodology of a private detective, hiring an "investigator photographer" and instructing him to photograph suspicious looking people or people doing suspicious looking things. The resulting images come straight from Bmovie iconography. Racial stereotypes surface, confirming the notion that surveillance activity requires not only a vivid imagination but also a determination to capture something useful, even if it isn't true. These mural-sized images lit with red light predict a kind of headquarters interrogation between the authorities and the suspect. His work heeds the warning that our own fears coupled with a predisposition to believe the veracity of the photograph sets in motion the possibilities of corruption and disruption of innocent people's lives.

Sophie Calle, a French artist, has used surveillance strategy in her work since 1980. In Suite venitienne, 1983, the published version of this piece, she followed a man picked randomly from a crowd to Venice, Italy, documenting with photos and notes his location and the time of each record. In a more recent piece, L'hotel, 1984, Calle engages even more with the operation of securing private photographic information. Gaining employment as a chambermaid she photographs each unmade room and records detailed information about the personal articles she observes. Her accounting injects an imaginary horror. Any of us could be violated in similar circumstances.

"Wednesday, the 18th, 10:20 a.m. She wears green pajamas, they're layed out on the pillow. On the table, 'Kleenex' and a book, Terapia 80. She took a bath. The room is always neat and empty. I douse myself with her perfume and use her cosmetics. I clean the room and leave."

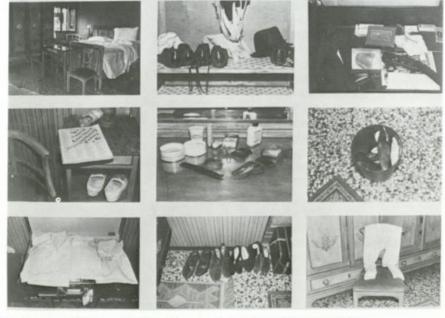
Security, a wall installation by Nancy Buchanan, deals with the very real effects of exaggerated surveillance activity in human terms. Her father, a brilliant outspoken scientist was monitored throughout his life by the F.B.I., which was documented in his

excessive file. Layering copies of his file with photographs and personal mementos, she builds a complex portrait of a man and the chilling consequences this activity may have had on his shortened life.

John Baldessari's 1976 piece David: One Day-Sixty Shots Named and Alphabetized, reminds us of the gargantuan disconnected surveillance industrythe hunting, gathering and deciphering of visual data. Baldessari removes his direct involvement in the acquisition of the information when he assigns the 24 hour photographic monitoring of his subject to one person. A second person collects the data and codes the dossier, interrupting any notion of sequential ordering. Finally this mechanistic arrangement is presented with an ostensible structure of ultimate reason and logic. What becomes clear, however, is that there is only an arbitrary logic. Baldessari's conceptual organization reaffirms Barbara Kruger's dictum "Surveillance is your busywork."

Notes

- 1 Dion Boucicault, The Octoroon, reprinted in Representative American Plays, edited with an introduction and notes by Arthur Hobson Quinn (New York: The Century Company, 1917), p. 442. Quoted in Richard Rudisill, The Mirror Image, the Influence of the Daguerreotype on American Society, (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press), p. 222.
- 2 Walker Evans, Walker Evans at Work, (New York: Harper & Row), 1982, p.160.
- 3 Ibid, p. 161.
- 4 Ibid, p. 60.
- 5 Sophie Calle, L'hotel, 1983, Paris: Editions de' l'Etoile, p. 33. Unfortunately, we were unable to exhibit Calle's work in the LACE exhibition.



Sophie Calle, 1983, from L'HOTEL (Courtesy Galerie Crousel-Hussenot, Paris)

I'LL BE WATCHING YOU

Reflections on the New Surveillance

Dissent - Winter 1985

by Gary T. Marx

Popular culture is sometimes far ahead of academic analysis in identifying important social currents. This is true of the hit song *Every Breath You Take*, sung by a celebrated rock group known as The Police. It contains these lines:

[breath analyzer]
[motion detector]
[polygraph]
[electronic anklet]
[continous monitoring]
[bugs, wiretaps, mikes]
[light amplifier]
[voice stress analysis]
[brain wave analysis]
[computer matching]
[video surveillance]

For this song we can draw hints of what can be called "the new surveillance." The surveillance component of social control is changing radically. The rationalization of crime control, which began in the 19th century, has crossed a critical threshold as a result of broad changes in technology and social organization. Surveillance has become penetrating and intrusive in ways that previously were imagined only in fiction.

The information-gathering powers of the state and private organizations are extending ever deeper into the social fabric. The ethos of social control has expanded from focused and direct coercion used after the fact and against a particular target to anticipatory actions entailing deception, manipulation, planning, and a diffuse panoptic vision.

I shall attempt here to (1) describe some of the major types of this new surveillance; (2) indicate how contemporary forms differ from traditional ones; (3) consider some undesirable consequences of these changes.

The gigantic data banks made possible by computers raise important surveillance questions. Many basic facts about the computerization of credit. banking, medical, educational, employment, tax, welfare, telephone, and criminal-justice records are well known. But beyond the increased amount of information they make available, computers have altered the very nature of surveillance. Record surveillance is routinized, broadened and deepened, and, for practical purposes, records become eternal. Bits of scattered information that in the past did not threaten the individual's privacy and anonymity are now joined. Organizational memories are extended over time and across space. Observations have a more textured, dimensional quality. Rather than focusing on the discrete individual at one point in time and on static demographic data such as date of birth, surveillance increasingly involves more complex transactional analysis, interrelating persons and events (for instance, the timing of phone calls, travel, bank deposits).

A thriving new computer-based, datascavenging industry now sells information gleaned from such sources as drivers' licenses, vehicle and voterregistration lists, birth, marriage, and death certificates, land deeds, telephone and organizational directories, and census-tract records.

Many issues — such as privacy, civil liberties, uses of and control over information, unauthorized access, errors, and the rights of the person about whom information is gathered — are raised by the computer-matching and profiling operations that have come into increased prominence in the last decade.²

Matching involves the comparison of information from two or more distinct data sources. In the United States, more than 500 computer-matching programs are routinely carried out by government at state and federal levels, and the matching done by private interests is far more extensive. Profiling involves an indirect and inductive logic. Often, clues are sought that will increase the probability of discovering violations. A number of distinct data items are correlated in order to assess how close an event or person comes to a predetermined model of known violations or violators. Consider the following examples:

- A Massachusetts nursing-home resident lost her eligibility for government medical assistance because of a match of bank and welfare records. The computer match discovered that she had more than the minimum amount welfare recipients are permitted in a savings account. What the computer did not know was that the money was held in trust for a local funeral director, to be used for her burial expenses. Regulations exempt burial contracts from asset calculations.
- The Educational Testing Service uses profiling to help discover cheating. In 1982 it sent out about 2,000 form letters alleging "copying" to takers of its scholastic aptitute test based partly on computer analysis. A statistical review had "found close agreement of your answers with those on another answer sheet from the same test center. Such agreement is unusual and suggests that copying occurred." Students were told that in two weeks their scores would be canceled and colleges notified, unless they provided "additional information" to prove they had not cheated.
- In New York City, because of computer matching, persons cannot purchase a marriage license or register a deed for a new home if they have outstanding parking tickets.

Some of fiction's imaginary surveillance technology, like the two-way television that George Orwell described, is now reality. According to some observers, video-telephone communications is likely to be widespread in private homes by the year 2000. One-way video surveillance has expanded rapidly, as anyone who ventures into a shopping mall or uses an electronic bank teller should realize. The interior of many stores is monitored by closed-circuit TV. The camera is often inside a ceiling globe with complete 360-degree movement and the ability to tape-record. Amber or mirrored surfaces hide where the cameras are aimed.

Among the new techniques that permit intrusions that only recently were in the realm of science fiction, or not even envisioned there, are new or improved lasers, parabolic mikes and other bugs with still more powerful transmitters, subminiature tape recorders, remotecamera and videotape systems; means of

seeing in the dark, detecting heat or motion; odor, pressure, and contraband sensors; tracking devices and voice stress analyzers.

The last decade has seen the increased use of supposedly scientific "inference" or "personal truth technology" based on body clues (such as the polygraph, voice stress analysis, the stomach pump, the "passive alcohol detector," and blood or urine analysis for drugs.) These highly diverse forms of detection have at least one thing in common — they seek to verify an implicit or explicit claim put forth by an individual regarding identity, attitudes, and behavior.

"Mini-Awacs" that can spot a car or a person from 30,000 feet up have been used for surveillance of drug traffickers. The CIA has apparently used satellite photographs (with a range of up to 180 miles) for "domestic coverage" to determine the size and activities of antiwar demonstrations and civil disorders. The "starlight scope" light amplifier, developed for the Vietnam War, can be used with a variety of cameras and binoculars. When it amplifies light 85,000 times it turns night settings into daylight. Unlike the infrared devices developed earlier, it does not give off a tell-tale glow.

The highly secretive National Security Agency — using 2,000 staffed interception posts throughout the world, and satellites, aircraft, and ships — monitors all electronic communication from and to the United States. Its computer system permits simultaneous monitoring of about 54,000 telephone calls and cables. The agency is beyond the usual judicial and legislative controls and can disseminate its information to other government agencies without a warrant.¹

The 1968 wiretap law made it a felony for a third party to place an electronic listening device on a telephone or in a room. Government agents could do this only under strictly defined conditions with a warrant. Yet this law referred only to aurally transmitted "conversations." It said nothing about nonvoice and video communications. Up to 1986, no restrictions were placed on the interception of information transmitted in digital microwave form. As a result of recent technical developments, more than half of all long-distance telephone calls are now transmitted from point to point in digital form and then converted back to

a familiar voice sound. Telephone voice communications will increasingly be sent this way. Much computer information is also sent via microwaves. In 1986, laws were passed granting this information the same protection as voice conversations. However, the information can easily be picked up without leaving a trace by anyone with even modest snooping equipment.

Another surveillance use of the telephone involves the expansion of hot lines for anonymous reporting. One of the largest programs is TIP (Turn-in-a-Pusher). The video equivalent of the old reward posters, a program found in hundreds of communities, is called Crime Stoppers USA, Inc. It uses televised reenactments ("The Crime of the Week") to encourage witnesses to unsolved crimes to come forward. There are also radio and newspaper versions. Many companies maintain an internal hot line for anonymous reporting. WeTiP, Inc., a nonprofit organization, offers a general, nationwide 24-hour toll-free hot line for reporting suspicious activities. All 19 federal inspectorgenerals and some state and local agencies have hot lines for receiving allegations.

The real action, in the future, will be with nonhuman informers: a 400-pound, bulletproof mobile robot "guard" has been developed. It is equipped with a sonar range finder, sonic and infrared sensors, and an odor detector for locating humans. The robot can find its way through a strange building. Should it encounter an intruder, it can say in a stern, synthesized voice, "You have been detected." Another "mobile robotic sentry," resembling a miniature tank, patrols an area and identifies intruders. Users can choose the robot's weaponry and whether or not human permission (from a remote monitoring station) is needed before it opens fire. But not to worry. The manufacturer assures us that in the U.S. the device will not be "armed with lethal weapons"; or if it is, "there will always be a human requirement in the loop."

Telemetric devices attached to a subject use radio waves to transmit information on the location and/or physiological condition of the wearer and permit continuous remote measurement and control. Such devices, along with new organizational forms based on theories of diversion and deinstitutionalization (such as halfway houses and community treatment centers), diffuse the surveillance of the prison into the community.

After over a decade of discussion, telemetric devices are now being tried in the criminal-justice system. Offenders in at least four experimental jurisdictions are serving court-supervised sentences that stipulate wearing a monitoring anklet containing an electronic transmitter. The radio signal it emits is picked up by a receiver connected to the telephone in the wearer's home. This receiver relays the signal to a central computer. If the wearer goes beyond 150 feet from this telephone or tries to remove or unplug the device, the interruption of the signal is displayed on the computer. The judge receives a daily copy of the printout, and any errant behavior must be explained.

In other proposed systems subjects are not restricted to their residence; however, their whereabouts are continuously known. The radio signal is fed into a modified missile-tracking device that graphs the wearer's location and can display it on a screen. In some police departments, an automatic car-locator system has been tried to help supervisors know exactly where patrol cars are at all times. There also are various hidden beepers that can be attached to vehicles and other objects to trace their movements.

The Hong Kong government is testing an electronic system for monitoring where, when, and how fast a car is driven. A small radio receiver in the car picks up low-frequency signals from wire loops set into streets and then transmits back the car's identification number. The system was presented as an efficient means for applying a road tax to the many cars in Hong Kong's concentrated traffic areas. It can, of course, also be used to enforce speed limits and for surveillance. In the U.S., a parking meter has recently been patented that registers inserted coins and then radios police when the time has run out.

Surveillance of workers, whether on assembly lines or in offices or stores, has become much more severe with computerized electronic measures. Factory outputs and mistakes can be more easily counted and work pace, to a degree, controlled. Employee theft of expensive components or tools may be deterred by

embedded sensors that emit a signal when taken through a barrier. Much has been written about the electronic office, where the data processing machine serves both as a work tool and monitoring device. Productivity and employee behavior thus are carefully watched, and even executives are not exempt. In some major American corporations communication flows (memo circulation, use of internal phone systems) now are closely tracked.

In some offices, workers have to inform the computer when they are going to the bathroom and when they return. Employees may be required to carry an ID card with a magnetic stripe and check in and out as they go to various "stations."

Integrated "management systems" offer visual, audio, and digital information about the behavior of employees and customers. Information may be recorded from cash-register entries, voices, motion, or when standing on a mat with a sensor. Audiovisual recordings and alarms may be programmed to respond to a large number of "triggering devices."

Means of personal identification have gone far beyond the rather easily faked signature or photo ID. Thus one new employee security-checking procedure involves retinal eye patterns. Before gaining access, or a benefit, a person's eyes are photographed through a set of binoculars, and an enlarged print of the retina pattern is compared to a previous print on file. Retinal patterns are said to be more individual than thumbprints, offering greater certainty of identification.

Finally, undercover practices — those old, traditional means of surveillance and investigation — have drastically changed in form and expanded in scale during the last decade. The new devices and techniques have enabled police and federal agencies to penetrate criminal, and sometimes noncriminal, milieus in utterly new ways.⁴

In the United States, the federal agency that is most affected is the Federal Bureau of Investigation. In the past, the FBI viewed undercover operations as too risky and costly (for both individuals and the agency's reputation) for use in routine investigations of conventional

criminal activity. Now, however, in the words of an agent, "Undercover operations have become the cutting edge of the FBI's efforts to ferret out concealed criminal activity." In the mid-1970's the FBI began using undercover agents in criminal investigations. The number of such investigations has steadily increased from 53 in 1977, to 239 in 1979, to 463 in 1981.

Beyond well-known cases — such as Abscam, the fake consulting firm run jointly by IBM and the FBI that sold "stolen"data to Japanese companies, the John DeLorean case, police posing as derelicts with exposed wallets or as fences purchasing stolen property - recent cases have involved policewomen posing as prostitutes and then arresting the men who propositioned them; tax agents stationed in banks and businesses posing as prospective buyers or clients to gain information; phony cases entered into the criminal-justice system to test if prosecutors and judges would accept bribes; "bait sales" in which undercover agents offer to sell, at a very low price, allegedly stolen goods to merchants or persons they meet in bars; agents acting as guides for big game hunters and then arresting them for killing protected species or animals out of season. These examples — and we could add many more - surely make clear that is a new ball game, and that its players are sometimes beyond meaningful restraint.

Although the causes, nature, and consequences of the various new surveillance methods I have described differ from each other, they do share, to varying degrees, nine characteristics that distinguish them from traditional ones.

The New Surveillance

(1) It transcends distance, darkness, and physical barriers. As many observers have noted, the historic barriers to the old, Leviathan state lay in the sheer physical impossibility of extending the rulers' ideas and surveillance to the outer regions of vast empires; through closed doors; and into the inner intellectual, emotional, and physical regions of the individual. Technology, however, has gradually made these intrusions easier. Technical impossibility and, to some extent, inefficiency have lost their roles as unplanned protectors of liberty. Sound and video can be transmitted over vast distances, infrared and light-amplifying

technologies pierce the dark, intrusive technologies can "see" through doors, suitcases, fog. Truth-seeking technologies claim to be capable of going beneath surface reality to deeper, subterranean truths.

- (2) It transcends time; its records can easily be stored, retrieved, combined, analyzed, and communicated. Surveillance information can be "socially freeze-dried" When stored, it is available for instant analysis many years after the fact and in totally different interpretive contexts. Computer records, video and audio tapes and discs, photos, and various "signatures" - like workers or parts used in mass production have become increasingly standardized and interchangeable. Information can be converted into a form that makes it portable, easily reproducible, and transferable across vast distances. Thus data sharing, on an immense scale, becomes possible.
- (3) It is capital- rather than laborintensive. It has become much less expensive per unit watched, because technical developments have dramatically altered the economics of surveillance. Information is easily sent back to a central source. A few persons can monitor a great many things (in contrast to traditional forms, such as the gumshoe tailing a suspect at a discreet distance for many days or manually searching records). The monitor need not literally be attending at the instant of transmission to be able to use it. Economy is further enhanced because persons have become voluntary and involuntary consumers of much of this surveillance and are participating in their own monitoring. Many of the points that follow relate to these economic changes that facilitate expanded surveillance.
- (4) It triggers a shift from targeting a specific suspect to categorical suspicion. In the technical implementation of Kafka's nightmare, modern society suspects everyone. The camera, the tape recorder, the identity card, the metal detector, the obligatory tax form that must be filled out even if one has no income, and, of course, the computer make all who come within their province

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reasonable targets for surveillance. The new, softer forms of control are helping to create a society in which people are permanently under suspicion and surveillance. Everyone is assumed to be guilty until proven innocent. As Michel Foucault observed, what is central here is not physical coercion — but neverending "judgements, examinations, and observation."

- (5) One of its major concerns is the prevention of violations. Thus control is extended to ever more features of society and its surroundings. Rather than simply reacting to what is served up around us, anticipatory strategies seek to reduce risk and uncertainty. Publicity about omnipresent and omnipowerful surveillance is to deter violations. And "target hardening" (for instance, better locks) is to make committing violations more difficult. Where violations cannot be prevented, the surroundings may be so structured that violators are either caught in the act or leave strong evidence of their identity and guilt.
- (6) It is decentralized and triggers self-policing. In contrast to the trend of the last century, information can now in principle flow as freely from the center to society's periphery as the reverse. Surveillance is decentralized in the sense that national data resources are available to widely dispersed local officials. (The power of national elites, in turn, may also increase as they obtain instant information on those in the farthest reaches of the network.)

Those watched become (willingly and knowingly or not) active participants in their own monitoring, which is often self-activated and automatic. One aspect of this process is that persons are motivated to report themselves to government agencies and large organizations and corporations in return for some benefit or to avoid a penalty; another is the direct triggering of surveillance systems by its subjects when, for instance, a person walks, talks on the telephone, turns on a TV set, checks a book out from the library, enters or leaves a controlled area.

(7) It either has low visibility or is invisible. Thus it becomes ever more difficult to ascertain when and whether or not we are being watched and who is doing the watching. There is a distancing (both socially and geographically) between watchers and watched, and surveillance is increasingly depersonalized. Its instruments are often difficult to discover, either because they are something other than they appear to be or, as with snooping into microwave transmissions, there often are few indications of surveillance. (Contrast this with traditional wire-tapping, which changes electrical currents, or hidden voice analysis with the traditional polygraph, which requires the subject's cooperation.)

- (8) It is ever more intensive probing beneath surfaces, discovering previously inaccessible information. Like drilling technology boring ever deeper into the earth, today's surveillance can prod ever deeper into physical, social, and personal areas. It hears whispers, penetrates clouds, walls, and windows. It "sees" into the body and attempts to "see" into the soul, claiming to go beneath ostensible meanings and appearances to real meanings.
- (9) It grows ever more extensive covering not only deeper, but larger areas. Previously unconnected surveillance threads now are woven into gigantic tapestries of information. Or, in Stan Cohen's imagery, the mesh of the fishing net has not only become finer and more pliable, the net itself now is wider.6 Broad new categories of persons and behavior have become subjects for information collection and analysis, and as the pool of persons watched expands, so does the pool of watchers. Not only might anyone be watched; everyone is also a potential watcher. And the creation of uncertainty about whether or not surveillance is present is an important strategic element. Mass surveillance has become a reality. The increased number of watchers (whether human or electronic) and self-monitoring devices have recreated, in today's metropolis, some of the dense controls characteristic of the small, closely watched village.

The awesome power of the new surveillance lies in the paradoxical, never before possible combination of decentralized and centralized forms. We are also witnessing an expansion and joining of intensive forms of monitoring traditionally used only in the investigation and surveillance of criminal and espionage suspects, or prisoners, with the more shallow forms of categorical

The new surveillance has been generally welcomed by those in business, government, and law enforcement. It does have many attractive features. Stirring examples of its effectiveness are readily available. For example, the life of an elderly heart-attack victim who lived alone was saved when her failure to open the refrigerator sent an alarm through her telephone to a centralized monitor; a corrupt judge was caught when he took a bribe from a police agent pretending to be a criminal; serious crimes have been solved as a result of tips received on hot lines. Consider also the ease of obtaining consumer goods with a credit card; the savings of taxpayers' dollars because of computer-matching programs; citizens' increased feeling of safety when video surveillance is installed. Indeed, Americans seem increasingly willing, even eager, to live with intrusive

monitoring directed at broad

populations.

Problems concerning errors, data tampering and misuse can be lessened by government legislation and policies, good program design and sensitive and intelligent management. Furthermore, in a free-market economy, some surveillance can be neutralized (by, for instance, the proliferation of antiradar, debugging, and encryption devices).

technologies because of the benefits they

expect to result.

My point is not to advance some romantic neo-Luddite world view, or to deny the complexity of the moral judgements and trade-offs involved. Yet in our eagerness to innovate and our infatuation with technical progress and the gimmickry of surveillance, it is easy to miss the time bombs that may be embedded therein. The negative aspects of these new trends have not received sufficient attention.

There is nowhere to run or to hide. A citizen's ability to evade this surveillance is diminishing. There is no escape from the prying eyes and ears and whirring data-processing machines of government and business. To participate in the consumer society and the welfare state, we must provide personal information. To venture into a shopping mall, bank,

subway, sometimes even a bathroom is to perform before an unknown audience. To apply for a job may mean having to face lie-detector questioning about intimate details of one's life. Requests for parts of one's personal biography (for birth, marriage, and death certificates, driver's licenses, vehicle and voter registration, information for phone, occupational, educational, and special-interest directories) are invitations to comply with more finely tuned manipulative efforts by a new breed of government and marketing researchers, who combine the enormous quantities of available data with the advantages of computerization.

The new surveillance goes beyond merely invading privacy, as this term has been understood; it makes many of the constraints that made privacy possible irrelevant. Traditionally, privacy depended on certain technically or socially inviolate physical, spatial, or temporal barriers-varying from distance to darkness to doors, to the right to remain silent. To invade privacy required crossing an intact barrier. With much of the new technology, however, many of these simply cease to be barriers. As we discussed, information becomes accessible without the need to resort to traditional coercive forms of intrusion. There is no longer the need to enter a room surreptitiously to plant a bugging device, when a microphone aimed at a window a hundred yards away can accomplish the same end; when microwave phone and computer transmissions can simply be plucked from the air without bothering with direct wire-tapping. Without being opened, mail can be read, purses and briefcaes viewed through X-rays or sniffed. Alcohol intake can be assessed without a suspect's consent, and voice stress analysis administered without the subject's awareness.

What of Privacy & Autonomy?

In the face of these changes, we must rethink the nature of privacy and create new supports for it. Some of these, ironically, will rely in part on products of the system's technologies (such as coded or scrambled communications, antiradar and debugging devices). The most desirable support of our individual privacy and autonomy surely is public awareness. At this point, less than one state in five has laws requiring binding standards for the collection, maintenance, and dissemination of personal information.

Yet more is at stake than privacy. Some of the positive anonymity involving the right to be left alone and unnoticed, so characteristic of modern society, is diminished. The easy computer-bank combing and mining of vast publicly available data to yield precise lists (whether of suspects or targets for sales pitches and solicitations) generate a sense of vulnerability that is very different from the feeling experienced on receipt of junk mail addressed to "occupant." Aside from the annoyance factor, the somewhat "personalized" yet standardized wordprocessed solicitations can leave one asking "How do they know this about me? How did they find this out? What else do they know? Who are they?" One need not be a Franz Kafka character to feel uneasy.

To mention, briefly, some other, major negative aspects of the new surveillance:

It may violate the spirit of the Fourth Amendment. For it can trigger fishing expeditions and searches where there is no specific evidence of wrongdoing. Thus it might transform the presumption of innocence into one of guiltshifting the burden of proof from the state to the target of surveillance, the accused. There also is a danger of presumption of guilt by association or statistical artifact. And, because of the technical nature of the surveillance and its distancing aspects, the accused may (at least initially) be unable to face the accuser. The legal basis of some of the new surveillance's crime-prevention actions is also questionable.

The system's focus on prevention can entail the risk of sparking violations that would otherwise not occur. And powerful new mechanisms may invite overloading the system. Far more violations may be uncovered and added to the data banks than can be acted upon. This overabundance of violations in turn may lead to the misuse of prosecutorial discretion, the demoralization of control agents and, perhaps, to favoritism and corruption. And, as our examples suggest, the new surveillance has

the potential of fostering repression.

The system is invariably less effective and certain, and more subject to manipulation and error, than advocates admit. (Computer matching, for instance, can be no better than the data it is fed, which may be dated or wrong, and is often blunt and acontextual. Chemical analysis, which can detect drugs in a person's body, cannot determine how they got there—if a person, for instance, smoked marijuana or simply was around others who did—or whether a drug was taken on or off the job.)

While deterring or discovering some offenders, the routinization of surveillance, ironically, may grant an almost guaranteed means for successful violations and theft to those who gain knowledge of the system and take action to neutralize and exploit it. This suggests that, over time, it seems likely that many of these systems will disproportionately net the marginal, amateur, occasional violator rather than the master criminal.

The proliferation of the new techniques may create a lowest-denominator morality, which may even affect those who will actively protect privacy and autonomy, who thus will use—indiscriminately—the very tactics of those who seek to lessen them.

The new surveillance increases the power of large organizations (whether governmental or private) over the individual.

Individual freedom and liberty prosper when detailed information about a person's life, for the most part, is private. The permanence and accessibility of computerized records mean that we are all tailed by electronic tale-bearers. As there is the possibility of locking in erroneous or sabotaged data, this may have the unintended consequence of permanent, unjust stigmatization. Thus persons may never cease paying for earlier, or never committed, misdeeds. The issues here go far beyond criminal records and faulty computer banks. As records of education, work, health, housing, civil suits, and the like become ever more important in administering the society, persons may decline needed services (as for mental health), avoid conflictual or controversial action (filing a grievance against a boss or a landlord), shun taking risks and experimenting for

fear of what it will look like on the record. Conformity and uniformity may increase—squashing diversity, innovation, and vitality.

The fragmentation and isolation characteristic of totalitarian societies result not only from the state's banning or absorption of private organizations, but because individuals mistrust each other and organizations: trust, the most sacred and important element of the social bond, is damaged.

To be sure, we are far from such a society, but the direction in which the new surveillance points is clear. Making the means of anonymous denunciation easily available can lead to false and malicious accusations, and efforts to create a "myth of surveillance" may backfire and create a degree of inhibition, fear, and anxiety unbecoming a democratic society. The potential for harm may be so great, should social conditions change, that we must hesitate before creating even apparently justified surveillance systems (such as linkages between all federal and state data banks, or a mandatory national identification system). From this perspective, framing the policy debate around how to reform such systems is misguided. The issue, instead, is, Should the system be there to begin with?* Once these new surveillance systems are institutionalized and taken for granted in a democratic society, they can be used for harmful ends. With a more repressive government and a more intolerant public-perhaps upset over severe economic downturns, large waves of immigration, social dislocations, or foreigh policy setbacks-these devices could easily be used against those with the "wrong" political beliefs, against racial, ethnic, or religious minorities, and those with life style that offend the majority.

Yet should totalitarianism ever come to the United States it would more likely be by accretion than by cataclysmic events. As Sinclair Lewis argued in *It Can't Happen Here*, it would come in traditional American guise, with the gradual erosion of liberties.

Voluntary participation, beneficent rationales, changes in cultural definition

and language hide the onerous aspects of the new surveillance. But as Justice Brandeis warned:

Experience should teach us to be most on our guard when the government's purposes are beneficent. Men born to freedom are naturally alert to repel invasion of their liberty by evil-minded rulers. The greatest dangers to liberty lurk in insidious encroachment by men of zeal, well-meaning, but without understanding.

The first task of a society that would have liberty and privacy is to guard against the misuse of physical coercion by the state and private parties. The second task is to guard against the softer forms of secret and manipulative control. Because these are often subtle, indirect, invisible, diffuse and deceptive and shrouded in benign justifications, this is clearly the more difficult task.

Notes

This article is drawn from a longer paper available from the author prepared for meetings on George Orwell held by the Council of Europe and the American Sociological Association.

- ¹ David Burnham, *The Rise of the Computer State* (New York: Random House, 1983) offers a useful discussion of this and other salient themes.
- ³ See, for example, G. Marx and N. Reichman, "Routinizing the Discovery of Secrets: Computers as Informants," American Behavioral Scientist, March 1984.
- ³ J. Bamford, *The Puzzle Palace* (New York: Penguin Books, 1983); K. Krajick, "Electronic Surveillance Makes a Comeback," *Police Magazine*, March 1983.
- * For example, see G. Marx, "Who Really Gets Stung? Some Issues Raised by the New Police Undercover Work," Crime and Delinquency, April 1982; see also U.S. Congress, Select Committee to Study Undercover Activities of Components of the Department of Justice, 97th Congress, Second Session, Final Report, December 1982 (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1982). U.S. Congress, Subcommittee on Civil and Constitutional Rights of the Committee on the Judiciary, House of Representatives, 98th Congress, Second Session, Report: FBI Undercover Operations (Washington, D.C.: G.P.O., 1984).

- ⁵ See, for example, G. Goodwin and L. Humphreys, "Freeze-Dried Stigma: Cybernetics and Social Control," *Humanity and Society*, November 1982.
- ⁶ S. Cohen, "The Punitive City: Notes on the Dispersion of Social Control," *Contemporary Crisis*, 1979, no. 3. pp. 339-63.
- A large array of control and countercontrol devices, through mail-order catalogues and ads in major national periodicals, are now available for the mass market. One large company offers a "secret-connection briefcase," which among other things includes a "pocket-sized tape-recorder detector that lets you know if someone is secretly recording your conversation," a "micro-minature hidden bug-detection system, which lets you know if you're being bugged," a "miniature voice stress analyzer, which lets you know when someone is lying," a "built-in scrambler for total telephone privacy," an "incredible 6-hour tape recorder—so small it fits in a cigarette pack." Ready for use-or misuse. . .
- * See, for example, the thoughtful discussion in J. Rule, D. McAdam, L. Stearns, and D. Uglow, *The Politics of Privacy* (New York: New American Library, 1980).
- Olmstead vs. U.S., 277 U.S. (Supreme Court) 438 (1927).

SELECTIONS FROM THE OFFICE OF TECHNOLOGY ASSESSMENT

Table 1.—Categories of Surveillance Technology

- Electronic eavesdropping technology (audio surveillance)
 - radiating devices and receivers (e.g., miniaturized transmitters)
 - nonradiating devices (e.g., wired surveillance systems, including telephone taps and concealed microphones)
 - · tape recorders
- 2. Optical/imaging technology (visual surveillance)
 - · photographic techniques
 - · television (closed circuit and cable)
 - night vision devices (use image intensifier to view objects under low light)
 - · satellite based
- 3. Computers and related technologies (data surveillance)
 - microcomputers—decentralization of machines and distributed processing
- · computer networks
- · software (e.g., expert systems)
- · pattern recognition systems
- 4. Sensor technology
 - · magnetic sensors
 - · seismic sensors
 - · infrared sensors
 - · strain sensors
 - · electromagnetic sensors
- 5. Other devices and technologies
- · citizen band radios
- · vehicle location systems
- · machine-readable magnetic strips
- · polygraph
- · voice stress analyzer
- · voice recognition
- · laser interception
- · cellular radio

SOURCE: Based on the framework developed by the Senate Judiciary Committee's Subcommittee on Constitutional Rights in its report, Surveillance Technology—1976 (see pp. 29-37).

Table 2.—Categories of Behavior Subject to Electronic Surveillance

- Movements—where someone is. Individuals can be tracked electronically via beepers as well as by monitoring computerized transactional accounts in real time.
- Actions—what someone is doing or has done. Electronic devices to monitor action include: monitoring of keystrokes on computer terminals, monitoring of telephone numbers called with pen registers, cable TV monitoring, monitoring of financial and commercial computerized accounts, and accessing computerized law enforcement or investigatory systems.
- 3. Communications—what someone is saying or writing, and hearing or receiving. Two-way electronic communications can be intercepted whether the means be analog or digital communication via wired telephones, communication via cordless or cellular phones, or digital electronic mail communication. Two-way nonelectronic communication can be intercepted via a variety of microphone devices and other transmitters.
- 4. Actions and communications—the details of what someone is doing or saying. Electronic visual surveillance, generally accompanied by audio surveillance, can monitor the actions and communications of individuals in both private and public places, in daylight or darkness.
- Emotions—the psychological and physiological reactions to circumstances. Polygraph testing, voice stress analyzers, breath analyzers, and brain wave analyzers attempt to determine an individual's reactions.

SOURCE: Office of Technology Assessment

Table 4.—Electronic Surveillance Technology: Current and Planned Agency Use

Technology	Number of agency components reporting		
	Current use	Planned use	Total
Closed circuit television	. 25	4	29
Night vision systems	. 21	1	22
Miniature transmitters		2	21
Radio receivers (scanners) Vehicle location systems (e.g.,	. 19	1	20
electronic beepers) Sensors (e.g., electromagnetic,		2	15
electronic, acoustic)	. 12	3	15
Telephone taps and recorders .	. 13	1	14
Pen registers	. 11	3	14
Telephone usage monitoring		3 2	10
Computer usage monitoring Electronic mail monitoring			6
or interception	. 1	5	6
Cellular radio interception		2	5
Pattern recognition systems	2	2	4
Satellite interception Expert systems/artificial	1	3	4
intelligence	0	3	3
Voice recognition		3	3
surveillance systems	1	1	2
Microwave interception		1	2
Fiber optic interception		1	1

SOURCE: Office of Technology Assessment

JOHN BALDESSARI

David: One Day—Sixty Shots Named and Alphabetized, 1976, gelatin silver prints and graph paper, 45 x 158½" Courtesy of Ileana Sonnabend Gallery, New York



detail

The primary purpose of this piece was to be non-judgemental—to simply present information (an impossible task). To not make art but let the information speak for itself. My job was to create, design the scenario—to organize the structure of the piece. I selected the participants; I did not take the photos. The only instructions to the photographer were to record the activities of another person (as she saw fit)** over 24 hours.

My studio assistant then labeled each commercially processed photograph (describing with a word what she considered the nature of the activity). Lastly, all the photos were arranged alphabetically (to disrupt a more predictable chronological arrangement). Life as quotidian and non-heroic but perhaps beautiful mundanely.

**The subject was aware he was being documented photographically, but not when. I am aware that these two persons largely shaped the outcome of the work.

John Baldessari lives and works in Santa Monica.

NANCY BUCHANAN

Security, 1987, wall installation



Louis N. Ridenour, Jr. 1911-1959

"He is not security minded but is in favor of a free flow of information as his file will show. These facts speak for themselves." F.B.I. File, 1950 Springfield.

Selections from L.N.R. Vitae

- 1932 B.S., Physics, University of Chicago; Phi Beta Kappa
- 1936 Ph.D., Physics, California Institute of Technology, cum laude
- 1942-6 Expert Consultant to Sec. of War; Chief Radar Advisor; directed development of all airborne radar
- 1946 Bronze Star
- 1948 President's Medal for Merit
- 1947-51 Dean of Graduate College, University of Illinois, Champaign-Urbana
- 1949 Head, Scientific Advisory Board Committee; report led to establishment of USAF Air Research & Development Command
- 1950 First Chief Scientist, USAF
- 1951-55 V.P., International Telemeter Corp., Los Angeles
- 1955-57 Dir., Program Development, Research, Missile & Space Div., Lockheed Aircraft Corp.
- 1957-59 Asst. General Manager & Chief Scientist, Lockheed
- 1958 Chairman, Panel on Limited War, Scientific Advisory Board, USAF
- 1958-59 Member, NACA Special Comm. on Space Technology
- 1959 V.P. & Gen. Manager, Electronics & Avionics, Div., Lockheed
- 1959 Chairman, Comm. on Navigation, Guidance & Control
- 1960 Exceptional Service Award USAF (posthumous)

Selections from FBI Vitae

- 1942 Special passport issued; no unfavorable information contained in record
- 1945 Statement made to Soc. of Sigma Xi, Cambridge, maintaining U.S. failure to share secret of atomic bomb was an invitation to atomic arms race
- 1946 Speaker at "Win-the-Peace" rally, Boston; sponsors included Communist front organizations
- 1946 Testified at U.S. Senate Atomic Energy hearings, calling for complete freedom of publication of scientific work . . ."
- 1947 Co-author, *Open Secret*, a play "which indicated that the military was totally unqualified to handle atomic energy control"
- 1948 Intended to employ individual at Univ. of Illinois, stating prior membership in Communist Party should not bar from current employment
- 1954 White House requested special FBI inquiry; summary reflected "informants of unknown reliability reported use of intoxicants, questionable moral character"
- 1957 During lecture at M.I.T., divulged classified material on intercontinental ballistics missiles, showed classified slides, films
- 1959 Materials found in hotel room at time of death include NASA and Lockheed documents, note, apparently written by the deceased . . . stated: "Mother called. Dad had a relapse."

Since 1972, Nancy Buchanan has used video, performance, drawing, and installation to make political artwork. Security grew out of material used in the installation Fallout from the Nuclear Family, 1980, a portrait of her father, Louis N. Ridenour.

ELSA CAYO

Qui Vole un Oeuf, Vole un Oeuf, 1982, video, b&w, sound, 15 minutes



Everything that is said is false: the hardware of surveillance, the Place Clichy, the prices, the cashier, the liverwurst sandwich . . . the only reality is the misen-scene of history. A history without a moral: he who steals an egg, steals an

Elsa Cayo grew up and studied in Lima, Peru, and Santiago, Chile, where she began working in theater and later film. She has been living in Paris since 1980. Some of her videos and films include Le Java, Nez, Gorge, Oreilles, and Que Sais-Je.

BRUCE CHARLESWORTH

Surveillance, 1981, video, color, sound, 21 minutes



uce Charlesu

Two hired detectives spend the late night hours holding a close watch on a man in another building. Exhausted and bored, they pass the time eating, talking, attempting sleep and filling out job applications. Gradually they become more and more intrigued by the activities of the man they've been watching through binoculars. Surveillance is a dark joke on video itself.

Bruce Charlesworth is a performance artist working with photography, video, and installation. He has exhibited widely and will be shown in a one-man exhibition at the International Center of Photography in 1987.

INTERCEPTION OF A SUBURBAN RESIDENTIAL TELEPHONE

Situation

The interceptor is interested in conversations a particular individual might have with other unknown individuals. He would also like to know the identity of the other party to the conversation of interest, if possible. The information of interest would be communicated using the targeted individual's home telephone sometime between 6 PM and 11 PM. Monday through Friday. The call could be originated by the targeted individual or by one of the unknown individuals. The residential area is similar to that found in Northern Virginia outside the Beltway. The interceptor knows the location of the home of the targeted individual.

Since the interceptor does not know the identity of the other individuals, nor who will originate the call(s) of interest, he must perform his interception on the local subscriber loop.

The local subscriber loop consists of an aerial drop wire from the house to a nearby pole-mounted terminal where it is connected to an aerial distribution cable consisting of 25 pairs. The distribution cable runs several blocks to another pole-mounted terminal where it connects to an aerial branch feeder cable consisting of 600 pairs (made up of 24 binder groups). All cable except the drop wire is Alpeth (consisting of a polyethylene and aluminum sheath). The main branch feeder cable is pressurized. None of the terminal cases or other terminal appearances are locked or pressurized. Initially unknown to the interceptor, the only suitable place to hide his monitoring station is a wooded section adjacent to a section of the main feeder cable.

Signal Acquisition Strategy

A possible strategy for the interceptor is as follows:

1. Visually trace drop wire to the distribution terminal.

- 2. Climb pole, open terminal enclosure and note color code of the pair in the distribution cable to which the drop wire is attached.
- 3. Visually trace distribution cable to the branch feeder terminal and look for suitable place to hide monitoring station.
- 4. Climb pole, open terminal enclosure and note color code of the binder group containing the pair of interest. Also note if the color code of the pair of interest has changed.
- 5. Visually trace branch feeder cable to the main feeder cable terminal and look for suitable place to hide monitoring station.
- 6. Climb pole, open terminal enclosure and note color code of binder group containing the pair of interest. Also note if the color code of the pair of interest has changed.
- 7. Visually trace main feeder cable to suitable place for hiding monitoring station and look for nearest appearance (assume a terminal enclosure). (Note: terminal enclosure was chosen rather than penetrating cable at a closer point because terminal enclosure is not pressurized but cable is.)
- 8. Open terminal enclosure and attach own wire-pair to same binding posts to which wire-pair of interest is attached.
- 9. If the interceptor wishes to check to see if he has the correct pair, he can remove the subscriber side of the pair of interest and attach a test set with ring generator and talk battery to subscriber pair and ring subscriber's telephone. After verification, he re-establishes the normal connection and removes the test set.
- 10. Run own pair to a high impedance amplifier (battery powered) which he mounts on same or adjacent pole. Run a wire-pair along route to a pole from which the pair can be run into the wooded area with little likelihood of being discovered.
- 11. Attach monitoring equipment.

Monitoring Equipment and Procedure

The monitoring equipment could consist of a set of headphones, a signaling decoder and a tape recorder. The first item needs no power. The latter two would be battery powered. Two basic operational procedures are visualized: attended operation and unattended operation.

Attended Operation

The intereceptor need be on site only between 6 PM and 11 PM, Monday through Friday. The interceptor would use the headphones to listen to conversations. The signaling decoder could be used to alert him to an off-hook condition so that he need not listen when telephone is not being used. It could also be used to display the telephone number of parties being called by the targeted individual. If the interceptor wishes to have a record of the conversation of interest, he can manually start tape recorder when the off-hook condition is detected. The tape could be immediately erased if the conversation was not of interest (in order to save tape). The interceptor could take the monitoring equipment with him when he leaves the site in order to minimize chances of accidental discovery of monitoring site.

Unattended Operation

The interceptor need only be on-site for the initial setup, to change tapes and to replace batteries. The headphones would be useful when he is on-site to check the equipment operation. A timer is added to the equipment to energize the equipment at 6 PM and turn it off at 11 PM. The signaling decoder need recognize only the on-hook/off-hook condition and run the recorder only when an offhook condition exists. Telephone numbers could be identified when tape is played back. The intercept equipment could be camouflaged (perhaps buried) in order to minimize risk of accidental detection.

PETER D'AGOSTINO

Coming and going: Paris (Metro), 1977, video, color, sound, 5 minutes



Shot directly from video surveillance monitors, this videotape follows a passenger's underground travel through various stops, transfers, and connections in the Paris Metro. Aspects of ambiguity and confusion experienced by the passenger are juxtaposed with a linguistic parallel to the visual image: the etymology of the word "metro."

Other Coming and going projects include San Francisco (BART), 1978, and Washington (METRO), 1979. They are explorations of mass transit focusing on the subway as a system which interconnects a city and the function of 'transit' as metaphor: as a conveyor of information and a vehicle for communication.

Peter D'Agostino is Associate Professor of Communications at Temple University. In 1982, NFS Press, San Francisco, published Coming and going, a document of the projects. He also edited Transmissions, 1985, an anthology of writing on television and video.



Not a Model for Big Brother's Spy-Cycle, 1985, installation at Stadtische Galerie, Munich, Germany

(a chain of video cameras—panning continuously between realities and surveillance monitors and "dummy" sets—transport 2 channel images and sound segments in a theoretical circle through the museum space)

Surveillance backed by enforcement is a very narrow and specialized field of communication which functions (solely) to preserve the status quo.

When the tools of surveillance, namely the camera and display monitor, are concealed, they serve to gather information covertly.

However when they are visibly displayed they also serve to intimidate.

Conceptually the function of the hidden camera is just the opposite use of a dummy camera; they are commercially available and in wide use. They are intended to intimidate persons who believe that they are being observed by those in power to discipline and punish.

In the fields of surveillance where certain theatrical techniques are effectively exploited to evoke fear and apprehension, a fake monitor which is blatantly an empty prop becomes a symbol of extreme absurdity.

"Dieter Froese's videotapes, threechannel pieces, and larger installation projects are fashioned out of the expectations and frustrations that challenge and inhibit our daily life. Each work embodies, in terms of form and narrative, a critique of the institutional forces that affect the individual. The use of language and the foregrounding of the individual establish a dialogic exchange between the artist and the world he inhabits . . .

The spectacle of post-modern culture is a distraction from the spread of technology into all areas of our lives. The electronic computer that facilitates such conveniences as personal banking also provides the potential to monitor our daily lives. The questions asked by the pollster, the lie detector test and handwriting analysis administered by the employer, the records of one's credit history, the cameras located in subways and shopping malls, and the computer monitoring job performance, all conspire to coerce the individual into believing he/she is being watched-a quantified statistic.

It is this new bourgeois spectacle camouflaging the spread of surveillance technology that the art of Dieter Froese attempts to dismantle...

Excerpted from "The Eye of Power: The Art of Dieter Froese," Not a Model for Big Brother's Spy-Cycle, Stadtisches Kunstmuseum, Bonn, 1986

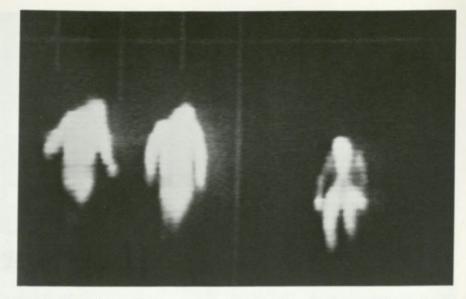
John G. Hanhardt Curator, Film and Video Whitney Museum of American Art

Dieter Froese was born in East Prussia, Germany (now U.S.S.R.). He has exhibited internationally for over a decade and has received numerous awards and grants including two NEA video fellowships. He resides in New York City. Tanterl, Munchen

LOUIS HOCK

THE MEXICAN TAPES: A Chronical of Life Outside the Law, 1984-1986, video, color, sound, 3:50 minutes excerpt from El Gringo, the first hour of the four part series

For Your Protection, 1987, video surveillance installation with three b&w cameras and twenty-seven 1" monitors, 50" x 36" x 111/4" overall



Los Angeles is the second biggest Mexican city. The San Diego/Tijuana border crossing is the busiest in the world. More people are apprehended here by the Border Patrol than by any police force in the world. The U.S. Mexican border also marks the greatest economic disparity between any two neighboring nations, it defines the chasm between the U.S. and the Third World peoples of the Western Hemisphere: the us and the them.

THE MEXICAN TAPES: A Chronicle of Life Outside the Law is a video narrative that follows six years in the life and times of three Mexican families living in a San Diego community. Before coming here, they tell me that they had the illusion of having only one border to cross. In fact, the border between the U.S. and Mexico was something that they could never truly cross. They would always have to carry it inside of themselves thanks to the eyes of the law. Not speaking English, it surrounded them as well. In this excerpt from THE MEX-ICAN TAPES . . . , a four-hour, fourpart series, the international border is crossed, monitored by Vietnam era remote sensing devices, infrared night vision scopes, and helicopters. They are the welcome mat to a new life of looking over your shoulder.



Working with "outlawed" Mexicans, I observed the psychologically devastating effect of unrelenting surveillance. Actual encounters with the Border Patrol were infrequent, but the threat of their presence was oppressively ubiquitous.

Thinking about my own relationship to institutionalized power, I realized my life is far more scrutinized than my Mexican friends. If I imagine being observed or photographed through a one-way mirror and then later made aware of being spied upon, I know I would feel violated, robbed. Yet, this occurs dozens of times daily and I don't acknowledge my own victimization. What is lacking is a real threat to accompany the scrutiny. Rather than feeling the direct heat of border police on my back, the technologically distanced observation-satellites, TV cameras, magnetically coded chips-diminish my awareness of their constant monitoring. Equally disarming is their omnipresence and number: they are built into the landscape.

Beyond the general robbery of individual privacy, the real threat of surveillance lurks in the pregnant data bases, indiscriminately gathered, hidden from view, and selectively utilized. The plots of sci-fi terror books are the potential scenarios of our lives.

"All the cameras in here are fake."

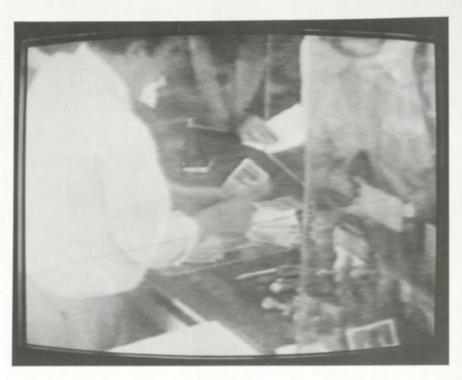
—an off duty cop in the supermarket line.

The video installation, For Your Own Protection, separates the witnesses and the victims of surveillance. It is an emblem of their relationship.

Louis Hock is a visual artist who has received several grants from the N.E.A. for film and video. His recent video series, THE MEXICAN TAPES... have been broadcast nationally and internationally. He is currently teaching at the University of California, San Diego.

MICHAEL KLIER

Der Riese (The Giant), 1982-83, video, color and b&w, sound, 82 minutes



Video cameras are installed in many areas nowadays for surveillance and control. Like an invisible net stretched over our lives, they are spreading over streets, airports, tunnels, stations, banks, prisons, psychiatric institutions and other places, many of them remaining hidden.

This project is based on the most diverse video images for surveillance cameras. For instance, in Hamburg there are 3000 remote control cameras for the purpose of monitoring the traffic which actually allow for much wider possibilities. In an impartial and ostensibly technically neutral way they record events or streets or squares. They watch people and can follow them unnoticed into intimate situations. In this collage, pictures of airports at night, of city suburbs, of movements of people, or of movements of their eyes (registered, for example by the camera that tests the field of vision) have the effect of documents about another planet, horrible scenes like those created by a science fiction nightmare.

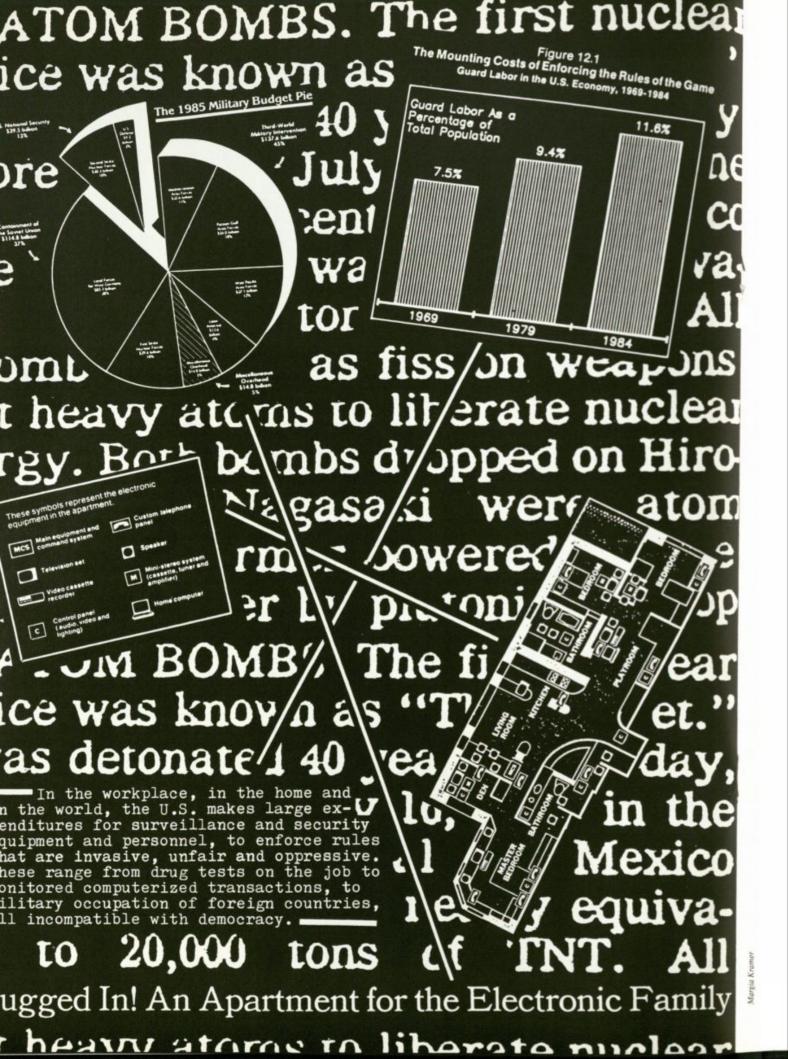
Michael Klier is not concerned with registering all the situations of surveillance and control and giving a socially critical interpretation of them. What he brings up in his work of these systems turns into the fantastic, nightmarish image. These images show that Orwell's vision of 1984 has long since come to pass. Today no limits are set on this form of surveillance and its shady side voyeurism.

In the video images we have shots of streets, border areas, architectural monsters, sometimes with a remnant of nature, which as an electronic image have the effect of a quotation from afar. But the watching, the seeing without being seen, is no longer confined to the outside world. It is penetrating inward. People's inner lives must be domesticated too. This starts with the numerous cameras that keep an eye on people while they are at work and runs through the behavioral research that makes use of cameras in tests on people and animals. These cameras are obscene in a way, because they attack people and can rob them of their dignity.

It is this all-embracingness—outside and inside—that constitutes the tension and threat of these materials: the world becomes a labyrinth. Here appear aspects of life which, as electronic immaterial sequences of images, warn us that in many places life already no longer exists.

Michael Klier and Brigitte Kramer

Michael Klier was born in Karlsbad, Czechoslovakia. He is an independent video and filmmaker living in Berlin. Recent works include En Passant, 1984, Hotel Tapes, 1986, and Casting, 1987.



MARGIA KRAMER

Jean Seberg and the FBI: "Racial Matters," video installation with phototext panels (includes Freedom of Information Tape 1: Jean Seberg, 1980, color, sound, 18 minute loop)



Production still from Freedom of Information Tape 1: Jean Seberg, 1980, video installation

I made this tape about Jean Seberg in 1980, during the first Iran hostage crisis, before the election of our current President. The monitoring, surveillance, and harassment experienced by Seberg has escalated in the general public since then due to xenophobia and greed as well as our government's mass marketing of computers whose origins are in military R&D.

The phototext panels which provide the installation for my tape, and the three pamphlets which contain many pages from the FBI file on Jean Seberg (which I obtained after her death in 1979 from the FBI under the Freedom of Information Act) show the glaringly shameless misinformation and disinformation which is endemic to this type of surveillance record. False information is gathered and interpreted to feed and propel the myths of racism, homophobia, sexism, red-baiting, and all the other hatreds and fears of dissidence and difference, that cannot be abided by institutional power. In the coast-to-coast and world-wide satellite networks, the lies are now perpetuated in widening

The National Security Council and the CIA can be seen to work outside any restraining laws or strictures of civil liberties consistent with our Bill of Rights. The Congress votes in favor of monitoring and surveillance techniques, including lie detector sets, fingerprinting, and drug tests for the general population. There is "...a deliberate intent to punish targets who were concededly

neither suspect nor convicted of crime
..." (Frank Donner, *The Age of Surveillance*).

Predicting the future—anticipating the enemy's activities—is the name of the game. But those of us on the other side of that screen are construed to be potential enemies. The evidence gathered daily on the floppy and hard discs of our great country—from drunken driving to tax return cheating—is just cooling its heels in the computer tanks of democracy; it can be used or glitched.

The message of the Jean Seberg story is multi-leveled. The government entered her private life, rescinding her civil liberties without justification. In a deliberate way, the FBI combined one false image of Seberg—that of a dangerous and amoral revolutionary—with the star image manufactured by Hollywood—the provocative virgin whose sexual daring and social non-conformity have tragic consequences.

This strategy worked in the years of Eisenhower, Kennedy, Johnson, and Nixon. It's working again, but in a much bigger way—a way that is affecting everyone this time around.

January 12, 1987

Margia Kramer is a documentary media artist who lives in New York City. She studied art in college with Ad Reinhardt and the surrealist Kurt Seligmann, and then earned a graduate degree in art history.

GARY LLOYD

Radio Painting, 1983, acrylic on canvas with low power FM radio transmitter, 36" x 48"

Courtesy of Gallery 454 North



1 McGra

My work shares with you an aesthetic and social responsibility. If you speak in the presence of the work your voice will be transmitted on FM 88.1. Anyone within five blocks can hear your response.

Pervasive mass media conditioning largely forms our idea of reality. Capitalism's contract with government is structured to maintain this control over collective expression and understanding.

The major social tools which provide this control are television, radio, and the print media. For the past twenty years the geometric growth of electronic eavesdropping has increasingly informed public and private sources. Now communication satellites can scan any social space with pulse laser probes that can detect a human heartbeat or pin dropping at a distance of 22,500 miles. Children's new toys contain complex talking computers which also record use patterns. Discarded toys tell manufacturers what to program for the next generation.

What is at stake now is interpretation. "The once revolutionary strategy of discrediting the world of (immediate) reality has now desolved into an easy irony that democratizes the evidence." (Susan Sontag, On Photography, 1973)

My endeavor is to transform the process of exchange between viewer and maker at the point of production, by providing immediate public access to any point of view that transpires in the works locale. My work is public wherever it is installed. If Henry Geldzahler owns it, he also must own up to anything he says near it. More than anything, use implies meaning. And meaning is reality.

My work bridges private and public space so that I can rediscover how others see or come to know my work and its meanings. The real experiment is not completed until I respond to the circumstances my art has generated.

The painting included in this exhibition was my first Radio Painting. The Heart of Los Angeles sculpture embedded in the masonry wall at LACE is my most recent sculpture.

Gary Lloyd lives in Los Angeles and Ranchos de Taos, New Mexico. He has exhibited internationally for over a decade. His one-person exhibit, Radio Paintings, will take place at Gallery 454 North, in Los Angeles in 1987. He is coowner of Sky Art, scenic art services in Hollywood, California.

GARY LLOYD

Radio Painting, 1983, acrylic on canvas with low power FM radio transmitter, 36" x 48"

Courtesy of Gallery 454 North



rl McGrati

My work shares with you an aesthetic and social responsibility. If you speak in the presence of the work your voice will be transmitted on FM 88.1. Anyone within five blocks can hear your response.

Pervasive mass media conditioning largely forms our idea of reality. Capitalism's contract with government is structured to maintain this control over collective expression and understanding.

The major social tools which provide this control are television, radio, and the print media. For the past twenty years the geometric growth of electronic eavesdropping has increasingly informed public and private sources. Now communication satellites can scan any social space with pulse laser probes that can detect a human heartbeat or pin dropping at a distance of 22,500 miles. Children's new toys contain complex talking computers which also record use patterns. Discarded toys tell manufacturers what to program for the next generation.

What is at stake now is interpretation. "The once revolutionary strategy of discrediting the world of (immediate) reality has now desolved into an easy irony that democratizes the evidence." (Susan Sontag, On Photography, 1973) My endeavor is to transform the process of exchange between viewer and maker at the point of production, by providing immediate public access to any point of view that transpires in the works locale. My work is public wherever it is installed. If Henry Geldzahler owns it, he also must own up to anything he says near it. More than anything, use implies meaning. And meaning is reality.

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CHIP LORD

ABSCAM (FRAMED), 1981, color and b&w, sound, 10:30 minutes



Excerpt from the text of the tape:

"Abscam is a contraction of Abdul-Scam. Abdul refers to Abdul Enterprises, the name of a phony organization set up by the FBI as a front.

Congressman Michael "Ozzie" Meyers of South Philadelphia was charged with taking a \$50,000 bribe from two Abscam agents, and sharing it with three co-defendants.

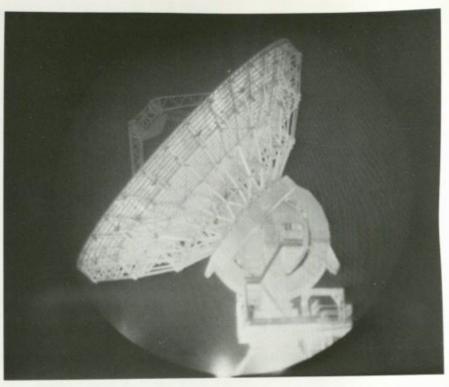
The first tape we will see was recorded on August 22, 1979 in a room at the Travel Lodge International Hotel at New York's Kennedy Airport.

The tape shows Congressman Meyers accepting the \$50,000 from FBI agent Anthony Amoroso Jr., posing as an Arab representative named Tony Divito, and Melvin Weinberg, a convicted swindler and con man. . . . "

Chip Lord was a founder in 1968 of Ant Farm and was a partner until 1978 when the group disbanded. Since then he has continued his work in video, performance, and media installation. He is the recipient of three NEA fellowships in video, and a production grant from the CAT Fund. His most recent tape Ball Player, premiered at the National Video Festival in Los Angeles. He is an Assistant Professor of Video at the University of California, San Diego.

RICHARD LOWENBERG

Satellite Communications Receiver, Air Force Satellite Control Facility, Sunnyvale, California: 3:00 A.M. January, 1986. Image intensified Nightscope photograph, 20" in diameter



The exhibited photographs were produced with two distinct surveillance imaging systems.

The Litton M-911 Nightscope (image intensified lens) attached to a Nikormat, was used at military industrial facilities under cover at night, or in dark interior spaces. The Nightscope can amplify a minimal illumination source (starlight) up to 20,000 times. The photographic act was completely hidden in darkness.

Still video frames were produced with a FLiR systems series 2000 infrared thermal imager, and a Quantex digital image processor. Videotape was recorded of a specifically choreographed performance series occuring in complete darkness. Audiences could sense the performance in all ways other than sight. The FLiR imager, a gimbaled, aircraft mountable aerial surveillance system, senses in the 8-14 micron region of the infrared spectrum. It displays the variations in temperature only; not light. The system was completely obscure to the performers and audience.

In this age, increasingly shaped by communications and technology, humanity is becoming acutely sensitive to its frail security. The rationalism of science continues to accelerate the conflict between global mind and local body. Energy and information are now our major exchangeable natural

resources. They constitute the basic components of the value system in a newly emerging economic structure. Within this framework, the arts are recognized for their communicative efficiency and transcendence. The processes of creativity, though elusive, have led mankind through historical mazes of uncertainty. In the information society, the arts assume an economic value comparable to that of the military in an industrial society. The heritage of life urgently calls for a cultural ecology. The best defense is a cultural offense.

Z1.)L.Q.

To insure the artist's security and privacy, biographical and career details have been withheld.

HEINER MÜHLENBROCK

Bildermaschinen (Picturemachines), 1982, video, b&w, sound, 15 minutes



I think that the International Congress Center Berlin is a Video/Film studio.

The set is ready made, lights set in place, the cameras are operating continuously, a permanent film production runs.

there is no cameraman there is no director there is no script there is no actor there is no story

The video camera observes the movement. We tune in. We are observing what the camera views. The picture develops while a person observes the movement.

I'm not interested in the fact of observation. I'm interested in what is being observed.

Heiner Mühlenbrock is an independent video and filmmaker. He lives in Berlin.

NORIAKI NAKAGAWA

Love Hotel, 1986, video, color, sound, 30 minutes



Due to limited space, the greater population in Japan lives as extended families under one roof, affording little privacy for the individual. The "Love Hotels" throughout the country serve as surrogate private space for sexual activities. In the "Love Hotel" portrayed in the video, a special voyeuristic fantasy set is offered as the mirrored walls of the past are replaced with closed circuit video surveillance. Fascination for technology and eroticism mingle, and even the degraded image conveys an inherently erotic quality. Yet the unsuspecting couple in this tape become self-conscious in front of the watching eye of the camera, and ultimately their own sexual fantasies are inhibited.

TRANSCRIPTS (excerpts)

Man: We should move for a better

position in the camera.

Woman: No, I don't want to do it. I

am ashamed.

(later)

Why did you make that noise?

You didn't feel anything.

Man: Let's see it again.

(they try to operate equipment)

Woman: This is automatic. I can't con-

trol it . . . no control.

(she looks to camera)

I'm too fat. We should cover

. . . make a pose.

(she poses, man picks his nose)

(later)

Woman: Oh, that view I never saw

before. It's a funny shape . . . I don't want to see, it's so dirty. I'm worried that my face shows—don't show it in

the camera.

(later)
Man: You're making a scene for the

camera.

Woman: A girls' comic book is more

erotic and more real than we

are.

(she flips switches, radio

comes on)

Where is the stop?

Man: I don't know how to control it.

(she turns more knobs)

Anonymous Voice: Off

(tape cuts to black)

Noriaki Nakagawa is a video artist and producer of artists books and records in Tokyo, Japan. He conducted an historical survey consisting of archival footage and writings, covering pre-war through post-war erotica in Japan, called Blue Films: Japanese Pornography. He is a member of the loosely structured guerrilla movement Ura-Video, which as a political statement responded to issues of sexual censorship in Japan during the early 1980s, independently distributing works through a low-end underground video network.

OCEAN EARTH

Chernobyl, Data acquisition April 26, 1986. Custom processed and enhanced Landsat scene of nuclear disaster site, gelatin silver print



Ocean Earth Corporation studies sites, regions and wide-area phenomenon of the planet. It relies substantially on satellites and other automatic observation instruments. It concentrates on areas or problems of public interest, and it identifies questions for public policy.

Ocean Earth is directed towards concrete actions on terrain. Hence it's name at founding of "Ocean Earth Construction and Development Corporation." Cities are monitored towards specifying infrastructural and megastructural designs better suited to the geography, given current structural and transport technologies. Coastal waters are monitored towards comprehensive resource management schemes, for economic development of biomass, upwellings and currents, tides and interactions between fresh and salt waters, as in marshes. Entire regions are monitored towards economic realizations of the multi-species management schemes, for a sort of high-tech hunting/gathering within ecosystem models, as advocated by leading ecologists. Specific designs for offshore biomass rigs, upland marshes, multi-species feeding grounds, and inobtrusive transport structures, have all been prepared.

In the 1980s, Ocean Earth concentrates on site monitoring, on comprehensive monitoring throughout the world-of all the world. This is tech-

nically possible. A deluge of observation data arrives daily from a growing number of civil satellites. Most of this data goes unused, now. That need not be. Given an efficient assembly of image processing computers, video recorders and editing systems, and coordinated hard-copy photographic production, an enterprise could absorb the deluge of data, convert it into transmittable images, and achieve comprehensive and timely global monitoring. With video output especially, such an enterprise could effect global-scale diffusion of its imagery within seconds-both throughout television and through directbroadcast or cable-feed to specialized clients, such as commodities brokers and local governments. With its cluster of world-rank video and photographic producers, Ocean Earth prepares to become such an enterprise.

Principal shareholders of Ocean Earth are: Peter Fend, architect; Wolfgang Staehle, conceptual artist; Bill Dolson, video artist; Taro Suzuki, sculptor; Eve Vaterlaus, painter; Paul Sharits, filmmaker; Joan Waltemath, painter. Other participating artists are: Ingo Guenther, video artist; George Chaikin, computer specialist; and Robert Horvitz, media artist.

PACIFIC STREET FILMS

Red Squad, 1972, film (transferred to tape), b&w, sound, 45 minutes



This is an investigative—but frequently humorous-documentary on the surveillance activities of the New York City Police Department's Bureau of Special Services, known as the Red Squad. The film documents the long history of the Red Squad, which dates back to 1912, and the scope of their intelligencegathering activities which include photographing political demonstrations, infiltrating political organizations with agents provocateurs, paying informers, conducting wiretraps, and maintaining files on interviews with several attorneys, then-Congressmen (now New York Mayor) Edward Koch, and a variety of citizens and activists who have been the subject of surveillance or harassment by the Red Squad.

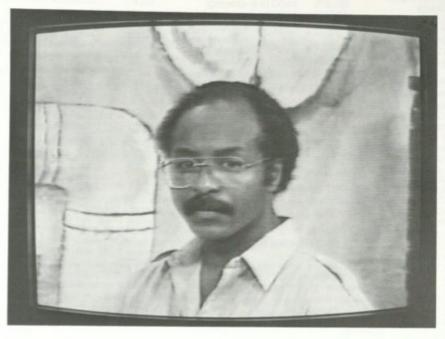
The film's most amusing and revealing moments occur when the filmmakers turn their cameras and microphones on the Red Squad and begin to try to spy on spies. A number of planned and unplanned confrontations between filmmakers and detectives are filmed, enabling us to enjoy a good laugh at the expense of the Red Squad agents without dismissing the serious threat they pose to First Amendment and other Constitutional rights.

Steven Fischler and Joel Sucher have made sixteen political documentaries in the past sixteen years including Anarchism in America, 1981 and I Promise To Remember: Frankie Lymon and the Teenagers, 1983. Most of these films were produced for PBS. They are currently producing a follow-up film on the Red Squad for WNYC-TV.





Nolan Bowie Reads Articles About Privacy, 1985, video, color and b&w, sound, 28 minutes



"The average person is listed thirty-nine times by federal, state, and local governments plus forty times by active privatesector files." U.S. News and World Report

"Dan-O, get me the name and whereabouts of every man, woman, and child in the United States." Steve McGarrett, Hawaii Five-O

"Those who collect the most information, and have the capacity to store and manipulate it effectively, will have the most power." InfoWorld, the Newsweekly for Microcomputer Users

"This control over information has led to the 'creation of organizations with unprecedented power. It is the large organizations who are steadily gaining greater authority to collect, control, and disseminate information that already have the capital and expertise necessary to purchase the computers and communications networks they need to put the information to use." David Burnham, The Rise of the Computer State

"If you want privacy you're going to have to pay for it. The price today is \$40,000 for a two-phone encryption system that will allow individuals to hold secure conversations." Former National Security Agency expert who now runs his own telephone security firm.

"Even then, NSA can break in if it really wants to badly enough." (from same NSA expert)

"Counting up sleepers . . . ?
Just how do we do it . . . ?
Really quite simply.
There's nothing much to it.
By an audio-te-ly-o-tally-o-count.

On a mountain,
halfway between Reno and Rome,
we have a machine
in a plexiglass dome,
which listens and looks
into everyone's home.
And whenever it sees
a new sleeper go flop,
it jiggles and lets
a new biggle-ball drop.
Our chap counts these balls
as the plup in a cup.
And that's how we know
who is down and who's up."
Dr. Seuss's Sleep Book

Nolan Bowie was director of the Citizens' Communication Center in Washington, D.C. and is now a fellow at the Aspen Institute.

Paper Tiger is a loose knit group of about twenty-five people who take turns producing shows. Each Wednesday night Paper Tiger TV offers a critical reading of a mass-produced publication on public access television in New York City. The show, which is often cable-cast live, begins with the question, "It's 8:30, Do you know where your brains are?" If there is a specific look to the show it is "handmade" comfortable, non-technocratic, a look that says "friendly and lowbudget." The seams show: they often use overview wide-angle shots to give the viewers a sense of the people who are making the show and the types of equipment used, a technique that sprang from the "guerrilla" video movement of the late 60s and early 70s. In January, 1986, Paper Tiger celebrated its 100th show on the air.

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RICHARD PRELINGER

Listening Post, 1987, installation with audio scanners

To most, surveillance is a near-mythical thing, smacking of spies, risks and rarefied technology. Remarkably, society has accepted its existence, mystified it as a phenomenon rather than an activity, a force rather than a tool. Though all this romance is not without reason, nothing about the activity of surveillance is terribly mysterious. Using less sophisticated technology, it is often possible to monitor the activities of investigative agencies.

Tracking the trackers may be impossible by familiar means. Nowadays, the old standbys fall short—furtive glances over the shoulder, listening for rustles in the alley or telltale clicks on the phone line, checking for re-sealed envelopes, watching the rear-view for the tailing car. Today, wiretaps run through telephone central offices and are all but undetectable. New imaging processes reduce the necessity to physically compromise flaps and seals. Federal agents have at last cast aside their conventional dress codes and hairstyles and widely recruit women and people of color.

The successful management of surveillance involves the deployment and coordination of personnel, vehicles and technology in time and space. Radio communication is indispensable for mobile surveillance and in many cases stationary activity as well. Distances covered may range from around the block to halfway around the world. A DEA field agent deep within Mexico can, if he or she wishes, communicate with a fellow agent in the next tree, then flip a switch and report to line supervisors in Washington. Almost all surveillance activities depend on two-way radio whether they occur at an international border, behind a half-silvered mirror, or in your own backyard.

Government officials worry about "criminal elements" tuning into tactical radio communications. In this respect they are quite correct. But for years the worst offenders against public secrecy have been hobbyists and citizens practicing such monitoring for their own amusement. Modern radio scanners, enabling listeners to punch in a frequency on a digital keyboard, have been in existence for some twelve years. The easy availability of these receivers has influenced the development of sophisticated encryption (scrambling) systems, which render radio communications unintelligible to the ears. Currently, most high-security agencies (including the FBI, Secret Service, Customs, Drug Enforcement Agency, and the military) use Motorola's DVP (Digital Voice Protection) system, which scrambles normal speech into the equivalent of everyday static. Most surveillance makes use of low-power radios whose range is limited to a few blocks. Agents use various codes and shorthand to disguise the names of persons and locations.

Despite these obstacles, radio monitoring does provide a measure of public information about surveillance activity. Though monitoring may not precisely reveal how covert agencies spend our tax monies, it can contribute to an understanding of the extent of current investigations. Even in cases where the content of a message is not intelligible, the location, duration and number of transmissions may themselves be clues to what sort of activity is occurring. This deductive process, known as "traffic analysis," is a legacy of the first electronic battles, fought in World War II.

A reading of surveillance activity as monitored by radio must be regarded as history experienced at the moment of its making. Imagine the soundtrack to such "legendary" moments as: the FBI tailing hundreds of suspected SLA supporters in mid-1970s Berkeley; the Cointelpro campaigns against the women's movement and the Black Panther Party; the 115th Military Intelligence Group (a huge secretly-organized Army component) monitoring all anti-war demonstrators in 1960s Chicago; and now the huge FBI counterintelligence squads mobilized to control unauthorized hightechnology transfers to the Soviet bloc.

Telephone technology uses the term "appearance" to refer to such locations as switch boxes, terminals, and manholes. It is said that every appearance presents a convenient opportunity for an interceptor. Similarly, the invisible web of radio communications presents many appearances and may be pierced wherever it extends. Its messages may be intercepted, appropriated, and monitored. Using technology now available on the consumer market, enterprising individuals may find the power to redefine what is kept secret and what is not.

Richard Prelinger has assembled an archive of 35 million feet of film depicting American life, culture, industry, and institutions, concentrating on everyday imagery not documented by newsreels or Hollywood films. He edited Monitor America, a national directory of twoway radio frequencies and codes.

CAROL RAINEY STEVEN ALEXANDER FELDMAN

Momma Gets Her Ready, 1985, video, color and b&w, sound, 12 minutes



Momma Gets Her Ready is a short teleplay that was written, shot, directed and edited by the artists. Combining "real time" black and white surveillance footage of a child's awakening with impressionistic color images and a multilayered sound track, Momma... reveals a fragment out of one reluctant parent's morning duty in the Control Room.

Carol Rainey is an independent video producer and screenwriter living in Newton, Massachusetts.

Steven A. Feldman is an independent film and video director living in Newton, Massachusetts.

ARON RANEN

Television Believers, 1986, video, color, sound, 26 minutes



Television Believers is a true collaboration between security and surveillance experts and a video artist.

The videotape includes FM interceptions of a TV preacher's concealed transmission link with which he was fed information about the people he was about to heal on the air, making him appear to have psychic powers. The FM interception was done by expert surveillance man, Alec Jason, with the psychic debunker, the Amazing Randy, utilizing state-of-the-art scanning devices to perform this task. Meanwhile video artist, Aron Ranen videotaped the "crusade" during which the interception took place. Later he interviewed those who had been "healed" and documented their reactions to this fakery.

Aron Ranen's videotape Television Believers was selected for the American Film Institute 1986 National Video Festival and the World Wide Video Festival, Holland. In 1985 and 1986 he received National Endowment for the Arts Regional Fellowships. He lives in San Francisco.

The Scope of the Early Warning System

locations of eight radar stations and the range of their surveillance

NORAD Air Warning Sites and Interceptor Bases



U.S. UNIFIED AND SPECIFIED COMMANDS

NOTES: Whether or not there is a boundary between EUCOM and PACOM through the Soviet Union is classified information. Readers can presume that if such a line could be identified, it would in some way join the two water boundaries between those commands.

No unified or specified command has overall responsibility for CONUS in the way that EUCOM, LANTCOM, PACOM, and SOUTH COM are charged with geographic areas. ADCOM is a component of NORAD, a combined U.S./Canadian command that covers all of North America.

Several areas, such as Mexico and Africa south of the Sahara, lie outside the jurisdiction of any U.S. unified or specified command

the cost of control of global reach is fascination with the (game of the)(exploding)(historical) hollow leg.

imagine a mound. tumulus. a burrow under the earth, you watch the depths of the air, water, sky, space; from under the earth you look above, looking for fire. burrow under to look above, you make all your senses storn one: sight, you gate one; styph, your eyes neueverywhere.

What would you need to protect yourself from the sky, the ocean, air, wind, space. how to protect yourself from protecting yourself from birds, bilips, atmospheric disturbances, storms, stars, shooting stars, asteroids, planets, galaxies. from drugs, fear, craziness, paranoia; neurosis, loss of vigilance, loss of interest, sabolage. from loners, spies, assassins, inventions, terrorism. how to wait, how to stay in place, how to keep place.

in your mother's body your senses are touch, sound, taste, smell, skin sense, your world is your network is you. what is the price of separation, of separation as rejection? you create an Other you erect dualisms wherever you go. make all your senses give place to sight, you create the world as picture, invent linear perspective, the objectification of the world, the objectifi-cation of the Other (of the Mother?), what is the cost of control as domination? extend yourself over oceans, set up a network of control over lives, labor, places, materials, subjugate earth the cost of control is the armed eye. (fratricide, decapitation, hardened silos, racecourse basing,

dense pack.) launch on warning, launch under attack.

to be safe.

MARTHA ROSLER

Vital Statistics of a Citizen, Simply Obtained, 1977, video, color, sound, 38 minutes



At the center of this "operatic" (but non-musical) videotape is the part-bypart measurement of a woman by a white-coated male examiner and his assistant, who are soon joined by a chorus of three woman assistants. Each measurement is compared with a standard. The subject is the objectification of women, and of people in general, in a technologically advanced, bureaucratic society. The measuring is meant to suggest the processing of people in the armed forces, charity hospitals, concentration camps. Anthropological and pseudo-scientific typologies of race and gender are invoked, as they have been used to shore up white supremacy and male supremacy.

The total scrutiny of all by State and society is suggested by this work, but the central focus is the internalization of

negative judgements and the unconscious adaptation through patterns of subservience. The boring normality of most of this is conveyed by the rituals of dressing.

The second section of the tape is wordless, symbolic. The third section presents a litany of crimes against women over documentary photos of the measuring process.

Martha Rosler works with videotape, photography and texts, performance, and installation works. Among her other works on surveillance is Fascination with the (Game of (the) (Exploding) (Historical) Hollow Leg, an installation and videotape first presented at the University of Colorado, Boulder, in 1983.

PAUL RYAN AND MICHAEL SHAMBERG / RAINDANCE

Supermarket, 1969, video, b&w, 14:30 minutes



"Do not repeat a tactic which has gained you victory, but shape your actions to an infinite variety. Water sets its flow according to the ground below; set your victories according to the enemy against you. War has no constant aspect as water has no constant shape."

Supermarket is a spontaneous tape made in Los Angeles in 1969 with the New York City alternative video group, Raindance. Bringing a camera into a supermarket to record the surveillance system, the situation sparked a comic confrontation with the store manager. The confrontation raised issues about surveillance and the rights of an individual in a public place, which was articulated later in an Article I wrote for Radical Software #3 entitled "Cybernetic Guerrilla Warfare," as well as in Michael Shamberg's book Guerrilla Television.

In current vocabulary, the guerrilla/ video juxtaposition evident in *Super*market was a "deconstruction" of the surveillance use of electronic media. Construction follows upon deconstruction. In my own work since the days of guerrilla video, I have constructed a design for a television ecochannel, dedicated to monitoring the ecology of a bioregion and developing a consensus about how to live there on a long term basis.

Rather than surveillance of one group over another, this monitoring is linked to procedures for bringing human behavior into accord with the self-correcting prophecies of the planet itself. P.R.

Paul Ryan lives in New York and is dedicated to making the ecochannel a reality.

Michael Shamberg, an early video pioneer, worked with Raindance and TVTV. Currently, he is a producer living in Los Angeles. His most notable film, The Big Chill, includes video as a device to enhance the understanding of relationships between the characters.

SAM SAMORE

Suspect, 1986, gelatin silver prints, 89" x 48'



"What happened on a United Airlines jet today shows how nervous people are about flying lately. The flight from San Diego to Chicago made an unscheduled stop in Phoenix because one passenger told flight attendants that another passenger looked suspicious. Police in Phoenix took everybody off the plane and went over it with bomb sniffing dogs. They did not find anything and everybody got back on the plane, including the suspicious looking passenger.

Reported on KPIX-TV 11:00 P.M. News San Francisco, California April 3, 1986

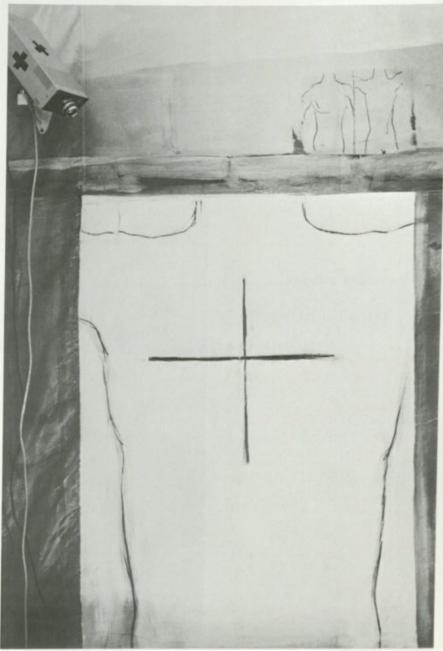
Suspect plays off the real by relentlessly devoting itself to the imaginary. The individuals in these pictures may be viewed as surrogates for the exotic and dangerous "other": the stranger, the foreigner, the subversive, the terrorist, the spy. It is no accident that gestures, expressions, and props suggest the codes of narrative cinema.

For Suspect I hired a photographer who works for a detective agency. However, these photographs are not in any way evidence of, nor do they mean to imply an actual criminal or subversive condition to these specific people. Rather, Suspect, apprehends the discourse of surveillance: coercive countermeasures are inacted based on representations alone.

For reasons of privacy, the artist has chosen not to disclose any personal biographical information.

JULIA SCHER

Personal Reception Area (P.R.A.), 1987, surveillance banner, 10' x 60' x 40'



Personal Reception Area (P.R.A.) is a painting studded with electronic heat-seeking intrusion detectors. Receptive, passive, and invisible sudden temperature shifts within the detection area activate the device. 60' long, 10' high, 40' deep, it awaits someone or something to enter the area. Lights and sound alarm, enlivening images of human target torsos.

The activating devices used in this piece are equivalent to those used in many public and private buildings and grounds for security purposes.

Julia Scher is an artist living in Los Angeles, who works with painting, photography, and electronic technology. She also installs burglar alarms, electronic security systems and locks for women.

Setaille

JAKE SENIUK

Borrowed Time (Windshield #814501), 1984, 72 gelatin silver prints, each 8" x 20" Borrowed Time, a wall installation of black and white photographs arranged as an irregular grid, depicts the occupants of automobiles whose motion has been arrested by the camera . . . The work presents a succession of people as they drove under one of several overpasses that span a busy Seattle thoroughfare . . . Over a period of eighteen months I repeatedly positioned myself as a manned surveillance camera, aiming telephoto lens and high-speed

faith in documentary truth with which we credit the camera's products can lead to equally dire consequences for those "shot" on film (i.e. the photograph as incriminating evidence).

A subtext to Borrowed Time's critique of photography as a (potentially totalitarian) instrument of privacy invasion is an attempt to make the viewer aware of syntactical formal attributes by which a photograph's content is conveyed and consequently interpreted (or misinterpreted). . .



films at a pre-determined section of roadway and selectively "shooting" cars that entered that space. Even if they observed my actions as they approached, none could avoid passing before the lens . . . The cross-section displayed here was edited from almost two thousand exposures. Visual data was condensed by blowing up carefully cropped fragments . . . The assemblage presents a social microcosm of archetypes rudely "preserved" in a private moment that suggests both the dehumanization of the corporate/police state's "glass eye" and the freeway sniper's anomic desire for ultimate possession . . . the implicit

Jake Seniuk was born in West Germany, and lives in Seattle, Washington. In 1986 he received the Logan Grant for critical writing on photography from the Photographic Resource Center at Boston University. In 1984 he received a Visual Artist Fellowship in Photography from the National Endowment for the Arts.

MICHAEL SMITH

It Starts At Home, 1981-82, video, color, sound, 25 minutes



In 1981, when It Starts At Home was being produced, there was a lot of excitement about the potential of Cable TV and the possibility for all sorts of new programming. I naively misconstrued "public access" to mean an open invitation to anyone with a modicum of initiative, to produce a new vital TV series. I called the project a "pilot", to give it some legitimacy, and proceeded to have many meetings with various collaborators. We brainstormed for months and agreed on one important concept; that Mike, a very ordinary fellow, would host his own TV show. That seemed like a sufficient start, figuring Cable TV could accommodate anything.

How Mike arrived at his new found fame and position could be easily rationalized by looking to the past. Was it ever very clear how other personalities happened to host their own TV sitcoms? No. Hopefully, it had more to do with some divine selection process than marketing experts would lead us to believe. Mike may have ordered the cable for his own amusement but he was obviously chosen to make a spectacle of himself to be scrutinized and consumed by the viewing public. What happened to Mike behind closed doors was calculated to make "the Loud Family look like a whisper."

Michael Smith was born in 1951 in Chicago, Illinois. He was a student at the Whitney Independent Study Program in 1970 and 1973 and received a BA from Colorado College in 1973. He has received numerous production grants, a Guggenheim Fellowship in video, and three NEA Fellowships.

LEWIS STEIN

Untitled #1, from The Surveillance Series, 1984, edition of 6, gelatin silver print, 40" x 40" Courtesy Postmasters Gallery, New York



No statement is a statement.

Lewis Stein lives and works in New York City.

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Freedom of Information

How to Use the Freedom of Information Act to find out if YOU'VE been under Surveillance by the FBI

- 1. Use the sample letter on the next page. Make some copies so you can send it to the FBI Headquarters in Washington, D.C., and the field offices of every state in which you've been active. You may also use this letter for other agencies such as the CIA, the Immigration and Naturalization Service, or the Defense Intelligence Agency if you choose. Fill in your full formal name and any other names you've been known by. You can also use this letter to request files on an organization. Be sure to list all anagrams and subgroups.
- If you are requesting your own files, you must have your signature notarized.
- Use the addresses listed (below). Mark clearly on the envelope "Attention— FOIA/PA Unit." Be sure to keep a copy of all correspondence.
- 4. Beginning in April 1987, agencies will be able to charge you for search time and copying costs unless you are making the request on behalf of a news media, scientific or educational institution. However, all requesters will receive the first hour of search time and the first 250 pages of copying free. Until that time, you may request a waiver of fees if the release of the information would be in the public interest.
- 5. You should expect to have to wait some months for release of anything substantive. After the agency has made its final disposition, you can appeal administratively, by simply addressing a letter to the appeals officer identified in the final disposition, stating, "This letter constitutes an appeal of the agency's decision."
- The Fund for Open Information and Accountability stands ready to assist you with any problems you encounter using the FOIA. If you have any questions, or need help determining whether you've received everything you are entitled to, call or write: FOIA, Inc. 145 W. 4th St., New York, NY 10012 (212) 477-3188.

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