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UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA SANTA CRUZ

TECHNIQUES OF OVERSIGHT AND [COUNTER]INTELLIGIBILITY 2000-2018 (A FEW SMALL OPACITIES)

A dissertation submitted in partial satisfaction of the requirements for the degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

in

FILM & DIGITAL MEDIA

by

Abram Stern

December 2022

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ABSTRACT

Techniques of Oversight and [counter]Intelligibility 2000-2018

(a few small opacities)

Abram Stern

This dissertation considers oversight and [counter]intelligibility in order to to rethink questions of surveillance and militarism, through media theory and critical art practices. At the center of this work are two media art projects, Operational Character Rendition and Unburning (a collaboration with Margaret Laurena Kemp). Through the creation of these projects, I consider how infrastructural and institutional contexts inscribe themselves into media related to surveillance and its oversight. This dissertation activates both denotations of oversight: as supervision and surveillance, but also the failure to notice. The contradictions of seeing and not seeing inform a close reading of torture memos, aerial surveillance videos, and media art. This work draws from feminist media art due to its investment in embodiment and making hidden labor and abuse intelligible, even if abstracted or otherwise distanced. I read and perforate through this media and metadata as sites of intelligibility through technologies of making-sense, but also as sites of obfuscation, concealment, and redaction. These are explored through case studies that consider technologies and cultural practices of making-public through interfaces and archives of US Intelligence Community related documents, and also by artists whose work redeploys, countervails (and counterveils) these assemblages.

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against these systems. This work continues to inspire my practice.

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This work is dedicated to my parents Sara Schestenger and Gerd Stern; Dorothy R. Santos; Margaret Morse; and to the public domain.

0. Introduction

0.1 Preramble

Six months before I began this Ph.D., a colleague pointed me to a tweet by a journalist trying to download the January 29th, 2014 hearing video from the U.S. Senate Select Committee on Intelligence.¹ It was the first public hearing since it had been revealed that the CIA hacked committee staffers who were preparing a report on the agency's role in extraordinary rendition and torture (and the destruction of video evidence of these acts) during the so-called Global War on Terror.

The hearing video was available on the committee website using a proprietary flash streaming protocol developed by Akamai, a company that specializes in content delivery solutions for enterprise-scale institutions. Using techniques developed in order to pirate streamed television shows,² I captured the hearing video and passed them to the journalist. I discovered a profound contradiction: a technology developed for commercially valuable content being used on public domain hearings that should be meaningfully accessible.³

^{1.} The journalist has since deleted the tweet, so I am respecting their anonymity. Dianne Feinstein was notified of the hacks on January 15, 2014 according to a statement released approximately two months later. Dianne Feinstein, *Statement on Intel Committee's CIA Detention, Interrogation Report*, March 2014, accessed October 12, 2022, https://www.feinstein.senate.gov/public/index.cfm/2014/3/feinstein-statemen t-on-intelligence-committee-s-cia-detention-interrogation-report

^{2.} The Senate's video content, like most of its web content, is hosted on the content delivery networks of Akamai Technologies. Akamai's video delivery infrastructure uses Digital Rights Management by default, so public hearings were being protected by the very same technology that the British Broadcasting Company uses to prevent its viewers from pirating Doctor Who episodes.

^{3.} I note that even 8 1/2 years later, no download links are available and zero hearings are published with closed captions for those with hearing-related disabilities.

During further investigation of the website, I found a collection of hearings from 2006 to 2009 encoded as realMedia streams. No longer available on the current committee Hearing Archive site, these videos were tiny: 320 by 240 pixels, and difficult to decode.⁴ When I mentioned my finding to a colleague, they responded "those are trash, unwatchably small and the audio is incoherent. Nobody is going to want them." But something about the absurdity of these tiny, messy, glitched-out unplayable videos struck me as deeply poetic. Most of a decade later, I have not done anything with this collection of impenetrable .rm files (largely because of the technical hurdles they present) beyond maintaining custody of them. Yet this discovery was when I began to see public-facing media that are unintelligible to people and/or to machines not just as problems to be solved, but as found objects that deserved deeper inquiry. At the very least, these files encapsulate specific moments within an institutional and infrastructural history. At their best, their failures and opacities resonate deeply with their encoded content, nonetheless revealing poetics and a politics of opacity.

0.2 Project Description

This dissertation looks to bridge two sites of media practice through an examination of shared cultural techniques of oversight in the post

^{4.} I am able to play the videos using a legacy version of the open source video tool "mplayer", but unable to transcode into other formats. The metadata suggests they were prepared to stream on 56k modems, which were common in the late 1990s.

9/11 era. The techniques operative in both these sites function in terms of making things more and less intelligible. This work puts collections of government-produced media and metadata relating to surveillance and its oversight into conversation with projects produced by media artists responding to and reusing material and methods from these ostensibly public (yet often opaque) bureaucracies. These practices range from the forensic to the poetic, and exhibit a range of commitment to the political and aesthetic concerns in the work. Both the collections and artworks address publics: the former are complying (sometimes barely) with "sunshine" public access laws; the latter reproduce, reconfigure, and resist these weaponized ways of [un]knowing. Some operative questions that motivate this work: How do these institutions and artists deploy, imagine, and construct subject positions for their publics — citizens, subjects, and targets? What are the material configurations at play in these techniques and what are their effects? How do we attend to the historical specificity of these configurations when the technical, legal, and social components are so unstable and ephemeral?

The written part of the dissertation consists of this introduction, three chapters, and a brief coda. First, I provide general theoretical concerns about and across files, images, documents, software, and metadata rooted in the conditions of public records. Drawing from format theory and feminist theory, I trace the increasingly unstable boundaries between text, image, and data to consider the PDF's po-

sition as a container for other formats and its institutional position, deployed in democratic contexts but developed for enterprise and governed by corporations global standards organizations.

Secondly, I consider a case study of documents published by the Senate Select Committee on Intelligence as unsearchable low resolution images of text. Drawing from critical disability studies, I examine the publics these documents anticipate (and interpellate) and those they might not expect; the technologies that might reconstitute the documents as electronic text again, and how artists have reproduced, appropriated, and intervened in these materials and methods.

Finally, I consider a collection of 18 1/2 hours of FBI aerial surveillance video documenting the Baltimore Uprising of 2015. Working from the premise that the video footage reproduces a criminalizing and racialized gaze, my analysis centers on what remains in the media if the video is absent (or abstracted). I examine video metadata embedded within the media's ".mp4" container during its redaction, but also "burned" onto the video image by the infrared sensor that captured it. Even as it works to decode what these documents "speak" about and the anti-Black apparatus that produced them, I argue beyond a forensic reading: metadata is more than a tool for establishing evidentiary authenticity. It also serves as a site for creative intervention and contestation.

At the heart of this dissertation are two projects, *Operational Character Rendition* (OCR) and *Unburning*. These projects correspond

to and operate on material from the case studies of Chapters 2 and 3 and are discussed in detail in those chapters. They are part of an ongoing suite of projects I developed under the title *Oversight Machines*. These are web-based artworks that operate on government-produced materials in different ways, analyzing and transforming its underlying subject matter. Working with intentional inefficiency, I slow the process to make aspects of sense-making that would otherwise occur invisibly fast apparent as they happen. While more focused on process than results, each "machine" produces and publishes findings in the form of visual media, as well as repurposing and extending metadata found in the source materials. This material is then released to the public domain.

Beginning with Chapter 2, I have embedded source materials at the beginning of each chapter, and findings produced by the relevant works at the end of the chapter. These are not appendices. They are not supplemental materials. They are constitutive elements of this critical practice.

This primer introduces a few key terms and concepts, giving background and additional context to the chapters that follow. Sometimes titles function as a kind of metadata, like when a digital camera embeds the date and time in the filename. "Techniques of Oversight and [counter]Intelligibility 2000–2018 (a few small opacities)" was not software generated so it requires a different kind of unpacking.⁵

^{5.} Unpacking suggests containers; those are addressed and unpacked in Chapter 1.

0.3 Techniques of

I employ a notion of "techniques" drawn from a theoretical framework in German media theory called cultural techniques (kulturtechniken) articulated in the later works of Friedrich Kittler (retrieved from 19th c. agricultural engineering) and developed by Bernhard Siegert, Cornelia Vismann, Ute Holl and others. In German, the word techniks refers to both techniques and technology; this blurring of whether something is done by humans or machines can be a useful erasure. Ute Holl describes the investigatory work of cultural techniques "respond[ing] to the relationship between signs, technologies, and social behavior" which are organized into operational chains. Bernhard Siegert's suggestion that

[w]e need to focus on how [...] how nonsense generates sense, how the symbolic is filtered out of the real, or how, conversely, the symbolic is incorporated into the real, and how things/signifiers can exist because of the interchange of materials/information across the ever-emergent boundaries by which they differentiate themselves from the surrounding medium/channel.⁷

points to how cross-boundary action at and across links (as media, actors, institutions, infrastructures) in these operational chains sculpt and direct our experiences. This orientation towards the operative (or

^{6.} Ute Holl, "Media Theory (or, and, despite) a Theory of Cultural Techniques," *Texte Zur Kunst* 25, no. 98 (2015): p. 86.

^{7.} Bernhard Siegert, Cultural Techniques: Grids, Filters, Doors, and Other Articulations of the Real, trans. Geoffrey Winthrop-Young (Fordham University Press, May 2015), p. 60, accessed March 20, 2018, https://doi.org/10.5422/fordham/9780823263752.001.001.

operational) also draws from Harun Farocki's concept of the "operational image" to consider the use of images in computational systems (and in particular those used in military contexts) in ways that produce subjects rather than encode representation. These ideas have been further developed by Jussi Parikka, Laliv Melamed, Rebecca Uliasz, Trevor Paglen, and others. While the particular aspects of the visual at work in infrared sensors and the recognition of faces and text deserve close attention (and intervention), this is a useful frame for other sensory media as well. Liquid Architecture's curatorial work around machinic listening and eavesdropping has surfaced the operational aspects of sound and voice.

Some of the *techniks* I am working with (and enacting) here are: reduction, aversion, recognition, thresholding, interception, and distance(ing). At points I look closely — expanding and exaggerating an image until motes of dust (known in technical jargon as flyspecks) become its main characters. At other points, I reduce, drawing attention to the actions and effects of compression. Media theorists who deploy and develop cultural techniques often read broadly across histories to locate how practices are related; Cornelia Vismann suggests that the act of a plow furrowing a line determines the political act: 8 drawing a line and marking territory and that drawing thus "belongs to the symbolic order, irrespective of how concretely 'grounded' the act

^{8.} Here Vismann is delineating ownership within the act of drawing a line, whether imperial Roman borders or preparing a field for planting.

itself may turn out to be." Johanna Drucker observed that "semiotics struggles [] with the notion of historical specificity with respect to production." For this reason, I resist the historical broadness favored by cultural technicians for the specificity and close analysis called for by media scholars Lisa Gitelman and Jonathan Sterne in their defining work on format theory. As Gitelman notes:

So it is as much of a mistake to write broadly of "the telephone," "the camera," or "the computer" as it is "the media," and of now, somehow, "the Internet" and "the Web"—naturalizing or essentializing technologies as if they were unchanging, "immutable objects with given, self-defining properties" around which changes swirl, and to or from which history proceeds.¹¹

Like Gitelman, I find the case study to be a useful mode for examining, thinking, and perforating the intersections of institutions, technologies, and culture. I also value the way cultural techniques can locate a poetics of action that can be applied to both people and things, speaking to the complex ways these overlap, and working across barriers of abstraction. In software architecture, abstraction boundaries are well-policed and the transition points are often the places where failure is most likely to occur. It requires some poetic license to dance freely across these territories, and at times I'll be

^{9.} Cornelia Vismann, "Cultural Techniques and Sovereignty," *Theory, Culture & Society* 30, no. 6 (November 2013): 83–93, accessed January 10, 2019, https://doi.org/10.1177/0263276413496851, http://journals.sagepub.com/doi/10.1177/0263276413496851.

^{10.} Johanna Drucker, The Visible Word: Experimental Typography and Modern Art; 1909 - 1923, Paperback ed (Chicago: Univ. of Chicago Press, 1996), p. 5.

^{11.} Lisa Gitelman, Always Already New: Media, History, and the Data of Culture (MIT Press, 2006), p. 82.

leading the reader deep into the weeds without apology.

0.4 Oversight and [counter]intelligibility

I use [un]intelligibility as an umbrella term for the media – and sense-specific ways that records can be impenetrable, opaque, illegible, inaudible, inaccessible to both people and machines. It is through collection, analysis, recognition, interpretation, revelation, and exposition that things are made more intelligible. Things are made less intelligible through techniques of obfuscation, lossy compression, enclosure, redaction, erasure, and concealment.

Oversight suggests a privileged view from above, looking over an institution or population; it is rooted in (ostensibly) good governance. However, the term is effectively the same word as surveillance (same word in French and English) and supervision, except that it is an autoantonym (or contranym), a rare kind of word whose second denotation is the opposite of its first. The second denotation of oversight, the blunder of not seeing or noticing, is the integral accident (via Paul Virilio) of the first. In French, *surveillance* is not a contranym; but *bévue* (also rooted in sight, but with a pejorative prefix) captures much of the effect of this second denotation. Althusser, describing Marx's recognition, while reading Adam Smith, of what Smith could not see,

^{12.} Virilio's concept of the integral accident suggests that technologies and infrastructures contain their own modes of failure: the locomotive and associated rail technologies contain derailment.Paul Virilio, "The Museum of Accidents," in *Unknown quantity*, trans. Chris Turner, OCLC: ocm53080570 (London; New York: [Paris]: Thames & Hudson; Fondation Cartier pour l'art contemporian, 2003)

describes Smith's failure to understand as a bévue; perhaps oversight is disposed towards symptomatic reading and criticism.¹³

The term oversight is used politically to describe situations where publics (elected civilians, appointees, "stakeholders") are provided institutional access to otherwise closed public institutions, such as citizen or civilian policing boards. Legislative oversight occurs at most levels of government, where elected officials, as part of committee appointments, are given investigatory purview and security clearance. As it relates to US Intelligence, such oversight was not formalized until the post-WWII period and National Security act of 1947. The current legislative committees responsible for Intelligence oversight, the Senate Select Committee on Intelligence (SSCI) and the House Permanent Select Committee on Intelligence (HPSCI) were not instituted until the mid-1970s, following Watergate and revelations that the FBI, CIA, and NSA acted against domestic political activities, that the CIA had illegally stockpiled shellfish venom, and had been involved in the planned assassinations of foreign leaders. The office of the Director of National Intelligence describes oversight as "a mechanism to ensure that the IC [Intelligence Community] conducts intelligence activities in a manner that that [sic] achieves the proper balance between the acquisition of essential information and protection of individual interests."14 Public records laws also assemble publics in

^{13.} Jacques Rancière, *Althusser's Lesson*, OCLC: ocn648934381 (London; New York: Continuum, 2011), p. 6.

^{14.} Office of the Director of National Intelligence, *About*, accessed September 23, 2022, https://www.dni.gov/index.php/ncsc-features/123-about.

ostensible acts of oversight, and the interfaces that agencies have developed to facilitate this access are complicated assemblages of institutional power, assumptive audiences, and technical systems that often overdetermine (and underdeliver) how oversight is mediated. My interest in oversight works across these valances, focusing in the ways the darkest functions of government are made intelligible and unintelligible to publics, how oversight functions through both its denotations in the sociotechnical details of these interfaces and how artists, including myself, engage in oversight when they make use of both materials and methods drawn from the above.

0.5 2000-2018

The primary media materials (including documents, videos, and works of art) this research addresses come from the period briefly heading into and following the events of 9/11/2001 through the middle of the Trump presidency. During this period, U.S. intelligence programs were vastly expanded under newly launched Global War on Terror, and at a few brief moments, were themselves the subject of Congressional investigation. Budgets were increased and constraints were relaxed on intelligence operations that ranged from surveillance and data and metadata collection efforts(both at home and abroad), as well as enhanced interrogation and extraordinary rendition. While some of these programs (torture) were reformed during the Obama administration, others were expanded (surveillance). Some of the architects

and implementors of these policies returned to power and legitimation in the Trump years, not least of all evidenced by Gina Haspel's 2018 nomination to be CIA Director after running a secret prison in Thailand that was part of the U.S. extraordinary rendition and torture program during the second George W. Bush administration. While some of these excesses were later condemned (such as by a report on CIA torture published by the SSCI in 2016), much of the expanded intelligence capacities of this era needed no legitimation as they were legal and largely uncontroversial. The militarized surveillance enacted by the FBI planes that flew over Black Lives Matter protests from the waning years of the Obama administration and which persist into the present are uncontroversial from a legal perspective. While I am thankful for the work of legal scholars and activists to reveal, resist, and hopefully one day abolish these programs, I see the ways media artists respond to these issues as important and undertheorized because this work goes beyond simply drawing attention to abhorrent acts and policies, but also to the new (and old) ways of noticing bound up in these acts, the technologies involved, and the ways in which they become public.

0.6 (a few small opacities)

In early 2018, my eyes flared up with inflammation, causing fatigue, lots of tears, and severely limiting the amount of screen time I could tolerate. This slowed down my reading and writing as I was heading into my qualifying exams. The optometrists at the university's

health center were perplexed, and eventually referred me to a local ophthalmologist. "What I am seeing here, I'd describe as 'a few small opacities'," he dryly intoned after inspecting my corneas. The source of the inflammation, whether infection or an immune reaction run amok, was never determined and a low dosage drop of steroids brought things more or less back to "normal."

While this experience is not the origin story of the present project and I was well into this research at that time, it feels like an inflection point where opacity was no longer something "out there." To inspect and address was a part of my experience of seeing the world, a feature of my vision, the sensing apparatus, pushed outside its comfort zone. This sense was compounded in 2020, shortly after the CZU Lightning Complex Fires when I developed a corneal ulcer that soon perforated, requiring an emergency corneal transplant. A two millimeter circle of tissue in my left eye was replaced with donated tissue. My vision in that eye is quite different now. Bright areas in the field of vision (like traffic lights) bloom off and to the left, there's doubling and tripling that makes differentiating the details of letters and facial features difficult. It has changed how I read and write. While I was already working on opacity as a subject, my own troubled vision newly serves as a constant reminder that seeing and sensing are always embodied, and that their material conditions are often fragile.

0.7 Machines/Critical Practice

The artworks I produce are not the end result of a research process; the earliest parts of my research begin with deciding on a collection of material I am going to work with and writing code to acquire and process the media in that collection. By building tools, I am forced closer to the technical specifics that, in turn, open into institutional details in need of theorization and historicization. The making feeds the writing, which works to make sense of the material unearthed during the making. The writing leads to rabbit holes among rabbit holes, sometimes providing new material to incorporate into the project. Other times, developing or finding others' concepts have prompted me to revise or detour into entirely different projects.

My interpretation of critical practice demands more than producing writing and artwork as separate endeavors that meet off the page; they are in critical dialogue with my subject matter. The software I develop is written for a particular and institutionally situated collection of media and metadata. This is not simply about cultivating a practice "informed by" theory, or about arriving at a technical process that has been fixed (neither as stasis nor as repair), but rather one in which these two modes are in a durational and iterative dialogue. When I began working with material from the Baltimore Uprising surveillance collection, I determined that it was inappropriate for me to reproduce the surveillance images and focused on surfacing the traces of the

technical and institutional apparatus that was doing the surveilling and making that legible. I re-read sensor data that had been turned into an image, reindexing it as temporal data, clocked using the time also burned onto the screen in hopes that something actionable would emerge. After developing the code over a couple years in tandem with theorizing and historicizing the assemblage of technics, policing, protest, and my own position in relation to these, I found myself uncomfortable and dissatisfied with this approach because it was working from a solutionist position. On one hand it's important to attend to the material specificity of militarized policing and surveillance, on the other: tech is not going to save us. These urgent problems cannot and will not be solved with a hackathon. Yet I presented the work at this unsettled stage, working through what I'd done and my discomfort with the pleasures of noticing that washed over me as I connected dots. At this point, performing artist Margaret Laurena Kemp initiated our collaboration, which provided something urgent to "see through" beyond the translucent findings my code produced.

Within the technical bureaucracy of the University, the text document, subject to standardization of its margins and layout, is what is recognized by the University as "the dissertation" (attached media are considered supplementary; they "support or enhance" it). Since this is the case, I moved to intervene in the text itself. Writing is itself a

^{15.} Best Practices for Supplementary Files - Electronic Theses & Dissertations (ETDs) - Library Guides at University of California, Santa Cruz, accessed October 17, 2022, https://guides.library.ucsc.edu/etds/supplementaryfiles.

media practice and any dichotomy between "writing" and "practice" is an inappropriate frame through which to consider the work of critical practice. I address this in a few ways. I remind the reader that we (me, a writer; you, a reader) are already entangled in a slew of document and document-adjacent technologies through this very media object. It is already implicated in many of the systems it responds to.

The practices of coding, shoveling, writing, and iterating are also in another kind of dialogue. When these things inform one another, even in ways that do not necessarily meet on the page (or in the code, or on the site, etc.), single media-specific methodologies can become unreasonable constraints. I recall a conversation at a dinner celebrating the dissertation defense of a friend who was speaking about the revisions to come, about the desire to tie up all the loose ends and to make their dissertation perfectly legible to another discipline (one represented on their committee but not their "home"). A mutual friend (a brilliant curator) interjected, "No. You are not accountable to that. You're an artist, and when an artist wants to, they can leave threads hanging off the canvas." This is to say that within this tangle of translations, things will not always be in their most legible form because the counter-intelligibilities and resistances to representation this work is about are also part of its method.

0.8 Code and software

Software is a subject and method of the work in this writing. I write about software, I write software. Software necessarily involves abstraction. The software I write in JavaScript runs through an interpreter written in another language that I do not know (mostly likely C or C++, potentially Rust in some browser contexts). The interpreter runs as a process (or several) in a browser or directly via the operating system which interacts with the hardware of the machine running it through its kernel. For the most part, the software I write about, and write, sit fairly high in this stack of abstraction, which is to say they are relatively close to the user.

At times, I write about algorithms. Algorithms have traditionally been understood as simple reproducible systems that can be explained in a few pages of prose. But, as Clifford Lynch has noted, "During the second decade of the twenty-first century, legal scholars, public policy experts and regulators, and social scientists appropriated the term 'algorithms' to mean something different, much broader and more amorphous." The work described by Lynch largely—and crucially—considers algorithms as large socio-technical systems, perhaps involving but not limited to trained machine learning (ML) systems and artificial intelligence (AI). The scale and complexity of these systems

^{16.} Clifford Lynch, "Stewardship in the "Age of Algorithms"," *First Monday*, December 2017, accessed November 4, 2022, https://doi.org/10.5210/fm.v22i12.8097, https://firstmonday.org/ojs/index.php/fm/article/view/8097.

are often such that even those who develop them are sometimes at a loss for why a particular output occurs and often wholly opaque to user-facing elements of these systems. There's a tension between these two understandings of the word, and a lot of overlap. Even simple algorithms are embedded within socio-technical systems and artifacts have politics. Both show up in the media-technical assemblages I examine in this dissertation. But for the most part, when it can find such a foothold, my writing concerns the former. The broader work on systems—especially those large, proprietary, and opaque ones, is important. However, as I have already emphasized, there is perennially unfinished work attending to the specificity of media, and this includes software. The Algorithm is overtheorized while algorithms are undertheorized.¹⁷

I do not mean to be dismissive of the important work other scholars are doing on AI and ML driven systems; when used in predictive policing, algorithmic bail, hiring systems, rent calculation, creditworthiness, online proctoring software. Many of these software applications are deeply opaque to the publics they affect. It is clear that many of these systems provide a patina of machinic neutrality while reproducing (when not amplifying) inequity and injustice. While it is tempting to call for better governance over these applications, some of

^{17.} I am riffing here on an important line from Rick Prelinger: The "archive" is overtheorized; "archives" (where the labor of record keeping takes place) are undertheorized and underfunded. See: Rick Prelinger, *The "archive"* is overtheorized; "archives" (where the labor of record keeping takes place) are undertheorized and underfunded. #archives, Tweet, February 2015, accessed December 10, 2022, https://twitter.com/footage/status/562666114895728641

them should not exist at all. As Rebecca Williams has noted, sometimes oversight can fortify things that should be abolished.¹⁸

In Chapter 2, I consider technologies of document analysis. The Levenshtein algorithm is key to the functioning of spell checking and word-recommendation systems used in word-matching as part of document-scanning workflows. Levenshtein distance is computed using a deterministic function that can be written in a handful of lines. In contemporary document editing contexts (those that are powered by large cloud-based software ecosystems such as Google's, Microsoft's, and so on), Levenshtein is lashed to large socio-technical system that incorporate user-derived data to weigh Levenshtein-like distances in complex ways that are generally withheld from the user. Levenshtein is perhaps falling out of fashion in comparison to these other systems, but functions as residual media: neither obsolete nor fresh. As Charles Acland notes, "among the lasting and the novel we find an orientation between the past and the present."19 In Chapter 3, I consider difference-based imaging operations I use to try to pry onscreen metadata from underlying video content; these techniques have long been used in motion and edge detection and are increasingly being eclipsed by more advanced machine learning systems that rely on

^{18.} Rebecca Williams [@internetrebecca], Ideally, these laws would be protecting people from harmful surveillance, but – Are they protecting against discrimination? – Does oversight fortify things that should be abolished? – Are communities weighing in? – If things go wrong, do you have remedies? https://t.co/7cNA6JXeRO, Tweet, April 2021, accessed November 4, 2022, https://twitter.com/internetrebecca/status/13878253642 07079426.

^{19.} Charles R. Acland, ed., *Residual Media*, OCLC: ocm71004148 (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2007), pp. xv-xvi.

training sets.

All of the software I have written as part of this dissertation is open source. It is released to the public domain. Its source code can be found in repositories in my account on GitLab: https://gitlab.com/aphid/.

I do not give much attention to source code in this writing. While I see some value in the close reading that scholars in Critical Code Studies engage in, I am more interested in what the software does (as well as on behalf of whom, to whom, and in absence of whom) than in the nuances or expressions of its writing. Most of the software I write about is proprietary. I cannot speak to how the code is written because that access is withheld. I am left to other devices. In writing about formats, I relied on specifications (the code for the code) when available. However, as Chapter 1 illustrates, access to specifications is a trying endeavor. In some cases, I looked at source code for open source implementations of software for which I could not obtain the specification. These territories between technology and governance are deeply murky.

0.9 Documents_Records_Files.pages

While these are somewhat slippery terms, I will use "record" to refer broadly to media that is public and official and documents for media that resemble paper (visually and through other affordances and capacities).

When they are "documents," records are often textual and visual;

as software there is immense variability of how they are encoded, even within a single specification like a PDF. Bureaucratic records necessitate labor, and the work of producing, maintaining, archiving, and operationalizing records becomes evident in different ways. Metadata from the Baltimore Uprising implies that the footage was processed—as in redacted and prepared for public release by a team of at least three analysts at the FBI's Records Management Division in Winchester, Virginia using Adobe Premiere, the same video editing software available in my department's editing suites and labs. I wonder if they spent time looking at the footage, or quickly covered the quadrants to be redacted and moved on to the next of what must be a fairly constant process of processing. Jenny Holzer spoke of the need for her team of assistants to take breaks when working on her series of Redaction Paintings, which were enlarged painted reproductions of FOIA-obtained documents pertaining to the CIA's extraordinary rendition and "enhanced" interrogation program in the post-9/11 period. Anjali Nath's work on FOIA's history includes the role of Donald Rumsfeld as an early advocate for the legislation; Rumsfeld designed and implemented much of the military and intelligence expansion after 9/11 into a "Global War on Terror", the transparencies and opacities of which are among the materials I investigate in Chapter 2.

0.10 Publics: Citizens, Subjects, and Targets

In this writing, I have tried to be careful in how I address those addressed by the programs, techniques, and media I am writing about, which is largely produced by public institutions and artists for public display. I have avoided "public" in the singular because I do not intend to imagine nor offer a singular audience. When I use the term publics, I mean to include a few categories of subject, often offering the triad "citizens, subjects, and targets" especially when referring to surveillance and other intelligence programs. While somewhat reductive (a cultural technique I describe and employ further in Chapter 1), there are reasons to enunciate the differences in these categories. U.S. Legislative bodies are representative in the sense that senators and members of congress are elected by and claim to represent constituencies defined by regional boundaries. Public access laws often invoke the citizen as both those on whose behalf public agencies operate as well as a stakeholder in oversight of such agencies. But not all who are subject to surveillance and intelligence programs are citizens. In the U.S., noncitizens are targets of enhanced surveillance and regimes of inspection and Customs and Border Protection has extra search powers within a 100 air-mile radius of the US border.²⁰ Citizenry has been reimagined by a number of theorists, such as artist Ricardo Dominguez's call for

^{20.} Know Your Rights | 100 Mile Border Zone, accessed November 15, 2022, https://www.aclu.org/know-your-rights/border-zone.

a notion of citizenship rooted in mobility rather than territory.²¹ Net artist and media theorist Olia Lialina offers a reminder that "digital citizenship", even in a seemingly-boundless networked world, is meaningless as "there is no digital city, state or constitution."²²

A given citizen or subject (as an individual or within an articulated category) is not necessarily targeted (nor addressed nor interpellated) by a given technology or artwork or program; I have tried to take into consideration when they are—and when they are excluded (conspicuously or otherwise). I do not mean to overemphasize legal or legislative definitions as necessarily determinant of the situations in this work even if the "how" of these systems operate is often subject to if not instigated by law. While there has been broad condemnation of the extrajudicial secret prisons documented in the case study in Chapter 2, that did not stop the prison's chief from being appointed deputy CIA director in 2017 and successfully nominated in to run the agency in 2018. The extra-legality is not what makes this significant. The FBI's surveillance of Black Lives Matter protests like the Baltimore Uprising, discussed in Chapter 3, was legal. Much of the controversy over the NSA's vast communications and metadata collection revealed by Edward Snowden in 2014 was not that they occurred at all, but

^{21.} Ricardo Dominguez, *Lines in the Sand: Geo-Aesthetics* [] *Geo-Disturbances*, University of California, Santa Cruz, May 2016, accessed November 15, 2022, https://it unesu-assets.itunes.apple.com/apple-assets-us-std-000001/CobaltPublic18/v4/6e/c a/95/6eca9524-5cba-48dc-7a73-140d89503ecb/336-8281611312539704240-Ricardo __Dominguez__720p__2400k.mov.

^{22.} Olia Lialina, *Not Art&Tech: On the role of Media Theory at Universities of Applied Art, Technology and Art and Technology.*, November 2015, accessed November 15, 2022, http://contemporary-home-computing.org/art-and-tech/not/.

that programs intended to target the rest of the world were used on Americans.

0.11 Metadata and Indexicality

The National Institute of Standards and Technology (NIST) defines metadata as "Information that describes the characteristics of data, including structural metadata that describes data structures (i.e., data format, syntax, semantics) and descriptive metadata that describes data contents (i.e., security labels)."23 Since the revelation of US metadata collection by US Intelligence Agencies, primarily the NSA as part of material leaked by Edward Snowden in 2013, metadata has a tone of vulnerability to it; it is a thing we reveal unintentionally that exposes us to inspection. Most of the metadata collected by these programs is telecommunications metadata, produced as part of the act of communicating: from sending an email to making a phone call. The metadata is produced beyond the reach of the user and is part of the functioning of telecommunications infrastructure. Much of the metadata in this dissertation is of a different sort; it is media metadata, produced alongside documents, images, and video; this metadata is often found within the media file (and this gets complicated in ways I address in Chapter 1). The key difference is accessibility. If one has

^{23.} Christopher S. Johnson et al., *Guide to Cyber Threat Information Sharing*, technical report NIST SP 800–150 (National Institute of Standards and Technology, October 2016), NIST SP 800–150, accessed September 23, 2022, https://doi.org/10.6028/NIST.SP.800–150, https://nvlpubs.nist.gov/nistpubs/SpecialPublications/NIST.SP.800–150.pdf.

access to media files (and access to media does not always mean direct access to media files), one can access metadata.

In a networked society, the creation and sharing of media is increasingly part of everyday life. Metadata is inevitably attached to this media, often unwittingly. It's rare that those who create it, read it intentionally. From the standpoint of operational security, it's a good idea to monitor what information you're putting out into the world. Arguments around "information hygiene" are increasingly part of media literacy education. Beyond these questions of safety, it's important that artists and scholars who work critically with media find ways to read—and write—metadata against the grain. Metadata, whether presented in a table or a block of JSON, is visually unlike a photograph, but both forms confront viewers or readers as indexical media with claims to veracity, a set of conditions—perhaps even facts—about the world. It's important to attend to the specifics of how these things that seem like facts are constituted, less as a matter of fact-checking, than of locating and recognizing the hidden labor of code, and the quiet work of people. While indexical media has a disposition to present and be presented as storing a material trace or its copy, Kris Paulson draws from semiotician Charles Sanders Peirce to remind readers that indexes have "never essentially been a physical manifestation resemblance, proof, or truth but rather an instance of relationality, interpretation, and decision." Paulson continues, noting that indices are rather "dubious, open-ended, present-tense

signs whose meanings are dependent upon context and clamor for attention and interpretation."²⁴ As "truthy" media, decoding metadata necessitates more than simple technical work. There are poetics and politics to tease out, not essentially anchored in technology or institutions, but in how these things come to be arranged—and sometimes later rearranged by hackers, artists, and information activists. I see important work at the interface of documentary studies and (meta)data studies. Working from John Grierson's originary definition of documentary as "the creative treatment of actuality", the synthetic work of schematization and how data is "cleaned" are as much creative acts as the framing of a shot or the editing of a sequence. They also carry many of the same ethical conundrums.

In Chapter 2, I explore some of the metadata of PDF files which ranges from scant (only information made available by the filesystem such as location, size, and permissions) to extensive (metadata provided by the authoring application with names, page counts, and precise version numbers of applications). In Chapter 3 I delve more extensively into eXstensible Metadata Platform (XMP) metadata embedded into FBI surveillance videos by Adobe Premiere. Like PDF, XMP was initially developed as a proprietary format by Adobe for its own software ecosystem and later released as an ostensibly open specification by the International Organization for Standardization (ISO).

^{24.} Kris Paulsen, "Rogue Pixels: Indexicality and Algorithmic Camouflage," *Signs and Society* 6, no. 2 (March 2018): p. 7, accessed October 29, 2021, https://doi.org/10.1086/696932, https://www.journals.uchicago.edu/doi/10.1086/696932.

XMP codes and stores a variety of settings and properties that describe the content of the record and the application states that produce it.

XMP is media-agnostic (it's appended to the same container formats as the primary content) and can be found in images, videos, documents, and other kinds of media.

In addition to excerpting metadata inline in these two chapters, I have included full metadata "dumps" alongside media from those chapters before (from the source files) and after (from files processed by *Oversight Machines*. I have formatted this metadata to maximally fill the page rather than using a "pretty print" algorithm.²⁵ I am including this material within the text of the dissertation not because I want the reader to pore over every word, but to enact the kind of awkward mediatic transductions I am writing about (like text or image to data). This awkward juxtaposition allows other aspects of the data to surface than those available to a JSON parser (through which one might sort or query results from within the collection).

The metadata produced by the projects works at different scales. The section that can be found at the end of Chapter 2 includes every potential matching dictionary entry for each word recognized in the document. It is long and structurally repetitious. The arrays (lists of matching words surrounded by brackets and separated by commas) are different lengths depending on what was recognized and what words were in the Levenshtein distance range. Each page of the document

^{25.} For JSON encoded data, prettyprinting routinely formats to show one key/value pair per line, adds indentation, and sometimes color-codes for different datatypes.

takes several pages of metadata; the map is bigger than the territory. The metadata for each of the images produced by *Unburning* is roughly a paragraph's worth of properties and values. Small enough to wrap one's head around. But there are many images captured across several stages of Unburning's development I encourage the reader to consider the friction between the format and its presentation, what aspects are intelligible or difficult. What is being stored, represented, and asserted in these collections? What can you notice? What is absent?

0.12 Noticing

Much of this work is concerned with ways of noticing. Noticing is not rooted in any particular sense; it is not specific to seeing, listening, computation, art, or bureaucracy. It is related to attention: how it is trained and tuned. There are pleasures of noticing, recognizing lines of association can feed (but perhaps not satiate) curiosity. As Simone Browne's work describes, there are deeply ingrained ways of noticing that rise out of old and originary relations that go back to the establishment of the United States and its legacies of enslavement. ²⁶ In Chapter 3 I discuss some of my discomfort in recognizing my own pleasure in connecting the dots within and among FBI surveillance metadata. Operative questions regarding noticing: Who and what is doing the noticing? Is the noticing procedural (in either a technical or

^{26.} Simone Browne, *Dark Matters*: On the Surveillance of Blackness (Durham: Duke University Press, 2015).

institutional sense)? Is the extractive? How does it effect the noticer? And if the noticing is noticeable by its subjects or others, how does it effect them? Is it extractive?

I feel tension between the project of attending to hidden, unapparent aspects of technical media and a fetishism of the hidden and arcane, or the position of the artist as a heroic individual revealer of these things. But I do not see the work I'm doing here as as particularly invested in revealing (or revelation). Working closely with these subjects necessitated gaining an intimate familiarity if not expertise with institutional and technical specifics, but I'm less interested in their secrets than the modes of attention and the kinds of noticing they facilitate and reject.

0.13 Occularizations

It comes as no surprise that the language referring to power and knowledge is deeply entangled with verticality and vision (as noted by Michel Foucault and others). This language is nonetheless often applied to media that is not primarily visual. I work to bring these tensions into focus and enunciate where these terms' edges begin to fray. When possible I favor terms that relate to and think with other modes of making sense. In some places, I suggest alternate terms that are similarly limited in sensory scope as visually oriented ones, such as exchanging visual terms used for data with auditory ones, for instance — overseeing(/looking) with overhearing, with its

implication of eavesdropping, different connotations around intent and responsibility, and perhaps the notion of having heard too (over) much.

Daniel Grinberg uses the term transparency optics to account for the varying logics, rooted in visual language of how transparency is deployed politically as a set of public relations acts, but also as a way to account for the visualities of disclosure and probe "other sensory modes or through deliberate invisibilization and obfuscation." Grinberg notes that transparency sometimes functions as opacity, obscuring more than it reveals.

The European Enlightenment provides arguments for transparency—public access to governmental proceedings and records to its citizens provide for a greater civic awareness and participation. Transparency has been the operative metaphor of groups advocating for open government such as the now-defunct Sunlight Foundation, whose name derives from Justice Louis Brandeis's dictum that "Sunlight is the best disinfectant." The dream of transparent subjects provides the underlying logics behind surveillant architectures and infrastructures of modern disciplinary societies. Martinican-French poet and philosopher Édouard Glissant argues that transparency's inherent reductiveness is incompatible with an ethics that values difference. As part of his critique of colonialism, Glissant advocates for a right to opacity. The Western ideal of transparency demands a transparent

^{27.} Daniel Grinberg, "Tracking Movements: Black Activism, Aerial Surveillance, and Transparency Optics," *Media, Culture & Society*, November 2018, p. 8, accessed January 15, 2019, https://doi.org/10.1177/0163443718810921, http://journals.sagepub.com/doi/10.1177/0163443718810921.

subject, which can be compared against (reduced to) ideal scales, whereas the opaque is "that which cannot be reduced." ²⁸

As disciplinary societies give way to control, the ocular-centric architectures of transparency have been supplemented if not replaced by cybernetic logics and computational forms of tracking, recording, and intelligibility.²⁹ This dissertation considers how the increasingly mediatic techniques through which new forms of intelligibility, of and by civilians, are in tension with concepts of transparency and opacity. Within the constrained ways in which transparency and opacity are coded into imaging techniques (such as represented in an alpha channel in a rgba-coded image), transparency functions differently than how it is used to discuss politics. According to the Mozilla Developer Network's (MDN) CSS documentation, opacity "is the degree to which content behind an element is hidden." A fully transparent figure is invisible, revealing completely the components or layers behind it. In this logic of transparency, opaque things are what can be seen and recognized. They are not hidden, but they hide what's behind them. Similarly, when media functions transparently, its framing effects are unintelligible. We do not see our eyes unless there's something amiss, such as in the case of floaters. Similarly, media, software, and infrastructure fade into the background—when they work. When media is designed to be immediate (in the sense

^{28.} Édouard Glissant, *Poetics of Relation*, trans. Betsy Wing (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1997), p. 191.

^{29.} Gilles Deleuze, "Postscript on the Societies of Control," *October* 59 (1992): 3–7, accessed March 25, 2018, http://www.jstor.org/stable/778828.

of directness, that mediation is not occurring), this naturalizes and obfuscates the technology in question. The practice of bringing these mediations back into awareness is itself a technique of intelligibility. This is both a subject and objective of this dissertation.

Transparency activates and mediates experiences of art. Sometimes it allows a gaze but withholds other forms of participation: activists recently hurled tomato soup at Vincent Van Gogh's painting "Sunflowers." The painting was unharmed because it's protected by a transparent glass barrier. In Yoko Ono's "Painting to See the Sky," a work of conceptual art in the summer of 1961, Ono provides instructions to drill two holes in a piece of canvas and hang it where one can see the sky. Sometimes, one has to drill or punch a hole to let the light through.

0.14 Transparency(work)

Much of the art and research I did in the decade between 2004 and 2014 could be understood to be transparency work, or a process that was primarily occupied with making things transparent. I'll describe these projects briefly in order to situate the present research within a trajectory of practice.

A project that began as an MFA thesis project, in collaboration with Michael Dale, Warren Sack, and Mark Deckert was titled "Metavid: An

^{30.} Yoko Ono, *Grapefruit: A Book of Instructions + Drawings* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 2000), p. 72.

Open Archive of US Legislative Video" took floor footage of the U.S. House and Senate from C-SPAN and made it available and searchable online. We saw this project as reclaiming and repurposing public domain materials that had been wrongfully enclosed behind "bad" technology, questionable licensing, and a paywall (\$30-60/hr for DVDs of congressional debate from C-SPAN.org). This work presented an opportunity to intervene in how this material could be more fully "open." At first, we thought we might get litigated into oblivion (this would be a successful tactical media project, allowing us to raise discourse about how the public domain had been captured by industry). We were threatened by C-SPAN's General Counsel, but they ultimately relented after the University office of Intellectual Property Management. Placed in the position of having to finish the project, we imagined — and later implemented — several layers of what we conceptualized as an architecture of accessibility rooted in participation. We imagined users as agents of reuse as much as viewers or citizen queryors. The archive was searchable using temporal metadata: speaker names (read from C-SPAN's chyron graphics using OCR) and closed caption text (salvaged from the digitized cable feeds). Years later, the US House (2009) and Senate (2011) implemented their own video streaming and archive sites. The project has been non-operational since 2014.

A related project, Peer-to-PCAST (with Mark Deckert and Warren Sack), sought to reimagine public comment on videos of science-based testimony by modeling it on peer review and resulted in our

paper, "Peer to PCAST: What does open video have to do with open government?," which I see as a key point in some of my thinking around public infrastructures (or the lack thereof) and government interfaces.³¹

I developed the Rashomon Project between 2011–2014. Working with The Center for Information Technology Research in the Interest of Society's Data and Democracy Initiative, the project was conceived in response to an incident at University of California, Davis in 2011 in which a campus police officer gleefully pepper sprayed Occupy Davis protesters at close range. The project facilitated the production of what we called "multi-perspective timelines" of contestable events. The code made use of temporal media metadata (the timestamps digital devices encode alongside the media they produce) to automatically synchronize recordings in a web based interface. We saw this as a citizen-based tool for analyzing documentation of police abuse,³² human rights, and environmental justice, and worked with the National Lawyers Guilds to produce timelines related to the crackdown on Occupy Oakland that were used in a settlement between Oakland Police Department and a protester who was struck by a police projectile.

After a certain point, the project felt like it was rooted in assumptions I was beginning to question. For one, the ability to add 'more perspectives' began to feel like an argument for more and more cam-

^{31.} Mark Deckert, Abram Stern, and Warren Sack, "Peer to PCAST: What does open video have to do with open government?," *Information Polity* 16, no. 3 (2011): 225–241.

32. As noted above, I have become less comfortable with the term citizen when used

eras as a way to arrive at more evidence, and by extension more truth. And of course, there's a difference between cameras held by civilians and those worn by police (and what rules are in place for when and how they are operated), those flown on police drones or attached to manned Cessnas), but I remain unconvinced that we can panopticon ourselves out of the problems that Rashomon was imagined to help solve.

While presenting Rashomon at a NSF-funded event promoting tools and apps that could make use of next-generation network infrastructure, I sat in on a workshop around civic emergency tech. One panelist described with glee that a police chief had developed their own open source intersection cameras equipped with Automatic License Plate Readers (ALPR), saving his department money and creating shared code that other departments could use to track vehicles moving through their jurisdiction. While it is perhaps preferable that surveillant code is publicly auditable, these are technologies that should be abolished rather than made more transparent or easier to deploy.

0.15 Thoughts on Method

These projects draw from several influences. French Situationist theorists Guy Debord and Gil Wolman's defining work on detournement advocates for work that appropriates material from mass culture for radical ends.³³ Government documents are not spectacular in the way that Hollywood films or advertisements are, but they are (turning to Debord's definition of spectacle) social relationships mediated by images (and software and infrastructure and ···). I am particularly struck by Wolman and Debord's proposal that simpler forms of detournement (such as their proposed redubbing of *Birth of a Nation* with antiracist audio) are "the moral equivalent of restoring a painting"; that critical acts are not necessarily about negating or eroding but repairing and making–right, even within the understanding that the political value of such work is ephemeral and likely to be later recuperated by power. While my case studies are taken from government files, I am more interested in how detournement might be deployed methodologically. How might techniques be appropriated in these ways, and how might they be recuperated?

If earlier avant garde theories of appropriation and the political power of art form some of my foundation, I turn to intersectional feminist media scholars and artists for the more nuanced work of surfacing and articulating the relationships embodied and entangled these records representations as well as their mediality. These power relationships are not merely "social" but are racialized, gendered, and abled. These makers are particularly apt at using media to confront the horrors of militarism while also troubling what seem at first glance to be stable binaries, whether essential categories of gender

^{33.} Guy Debord and Gil J Wolman, "A User's Guide to Détournement," trans. Ken Knabb, *Les Lèvres Nues*, no. 8 (2006).

or medium/content, visual/acoustic, figure/ground, or signal/noise. These artists emphasize the body (as a site of embodied experience, labor, and struggle) and materiality as sites through which to understand larger social contexts. As Skågeby and Rahm note, "[a] feminist media archaeology would consequently not stop its research pursuit at material operations, but keep asking other questions.".³⁴ In Chapter 1, I explore Mary Walling Blackburn's epistolary artwork *Gina and the Stars*, which activates different technologies that track bodies through the queriability of a name and the chartability of a birth date to simultaneously address and intervene against her subject and adversary, Gina Cheri Haspel.

These scholars and artists trouble the perceived neutrality of technologies, whether as framing elements such as container formats (see Chapter 1) or everyday modes of "making sense". In Chapter 2, I consider Peggy Ahwesh's 73 Suspect Words (see Chapter 2), which "reads" a manifesto through the filter of spell-checking, reducing an unwieldy and problematic text into a short collection of words and non-words, surfacing patterns in the content while also making clear the contours and limits of the filter. Feminist praxis also rejects the kinds of vulgar media determinism that might foreclose upon agency and possibility in the face of technological and power asymmetries; these practices instead reclaim media to insist that other worlds are possible.

^{34.} Jörgen Skågeby and Lina Rahm, "What is Feminist Media Archaeology?," 7 (2018): 21.

1. Resolutions, Reductions, Aversions, Reconstructions, Difference

1.1 Clean Copies, Fixed Records

The clean copy is something of a mythical creature among public records. Records are terminally unfinished. They sit in anticipation of amendment, expansion, annotation, expungement, and redaction. But a clean copy is fantastically current, and even if for only a moment, finished and fixed in its form. Its cleanliness refers to a lack of signifiers, stains, or scars from previous incarnations of the document: editing marks, the smudge of an eraser, strikethroughs (the legal cancel). While fixity is a hallmark of publishing (such as the dried ink produced by movable type, or toner transferred onto paper by a laser printer), it takes work to maintain. Even when a record is not reinscribed by its governing institution, there are other forces and actors that come into play.

Word processors now track changes made to a document over time, but it is almost unheard of for finished texts to contain or expose the many iterations produced during their writing. You would never know that I had written and erased the phrase " a dozen times while writing this chapter if I had not just committed to its inclusion. You would also never know that I have

^{1.} There are of course exceptions, such as the multiple revisions of McKenzie Wark's "Gamer Theory" published by the Institute for the Future of the Book, as well as more widely implemented systems: Wikipedia "History" features, and the many tools that track and manage changes within the development of code (git, mercurial, etc.).

^{2.} Depending on what format you find this document, and how fixed it has become, you may be able to copy the blacked out text and paste without formatting (ctrl [or command]shift v) to unredact.

enlarged the text to be unusually large. At the time of this writing, I am recovering from a corneal transplant in my left eye and long periods of sustained work with text (especially when small) cause fatigue and discomfort. A result of this is that I can only see a limited amount of the page before and after what I am actively writing, restricting the visual memory of what the screen can hold. The enlarged type has led me to rewrite sentences that I have already written but are hiding just off-screen, sometimes for the better, often not.

If a reader has encountered this in a printed format, they probably do not expect to be able to move words around on the page, at least not without having to cut (and not in the manner of ctrl [or command]—c) them out first. But when encountering text in a digital format, expectations shift. It is reasonable to be able to select, copy, and search for a word or phrase, even if it cannot be edited or replaced.³

This space between total fixity and the mutability of text-based media is vast. The differences among these affordances are rooted in the materials used: the porosity of paper, the permanence of an etch, the ephemerality of chalk-on-slate. Harold Innis's work pointedly describes how the material details of media technologies matter. Te shift from etchings in stone to script on papyrus produce a capacity to write more in less time, but these affordances change writing's conditions and the possibilities of its content. "Thought gained lightness," he

^{3.} The ability to query opens up the opportunity to find things we were not looking for; today I searched within a dissertation for the term "ocr". There were 30 results, but all of them were one of two unqueried words: democracy and technocracy.

writes, about the transition from slow, intentional etching into stone to the accelerated slurs and abbreviations of cursive onto papyrus.⁴ For Innis, this was less about making a grand gesture about media writ large than a method of understanding their specific effects on bureaucracies and/of empires.

1.2 document.write(this.document)

I am currently writing (typing) this in Codium, a text editor which does not store information about fonts, sizing, or text-decoration. The editor was designed for writing software, and if I were to save this file with ".js" or ".html" or another filetype for a language it knows, it would churn, looking for patterns to locate functions, attributes, tags, and arguments to mark in different colors, finding few, if any. It tracks changes, but only for the sake of the undo command and does not retain them after I have quit the program. The editor has no straightforward way to store or manage footnotes, so this phase of writing will be short lived.

Unlike the word processors I will use in the following writing phase, the text editor has a suitable dark mode, which does not produce as much glare and "ghosting" I have experienced after the corneal graft. This display preference is stored in an external preferences metadata file; it is impossible for this metadata to be included in the

^{4.} Harold Adams Innis, *Empire & Communications*, Illustrated ed (Victoria [B.C.]: Press Porcépic, 1950), p. 17.

text documents the program produces, because it would become part of the text itself.⁵

Before you read this, I will paste the text into Google Docs, which will trigger a complex orchestration of software operations that will apply default styles, analyze for misspellings and grammar mistakes against dictionaries and predictive models (as Flusser notes, "[t]he word processor's text is a "weighted" game, a predictable accident."6). These operations will in turn produce a rich set of metadata that I will never be allowed to see, but might change the ads I see as I browse the web. When writing in these systems (and increasingly when a reader reads in them), inscription is doubled: the words are put onto the screen and data about the writing (and also reading) is stored. Writing in Google Docs provides access to a rich history of edits, grammar and spelling "checks," and its networked condition makes it relatively easy for others (those on my dissertation committee and shadow committee) to make comments and suggestions. Its "cloudiness" facilitates and manages access, but also clouds much of its underlying work on distant, seemingly placeless servers that, as Mel Hogan has written, are industrial sites of enclosure despite being cloaked in a poetics of mistiness and atmospherics.7

^{5.} Raw text files, such as UTF-8 stored in a file with a '.txt' extension, are not container formats (much more on those later in this chapter), so appending any metadata to the file would make it visible as text.

^{6.} Vilém Flusser, *Into the universe of technical images*, Electronic mediations v. 32, OCLC: ocn653476362 (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1985), p. 26.

^{7.} Mél Hogan, "The Data Center Industrial Complex," in *Saturation: An Elemental Politics*, ed. Melody Jue and Rafico Ruiz (2021), pg. 6.

And after much of the writing and revision has taken place, I will reformat the document in LaTeX, a software system and markup language for documents. LaTeX and its mostly open source software ecosystem are arcane and finicky, but it offers precision in laying out tables, figures, and formulas. I will have to reformat all of my citations and "escape" (by prefixing with a leading backslash) ampersands and other reserved characters that have other meanings in that language.⁸

1.3 For/matters

While I plan to release this "text" in multiple formats, including audio, it is likely this document reached you as a PDF file, which Lisa Gitelman notes, "partake of the form and fixity of print that other digital text formats frequently do not." PDFs were initially designed for the needs of the corporate firm, but are now ubiquitous in other bureaucratic sectors of life, in law, in education, and not least of all by public agencies. The functioning of states, democratic and otherwise, necessarily involves the production, dissemination (often controlled according to bureaucratic logics), and archival preservation of documents. Cornelia Vismann writes, "Ever since the publication of records could create

^{8.} For instance, the underscore character is reserved in LaTeX but common in filenames and URLs. Without escaping, the characters that follow an underscore will be displayed in subscript unless the underscore is escaped. I was mortified to realize that I sent a version of this dissertation to my committee that still had smart (curly) quotes, which LaTeX simply ignores.

^{9.} Lisa Gitelman, *Paper Knowledge: Toward a Media History of Documents*, Sign, Storage, Transmission (Durham; London: Duke University Press, 2014), p. 114. 10. Gitelman, p. 124.

a public, [...] files have been the medium instrumentally involved in the differentiation processes that pit state against society and administration against citizenry."¹¹ The methods through which state bureaucracies articulate their publics are constitutively legal, political, and technical: they are media. This was true of codices, the hinged wax tablets used in 2nd century Roman chanceries, and extends to a present in which many, if not most, documents are PDFs.¹² It enmeshes the deep tangle of software that constitute PDF's software ecosystem: a mix of proprietary and open source applications, libraries, services, and infrastructures that (sometimes) follow specifications into explicit and implicit political actions of commandment, accounting, public address, and institutional oversight.

In Lisa Gitelman's *Near Print and Beyond Paper* she notes "not in the technical specifics of how PDF technology actually works, how it has been versioned and capitalized by its developers, or even what a PDF or the document it renders on screen ontologically is," but instead how "PDF technology imagines its users—that certain uses and conditions have been built in to the technology—at the same time that actual users continue to and reimagine what PDF files are for, how and where they work, and thus what they mean." I, too, am interested in how users are imagined (and unimagined) by formats,

^{11.} Cornelia Vismann, *Files: law and media technology*, trans. Geoffrey Winthrop-Young, Meridian, OCLC: ocn173748347 (Stanford, Calif: Stanford University Press, 2008), p. 147.

^{12.} Vismann, p. 42.

^{13.} Gitelman, Paper Knowledge, pp. 117-118.

and by the institutions that deploy them. I also recognize that there is important work to address in the ontology of these specific documents (the format is far too variable to be referred to as 'The Document') as constitutive of how PDF technology—and inseparably the institutions that deploy it—together imagine (and mis-imagine) their users even if this process of reading through the documents leads off into distantly adjacent territories.

My "reading through" draws methodologically from format theory, the work of which is "[to] focus on the stuff beneath, beyond, and behind the boxes our media come in." Format theory, its orientation towards uncovering mediality (the rich associations media have with one another), and its methodological investment in specificity mean that initial inquiries tend to drive later ones as one follows streams into rabbit holes, and occasionally dead ends. Building on Sterne, Volmar, Jancovic, and Schneider write that "medium, format, protocol, interface form a circular field in which concepts can be explained in terms of each other, but nonetheless remain elusive individually." I hope readers find this to be a feature of this mode of writing more than a bug; the images of text from the Senate Select Committee on Intelligence act as a center of gravity, but lead off into other modes and examples in which text, and the methods used to make and break sense

^{14.} Jonathan Sterne, MP3: The meaning of a format, Sign, Storage, Transmission (Duke University Press, 2012), p. 11, accessed June 12, 2017.

^{15.} Marek Jancovic, Axel Volmar, and Alexandra Schneider, "An Introduction to Format Studies," in *Format Matters: Standards, Practices, and Politics in Media Cultures* (DE: meson press, 2019), p. 8, accessed December 26, 2021, https://doi.org/10.14619/1556.

of it, are unintelligible, illegible, inaccessible, or opaque.

1.4 Imaging Text, Operationalizing Images

Johanna Drucker attributes a fluidity to the boundary between text and image as an affordance to electronic media. These two forms are not polar opposites, even if they are often in tension (most documents are combinations of images, text, and much more). Her account of the gap between text and image-of-text is particularly apt:

When a "word" is a series of keystrokes stored as information which can be mutated into another output form simply through a series of electronic moves, then the material existence of the word becomes rethought, reconfigured. Similarly, when the "word" is put into a photo-shop image as part of a pixelated tapestry so that it loses all relation to keystrokes or letters and functions just like another element in the image—[...] then the status of the word as such becomes a moot point. It is merely and only—or finally and last—an image. This newly fluid boundary of identity, though prefigured by photographic media, is unique to the electronic environment.¹⁶

As she observes, text can be reduced to image. Obversely, Villem Flusser describes text as a reduction of images into linear form: "Linear texts come into being as a result of [...] a translation from representations into concepts, an explanation of images, an unraveling of pictorial surfaces into lines. This gesture abstracts one dimension from pic-

^{16.} Johanna Drucker, "Synthetic Sensibilities: New Work in a Long Tradition," in *CORTEXt: A Survey of Recent Visual Poetry*, curated by Nicholas Frank and Bob Harrison (Milwaukee: Hermetic Gallery, 1995), n.p.

torial surfaces, reducing the image to a linear one-dimensionality."¹⁷

There are negative connotations to one thing being reduced to another, it implies a lossy simplification. Reduction connotes a lessening (in volume if not in essence), simplification with the implication of crudeness. Reduction—making things smaller—is key to techniques of compression, an important function of technical imaging that adds (in terms of sheer efficiency) by allowing one to do more with less. In the kitchen, reduction refers to boiling something down until it reaches the desired viscosity. In rhetoric, to be reductive is to collapse difference (contra exaggeration).

In his essay celebrating the life and work of Alvin Lucier, Douglas Kahn describes Lucier's notion of reduction as a necessary subtraction for artmaking ("minus some, plus one"); a removal of extraneous material that "enables things to move more fully into life". He poses this against "the paring down of neoliberal efficiency, a parasite that kills its host, or the reduction of variables in the life sciences where being a rodent is an occupational hazard." These contradictory valences of reduction—essential and destructive—capture some of the techniques at work in these documents. I am interested in thinking (and doing) reduction as a technique applied to public documents and (/as) images, as a way to partially remove, restrict, or reduce

^{17.} Flusser, Into the universe of technical images, p. 9.

^{18.} As in lossy compression, a compression technique in which information is lost or through which "artifacts" are introduced into the resulting media.

^{19.} Douglas Kahn, "Birds: Memories and Meditations on Alvin Lucier," *Disclaimer*, December 2021, accessed December 10, 2021, https://disclaimer.org.au/contents/birds-memories-and-meditations-on-alvin-lucier.

access or intelligibility. This differs from the conspicuous erasures of redaction: problematics of resolution rather than those of conspicuous absence. Reduction attends to the pithiness and lossiness of media transformation.

Images of text are neither strange nor exceptional in bureaucratic institutions, nor on the wider internet; they are quite common. Memes have always been images of text, even if the telltale bold Impact type-face of their early days has largely been left behind. In the process of researching this chapter I have had to concatenate and OCR "digital" books offered by academic library partners only as images of text, even ones published recently that were clearly written, edited, and published through digital means. While images of text present obstacles to accessibility, they also allow users to circumvent platform limits on textual communication because images can circulate in ways that text—especially structured text—cannot. Images of text used on social media can be used to obfuscate a message against algorithmic forms of surveillance or censorship; ²⁰ a report by Citizen Lab found that making an image of text and modulating its luminosity effectively

^{20.} Experimental approaches to resisting Chinese monitoring and censorship have been undertaken by Xiaowei R. Wang, Qianqian Ye, and Jasmine Yang through the Algorithmic Censorship Resistance Toolkit at Future of Memory project. See The Future of Memory Team, *The Future of Memory*, 2019, https://thefutureofmemory.online/and Li Wei and Zhu Hua, "Tranßcripting: playful subversion with Chinese characters," *International Journal of Multilingualism* 16, no. 2 (April 2019): 145–161, https://doi.org/10.1080/14790718.2019.1575834, https://doi.org/10.1080/14790718.2019.1575834

evaded censorship filters on the Chinese WeChat network.²¹ More commonly, images of text circulate as screenshots of a text message conversation archived as images, or embedded in news articles.²² Screenshots and even photographs of documents, perhaps with an important passage highlighted, are often posted on Twitter and other social media networks as a way around arbitrary character limits,²³ which Rita Raley describes as "a primary technique for the algorithmic management of language, [...] externally imposed constraints that operate according to logics of bureaucratic rationality."²⁴ These sorts of screenshots carry traces of documentality, and markedly display this difference in font and background color, maybe even the texture of a page against the otherwise homogenized timeline of posts in the page that embeds them.

Digital images of text may not have a searchable text layer as part of their content, but they are nonetheless subject to a host of operations, some explicitly invited by their creators and others not.

While the shift from (moveable, editable) type to pixels might suggest

^{21.} Jeffrey Knockel et al., (Can' t) Picture This: An Analysis of Image Filtering on WeChat Moments, technical report Citizen Lab Research Report No. 112 (University of Toronto, August 2018), accessed January 13, 2022, https://citizenlab.ca/2018/08/cant-picture-this-an-analysis-of-image-filtering-on-wechat-moments/.

^{22.} Circuit Judge Bruce Schroeder, who presided over the Kyle Rittenhouse case, remarked from the bench about his habit of saving screenshots of conversations, only to find that the images are very long and at too low a resolution to read. See Kyle Rittenhouse Judge Holds Story Time about How He Screenshots His Text Messages on His Android, 2021, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=K297xitTga8.

^{23.} Twitter's under-used support for alt-text image descriptions and transcriptions is 1000 characters, over 3 1/2 times the 280-character limit for tweets.

^{24.} Rita Raley, "The Asemic at the End of the World," 2017, pg. 7, accessed January 13, 2022, https://escholarship.org/uc/item/8847v06r.

a transition towards the concrete, digital images are not particulary fixed. As Ingrid Hölzl and Rémi Marie suggest, they are "active and multiplatform, endowed with a signaletic temporality that is not only the result of digital screening (and compression), but also of transfer across digital networks."25 Images in a networked world are prone to being scraped, duplicated, analyzed, annotated, and operated on by computational means on behalf of states, startups, and occasionally artists. The wide accessibility of digital images hosted on open web servers has encouraged the kinds of wholesale crawling and scraping that made the early web searchable by Alta Vista, Yahoo, and Google. This amounts to a new wave of digital availablism for automated crawlers and scrapers looking for images (and other media).²⁶. Images of faces posted publicly on social media have been mined by companies like Clearview AI, whose clients include law enforcement as well as large corporations.²⁷ Images posted with open licenses, and media in the public domain (such as government produced works, but also works of classic art) are targeted by image classification libraries for training because they present lower legal liabilities for companies

^{25.} Ingrid Hölzl and Rémi Marie, *Softimage: Towards a New Theory of the Digital Image*, OCLC: 916316368 (Bristol: Intellect, 2015).

^{26.} Availablism is a term found-footage filmmaker Craig Baldwin has used to describe his rejection of the notion of a "correct" image or clip and his embrace of using what is at hand. See: Brett Kashmere, "Neither/Nor: Other Cinema as an Archives and an Anti-Archives," *Public* 29, no. 57 (June 2018): p. 24, accessed January 5, 2023, https://doi.org/10.1386/public.29.57.14_1, https://intellectdiscover.com/content/journals/10.1386/public.29.57.14_1

^{27. &}quot;Twitter Demands AI Company Stops 'Collecting Faces'," *BBC News*, January 2020, chap. Technology, accessed January 4, 2023, https://www.bbc.com/news/technology-51220654.

looking to extract value from media collections.

Harun Farocki, a film essayist and experimental documentarian whose work was concerned with the construction of war and vision, coined the term "operative images" (or operational images) to describe images that "do not represent an object, but rather are part of an operation." He used the term as part of his film series *Eye/Machine* to consider so-called "smart" bombs during the first Gulf War (which he later refers to as "suicidal cameras"). These weapons operate through a feedback system in which analysis of a stream of images governs an aiming mechanism to find and destroy a target and itself (as Benjamin Schultz-Figueroa has written, pigeons were used by B.F. Skinner as experimental non-human aiming systems before computers did this work. ²⁹).

In her analysis of contemporary algorithmic vision and pattern-finding, artist and theorist Rebecca Uliasz notes that automation "retools the digital image such that it is not its ability to represent subjects, but rather, its ability to produce subjects that becomes a core feature of its amenability to modes of algorithmic governance."³⁰ As some of my work on formats (in this and Chapter 2) suggests, algorith—

^{28.} Harun Farocki, "Phantom Images," Public, no. 29 (2004): p.17.

^{29.} Benjamin Schultz-Figueroa, "Project Pigeon: Rendering the War Animal through Optical Technology," *JCMS: Journal of Cinema and Media Studies* 58, no. 4 (2019): 92–111, accessed January 4, 2023, https://doi.org/10.1353/cj.2019.0059, https://muse.jhu.edu/article/730126.

^{30.} Rebecca Uliasz, "Seeing Like an Algorithm: Operative Images and Emergent Subjects," AI & SOCIETY 36, no. 4 (December 2021): 1233–1241, accessed December 5, 2022, https://doi.org/10.1007/s00146-020-01067-y, https://link.springer.com/10.1007/s00146-020-01067-y.

mic governance is part of an institutional shift in which governance is predicated on expertise supplied by those capable of specifying, developing, and profiting from algorithms.³¹ This model allows international standardization bodies that are functionally corporate cartels to capture and determine underlying algorithmic infrastructures that, as Uliasz notes, "are increasingly ubiquitous in both political and commercial domains."³² This is less an elimination or replacement of work than a re-tuning of both private and public bureaucratic functions, with extensive human labor required to administrate and maintain workflows (which have always been technical) in new ways that newly challenge oversight, audit, and abolition.

The work of understanding what is operational in an image means attending to images "that exist only because of other operations — and the operations that help us to understand the transformation of images from visual to data." I find this concept useful for considering both how a media object is (co-)constituted, following the operational chains backwards into the socio-technical processes from which it emerged, but also thinking and speculating about the operations to come and the future operators: readers, users, bots, and resistant subjects who will next act upon the image—some of whom have been

^{31.} see also: Andrea Miller and Jeremy Crampton, *Intervention Symposium:* "Algorithmic Governance", May 2017, accessed January 6, 2023, https://antipodeonline.org/2017/05/19/algorithmic-governance/

^{32.} Uliasz, "Seeing Like an Algorithm."

^{33.} Jussi Parikka, *Operational Images – Preface in the forthcoming book*, February 2022, https://jussiparikka.net/2022/02/16/operational-images-preface-in-the-fort hcoming-book/.

unanticipated by the systems in place. Much in the way that publicly posted images of faces now sit in anticipation of being crawled and included in facial data corpora and recognition systems, born-digital documents reduced to images of text anticipate being reread back into text, a process that uses techniques developed for document scanning of paper-based text archives that "read" (and encode) scanned images of text into documents. This is a process that (re)opens the text to the querying, analysis, and ranking operations of linguistic capitalism and dataveillance, as well as to tools relied on by those with visual impairment and other accessibility needs.

1.5 (re)Reading Images, (re)Reading Readers

The process of converting images into text (and its associate data) usually begins with the process of optical character recognition (OCR), a form of computer vision concerned with recognition. Historically, optical text-reading technologies predate the digital. The optophone, device geared toward accessibility dating back to 1912, used light to turn shapes into tones. 34 Software-based OCR centers on the recognition of characters (letters, numbers, punctuation, and symbols) although some long short-term memory (LSTM)-based OCR engines (despite the "C"), are trained to recognize words in their entirety. Like many systems that combine machine learning and vision, OCR

^{34.} Mara Mills, *Optophones and Musical Print*, January 2015, https://soundstudiesblog.com/2015/01/05/optophones-and-musical-print/.

systems are trained to recognize these symbols and weigh what they see against trained models, and return candidate characters ranked by confidence. In *Operational Character Rendition*, this recognition process happens over the course of a few seconds when the page image is initially loaded in using one of two libraries: GNU Optical Character Recognition (GOCR) and Tesseract. Both libraries have been translated into JavaScript so that they can be run inside a web browser. The OCR process returns clusters of characters separated into lines. The two scripts are vastly different codebases; they do not recognize text in the same way, each library produces different results and different bodies of metadata.

GOCR was among the first open source OCR libraries released in 2000 by Joerg Schulenburg. GOCR has been trained by using single-column sans-serif text using a Latin alphabet. Tesseract, open sourced by Hewlett Packard in 2005 and later adopted by Google, has a much more advanced training and modeling system, and can identify the fonts or typeface used in a text.³⁵ Tesseract, while under Google's custodianship, should not be confused with Google's commercial cloud OCR service, which uses a more opaque, complex, and expensive system that has benefited from large scale training to identify words. This training was partially conducted using Luis von Ahn's reCAPTCHA

^{35.} While the ability to read multiple fonts has been a feature of OCR since Raymond Kurzweil's Reading Machine in 1975, Tesseract's ability to automatically iterate through a series of fonts as part of generating training data is a recent advancement. See J. Scott Hauger, "Reading Machines for the Blind: A Study of Federally Supported Technology Development and Innovation" (PhD diss., Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University, April 1995), p. 260

project. reCAPTCHA, developed in 2007 and sold to Google in 2009, was initially part of a large book scanning project (it is currently used to train self-driving cars), prompting users who are suspected of being bots to recognize and enter two words, displayed as slightly distorted (to deter automated readers) versions of word-images produced during book scanning. In each given pair of words, one (the "control word") is already known and used as a test of the reader; the other is unknown, or below a satisfactory quantified threshold of confidence. By making it unclear which word is the test, ReCAPTCHA uses human recognition as a mode of authentication. ³⁶ As Wendy Chun notes, "In the world of machine learning, poorly paid humans spell-check for computers." ³⁷ This training exercise also serves to averse (as in shield) sites from automated scripts that might read (as part of crawling, scraping, and analysis) or write (as in spam) in a content area only intended for human users.

Tesseract, while under Google's supervision, is trained through a markedly different process that converts known text from a large collection of scraped websites and wiki pages into different fonts compatible with their stated (via encoded html metadata attributes) language and alphabets, and then iteratively rasterizing and working to recognize them. This process turns known digital text into an image

^{36.} Google has since reconfigured its CAPTCHAs to train image identifiers for use in autonomous vehicles and other computer vision applications. (click the bicycles, chimneys, etc.)

^{37.} Wendy Hui Kyong Chun and Alex Barnett, *Discriminating data: correlation*, *neighborhoods*, *and the new politics of recognition* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: The MIT Press, 2021), p. 188.

over and over again using different fonts, and trying to read each image until it works.³⁸ Implementing this kind of training process in reverse, Darius Kazemi's *Reverse OCR* picks a word and randomly generates vector-based images until one of them is recognized as that word using ocrad.js.³⁹ The resulting images consist of clusters of continuous angled lines, few of which remotely resemble letters, making visible the gap between modes of recognition.

But a word is more than a cluster of characters and reading entails more than seeing because of varied (and often low) quality of the images the OCR libraries often mis-recognize characters or recognize them correctly but with low confidence. This misrecognition introduces an element of indeterminacy to the process. To mitigate small acts of misreading at the character level, document scanning tools often compare their words against a dictionary of known words using a measure of difference between strings (clusters of letters and numbers) called the Levenshtein distance. The Levenshtein distance between two words is the number of operations (deleting, adding, or substituting a letter) to move from one to the next. *Redaction* to *reduction* has a Levenshtein distance of 1; *intelligence* to *negligence* has a distance of 3; *digression* to *dissertation* has a distance of 6. Different related edit distances and the algorithms that implement them,

^{38.} theraysmith, Q&a: Indic - Length of the Compressed Codes · Issue #654 · Tesseract-Ocr/Tesseract, January 2017, accessed May 23, 2021, https://github.com/tesseract-ocr/tesseract/issues/654.

^{39.} reverseocr, *Reverse OCR*, Tumblr, accessed December 25, 2021, https://reverseocr.tumblr.com/.

weigh these distances in different ways. Levenshtein-Damerau allows transpositions of letters (which would otherwise require two operations). These relatively simple algorithms—using static scores to weigh each operation—provide the underlying work of sensemaking behind ubiquitous interfaces like spellcheck and auto-complete. For many applications and the cloud APIs they rely on, these simpler processes are being replaced with dynamically tuned systems that can intelligently (or negligently) weigh certain substitutions over others based on user data. For document scanning, letters visually similar to each other (1, 1, and I) are more likely to be misread for one another. One computational technique for this work involves the Needleman-Wunsch algorithm, which allows for associational weighting within the system being compared.⁴⁰ Needleman-Wunsch was originally developed in 1970 to find similarities in amino acid sequences between two proteins, but is also effective in matching OCR'd text.⁴¹ This rationalized system of complex weighing and (even further weighted) measuring is abstract enough that it can be applied to compare letters, genes, or any other symbolic system of objects found in sequences.

Similar algorithms are now being implemented as part of much

^{40.} Saul B. Needleman and Christian D. Wunsch, "A General Method Applicable to the Search for Similarities in the Amino Acid Sequence of Two Proteins," *Journal of Molecular Biology* 48, no. 3 (March 1970): 443–453, accessed December 15, 2021, https://doi.org/10.1016/0022-2836(70)90057-4, https://linkinghub.elsevier.com/retrieve/pii/0022283670900574.

^{41.} Alistair Willis et al., "Improving search in scanned documents: Looking for OCR mismatches" (Trento, Italy, September 2009), accessed June 28, 2018, http://www.ca caoproject.eu/at4dl.

larger software ecosystems and machine learning systems that can weigh substitutions in incredibly large datasets; more advanced convolusional methods are able to recognize words without a sense of individual characters. In many cases, users of these systems also train them, and our content constitutes the datasets: users of Google's authentication API for years proved they were human through reading scanned text (and more recently, identifying buses and bicycles). Similarly, users of Windows 10 who have not turned off a particular feature send all of their typing data to Microsoft's cloud for analysis.⁴²

The earlier and more deterministic edit–distance operations that precede these surveillant cloud training systems work by comparing input to an authoritative dictionary. Dictionaries, in this context, function not as indices of denotations, but as authoritative lexical filters—lists of valid words, often with suffixes (plural and tense) stripped out. The use of dictionaries in document analysis dates to a project Lester Earnest began in 1959 at MIT. This early handwriting recognition project (a form of OCR), used a dictionary built from a 10,000 word subset of Thorndike & Lorge's The Teacher's Word Book of 30,000 Words onto paper tape to correct misrecognized words.⁴³ The Teacher's Word Book drew words and their frequency of use and organized into groups that consisted of: "readers, textbooks, the

^{42.} Lincoln Spector et al., *How to turn off Windows 10's keylogger (yes, it still has one)*, September 2015, accessed February 17, 2019, https://www.pcworld.com/article/29740 57/windows/how-to-turn-off-windows-10s-keylogger-yes-it-still-has-one.html.

^{43.} Lester Earnest, The First Cursive Handwriting Recognizer Needed a Spelling Checker and so did the Rest of the World, February 2016, accessed November 30, 2021, https://web.stanford.edu/~learnest/les/spelling.htm.

[King James] Bible, and the English classics," "recent and popular magazines," "books recommended for boys and girls in grades 3 to 8," and "a miscellany of juvenile and adult reading—of old and recent, and of matter-of-fact and imaginative—but omitted school readers and textbooks."44 Edward L. Thorndike, an early behaviorist, was known for his puzzle-boxes used to train and test animals through the use of quantitative rating systems he developed. In addition to cataloging and scoring lists of words, he also designed systems for measuring the generic goodness of cities and people, using these clearly subjective systems to advance a racist, antisemitic, and eugenicist vision. His name was removed from a building at Columbia Teachers College in 2020.⁴⁵ As Carolyn Marvin points out it is "useless to scold nineteenthcentury engineers for their failure to be twentieth-century feminists or champions of civil rights,"(or in this case an early 20th century behaviorist), but nonetheless important to account for how these figures projected social worlds onto publics and to acknowledge that their systems "were built to uphold a scheme of social stratification that has sustained contemporary challenge."46

Systematized logics of sorting and ranking are pre-digital (Thorn-

^{44.} Edward L. Thorndike and Irving Lorge, *The Teacher's Word Book of 30,000 Words* (New York: Teachers College, Columbia University, 1944), accessed December 5, 2021, https://catalog.hathitrust.org/Record/000987642.

^{45.} Thorndike Hall at Columbia Teachers College being renamed in New York City – ABC7 New York, accessed December 13, 2021, https://abc7ny.com/thorndyke-hall-columbia-university-teachers-college-new-york-city/6319893/.

^{46.} Carolyn Marvin, When Old Technologies Were New: Thinking About Electric Communication in the Late Nineteenth Century, OCLC: 831359138 (Oxford University Press, 1990), 8.

dike's work was analog), but they now make up much of the fundamental low-level abstracted work of digital systems for everything from imaging codecs to spell checking and predictive policing algorithms. However useful they are at lower levels of abstraction, their broad application to social categories for "scoring and ranking populations in ways that reproduce and even amplify existing social hierarchies," and as part of both extensive and intimately detailed networks of surveillance are chilling to say the least.⁴⁷ It would be beyond the scope of this writing to conflate systems of social management and control with spell check filters, as they are not equivalent in scope or danger, but both stem from similar motivations in places of power to command and control by defining and hierarchizing the means of everyday life. Warren Sack notes the move from print capitalism to software-driven linguistic capitalism (via Google's AdWords) shifts the kinds of distance measuring and association of words as one from relational meaning to one that is far more mercenary.⁴⁸

These invasive techniques are not limited to interfaces geared toward writing whether the one-line query box of a search engine or blogging interfaces. Scholarly reading, too, is subject to invasive forms of capture. Jonny Saunders discovered academic publisher

^{47.} Ruha Benjamin, Race After Technology: Abolitionist Tools for the New Jim Code (Cambridge, UK Medford, MA: Polity, 2019), p. 8.

^{48.} Warren Sack, "Out of Bounds: Language Limits, Language Planning, and the Definition of Distance in the New Spaces of Linguistic Capitalism," *Computational Culture*, November 2017, p. 4, accessed March 20, 2018, http://computationalculture.net/out-of-bounds-language-limits-language-planning-and-the-definition-of-dist ance-in-the-new-spaces-of-linguistic-capitalism/.

Elsevier's enhanced PDF viewer tracks "where you click, view, if you hide the page, etc. and then transmits a big base 64 blob of events along with ID from University proxy when you leave."49 If you were to read this dissertation in ProQuest's embedded PDF reader, you are likely producing a similar dataset. Jefferson T. Pooley notes that, for ProQuest's parent company Clarivate, academics are both a customer base and the source of valuable data to be extracted.⁵⁰ These companies increasingly see activities of scholarly activity such as reading, writing, revising, citation, review, editing, annotation, as resources to be extracted, measured, quantified, and ranked. This data then feeds back into a system that rewards participation (the circularity of reading, citing, and publishing in high impact journals) rooted in pervasive dataveillance. This model increasingly dominates the infrastructures of scholarly work and communication and is likely to capture this very document. It is currently a requirement that dissertations completed in the University of California system are submitted to UMI Dissertation Publishing/ProQuest Information and Learning, while public access is also provided via UC's eScholarship.org platform (which does not appear to use trackers in its PDF reader).

^{49. @}json_dirs, Of course Elsevier's "enhanced pdf viewer" tracks where you click, view, if you hide the page, etc. and then transmits a big base64 blob of events along with ID from University proxy when you leave. I'm sure straight to SciVal for sale. Is this the way we want science to work? https://t.co/XQP4IMvoOp, Tweet, December 2021, accessed December 5, 2021, https://twitter.com/json_dirs/status/1466951017459716096.

^{50.} Jefferson Pooley, Surveillance Publishing, preprint (SocArXiv, November 2021), accessed December 5, 2021, https://doi.org/10.31235/osf.io/j6ung, https://osf.io/j6ung.

1.6 Specifications, Access, Governance

PDFs present particular difficulties when theorizing as a format. For one, its history is not particularly stable. It was developed by Adobe as a proprietary commercial format and then much later released as an ostensibly open specification. Many files and tools still implement un– and under–documented features from the years when Adobe controlled the format, especially those related to interactive forms. The format is now directed by a technical committee at the International Organization for Standardization (ISO).

While PDF is "open" in the sense that there are no licenses required for encoding or decoding the format (although this is not necessarily true of media contained within the PDF), and it is possible to access its specification, access is negotiated through various regional member bodies. This form of governance manages access to ISO standards (ANSI in the case of the United States), which is both expensive and complicated.

At the time of this writing, I issued an Interlibrary-Loan (ILL) request for an earlier (and effectively obsolete) 2017 edition of the specification, which is a printed (and therefore unsearchable) version. I have not read the PDF specification and have relied entirely on secondary literature to understand its mechanisms because ISO standards are notoriously expensive to obtain. ISO specifications do not have

Document Object Identifiers (DOI) nor ISBN codes.⁵¹ They lack the standard metadata that are required for reliable ILL requests despite ILL itself being an ISO specification.⁵² Months later, my requests have gone unanswered.

When a colleague with access to one of the most extensive research libraries in the United States sent an inquiry to a librarian there about access to the current PDF specification, he received this reply:

Current ANSI-approved engineering standards are purchased in most cases, depending on cost. ISO standards, which tend to be very expensive and proprietary, are typically only purchased by request from [redacted] faculty. Superseded standards are not purchased and should be requested through Interlibrary Loan. Please email [redacted] with questions. Standards organizations typically have very strict license agreements and therefore, most standards are purchased in print format only.⁵³

For a legislative oversight committee to publish documents whose specifications are authored by a technical committee at an international standards body illustrates the extent to which the mediatic conditions of bureaucratic work are governed by bodies which themselves are pseudo-public bureaucracies. Both bodies publish (makepublic) in such opaque ways speaks to the ways in which the opacities that saturate images of text can be read as symptomatic of larger economic and institutional forces. McKelvey and Neves describe how

^{51.} DOI is itself defined by an ISO specification.

^{52.} ISO/TC 46/SC 9 Identification and description, *Information and Documentation*—Digital Object Identifier System, 2012, accessed August 12, 2022, https://www.iso.org/cms/render/live/en/sites/isoorg/contents/data/standard/04/35/43506.html.

^{53.} Anonymous librarian, institutional identifying markers removed. 2021.

the ISO's standards governance can operate as a mode of extraction and enclosure:

[...] standardization also establishes specification, thresholds, and normative values, which is to say that such processes can be divisive and extractive. The harmonizing of intellectual property regimes through the Trade-Related Aspects of Intellectual Property Rights agreement or what scholars have termed "platform imperialism" are just two such examples.⁵⁴

PDF is exceptional in that, while several of Adobe's PDF-related patent holdings—most developed before the transfer of the format to ISO, have not yet expired, those licenses are available for free use (that they sell the most popular tool for authoring the specification they designed is perhaps enough of a market edge). The latest PDF specification PDF 2.0 (ISO 32000–2:2020) contains no proprietary technology. Other ISO committees, including those for formats that are often embedded within PDFs (such as JBIG2, explored in Chapter 2), are governed by member companies for whom standardization is an opportunity to extract licensing fees at various stages of technical development, implementation, and use.

1.7 Formatting Containment

I want to be precise (if not careful) here about how the language of containment is applied to media formats and media technologies.

^{54.} Fenwick McKelvey and Joshua Neves, "Introduction: Optimization and Its Discontents," *Review of Communication* 21, no. 2 (April 2021): pg. 5, accessed December 26, 2021, https://doi.org/10.1080/15358593.2021.1936143, https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/full/10.1080/15358593.2021.1936143.

Container formats offer a rich set of spatial associations for media's capacities for carrying and nesting, establishing what's outside the boundary of enclosure and what's inside. In her introduction to Ursula LeGuin's The Carrier Bag Theory of Fiction, Donna Haraway writes:

It matters what stories we tell stories with, it matters what concepts we think other concepts with. It matters wherehow ouroboros swallows its tale, again. That's how worlding gets on with itself in dragon time. A brave student of dragons, Le Guin's stories are capacious bags for collecting, carrying, and telling the stuff of living. 'A leaf a gourd a shell a net a bag a sling a sack a bottle a pot a box a container. A holder.'55

The poetics here are rich: a story, as if through recursion, can hold and be held—but in addition to the spatial relations, they communicate (can tell and be told). LeGuin's essay seeks to displace the hero (so often coded as masculine and their arsenal of tools and weapons which "force energy outward") with container technologies: "A book holds words. Words hold things. They bear meanings. A novel is a medicine bundle, holding things in a particular, powerful relation to one another and to us." Containment here is not merely hierarchical, like nested dolls or folders that only know what (or whom) holds what (or whom). Bearing suggests support and relationality.

Zoë Sofia draws from Lewis Mumford's observations on the gendering of technology, between tools that imitate and extend the masculine body and the undertheorized and underrecognized technologies

^{55.} Ursula Le Guin, *The Carrier Bag Theory of Fiction* (London: Ignota Books, 2020), p. 10, accessed February 6, 2022, https://www.goodreads.com/book/show/49449926-t he-carrier-bag-theory-of-fiction.

^{56.} Le Guin, p. 34.

of containment (extrapolating from the womb).⁵⁷ Mumford writes, "In our current preoccupations with speed and motion and spatial extension, we tend to devaluate [sic] all these stabilizing processes: even our containers, from the drinking cup to the recorder tape, are meant to be as transitory as the materials they contain or the functions they serve."58 Sofia pushes back against some of Mumford's broader essential claims (men, too, have bladders and lungs) to suggest, via Heidegger, that technology's tendency to withdraw from attention, more than a feminine association, is responsible for containers being taken for granted. Cataloging household objects including bowls, colanders, pipes and envelopes in her house, she includes a variety of media objects: CDs, stereo system, books, photographs, and her laptop: "Velcroed and zipped into its nylon case, this virtual storage technology works in dimensions unperceivable by me. I have a projective identification with this small dense gray box, an indispensable prosthetic brain in which (via keyboard and mouse) I have embedded much of my professional life."59 The computer is encased and also contains.

Jonathan Sterne applies Mumford and Sofia's concepts to the MP3, referring to it as a "container for containers." While Mumford's (and

^{57.} Zoe Sofia, "Container Technologies," Hyapatia 15, no. 2 (2000): 22.

^{58.} Lewis Mumford, The Myth of the Machine: Technics and Human Development (Harcourt, Brace & World, 1967), p. 141.

^{59.} Sofia, "Container Technologies," 190.

^{60.} Jonathan Sterne, "The MP3 as Cultural Artifact," *New Media & Society* 8, no. 5 (October 2006): 828, accessed February 6, 2022, https://doi.org/10.1177/14614448060 67737, http://journals.sagepub.com/doi/10.1177/1461444806067737.

by extension Sofia's) concept of container technology does correspond to audio or image data into a digital file, MP3 are not, at least within the boundaries of technical jargon, actual container formats. Digital files certainly are containers, at least of a sort. They point at "locations" in hierarchical directory trees but also address physical sectors on a drive; Matthew Kirschenbaum characterizes these spatial abstractions, or displacements, as intrinsic to digital forms of inscription. MP3s are containers in the way that all files are but are not container formats in the sense that they do not support a coded accounting of what they contain. MP3s can contain metadata in addition to audio data, but this metadata is a marked segment of a single datastream. Early MP3 players, built as these specifications were still emerging, would unwittingly sonify the data about title, artist, album, track, and so on as a burst of static at the end of the track.

Container formats pose particular challenges for media and format theories because of the complex arrangements and variety of formats a single file might contain.⁶³ While PDFs largely simulate paper media, one can attach any arbitrary file (including other PDFs), as well as code to be executed by the PDF reader. The ability to contain and embed many formats is by no means unique to PDF; it is one of many

^{61.} In most file systems, all files have at least some metadata of their own beyond location, such as timestamps from when they were created and last modified, and permissions that determine who can read, write, and execute

^{62.} Matthew G Kirschenbaum, "Extreme Inscription: Towards a Grammatology of the Hard Drive," no. 2 (2004): 100.

^{63.} I acknowledge extensive work on the material histories of pre-digital file containers, most notably Cornelia Vismann's accounting of binders, boxes, cabinets. Craig Robertson's book on file cabinets is also worthy of mention.

multimedia formats. But it does make the study of individual PDFs more complicated when something that presents itself as digital paper can contain so much that operates both on and off of the page. This includes embedded forms of metadata (Adobe's XMP format is a common one, which I elaborate upon in Chapter 3). It can contain structured text markup, it can store fonts (or references to them), styling, and positional data for text. PDFs can embed images in a variety of formats and also layer media such as for scanned and OCRed books where you see an image of a page but can also interact with the text layer. The format also has internal support for transparency and blending modes such as for watermarks. Time-based media such as audio and video can also be embedded in PDFs, and further extensions to the format also allow for dynamic code and network-driven interactions, such as forms that validate entered content, or dynamically load forms from a distant server or cloud-based resource.

1.8 Resolution, Loss

When documents created using software such as a word processor become images of text, is this loss? Yes and no. Certain text-dependent operations have been foreclosed. One can copy pixels, but not letters or words. What was once a markup language that described styles, fonts, margins, and data about characters and the order they occur has been exchanged for a different kind of information about pixels. Similarly,

I am reluctant to characterize this shift from complex markup to

mere bits as merely a "loss of information," or as a failure of communication (as if successful communication is to make a perfect copy, with the same content and the same affordances). This apparent reduction, an effective loss of resolution, ironically results in much larger files than the original word processor documents or PDF exports because, as images, they must account for every bit of noise. The contradictions bound up in resolutions call for new forms of analysis. Rosa Menkman proposed a set of methods under the banner of resolution studies to address some of these lines of inquiry:

In essence, resolution studies is about literacy: literacy of the machines, the people, the people creating the machines, and the people being created by the machines. But resolution studies does not only involve the study of the effects of technological progress or the aestheticization of the scales of resolution. Resolution studies also involves [] research on alternative settings that could have been in place, but are not — and the technologies which are, as a result, rendered outside of the discourse of computation.⁶⁴

Menkman's proposal suggests that media archaeology may not be sufficient because of gaps between the possible and the extant. If these conditions have been reduced out of view, speculative action can reconstruct them. Or, alternatively, it can enact the process of reconstruction in a way that makes its conditions—if not its content—intelligible.

^{64.} Rosa Menkman, An Introduction to Resolution, Library Catalog: beyondresolution.info, accessed March 16, 2020, https://beyondresolution.info.

1.9 Different and Distant

There are many ways that software-based technology reduces, quantifies, and codes difference. This flattening happens at different layers of abstraction and in many cases the technology can depersonalize what is always already a social assemblage. Jackie Wang, writing about a Santa Cruz based predictive policing company, has described how the company's use of historical (and historically racist) crime and policing data is able to reproduce racist systems while evading accusations of racism by using proxies for race (such as the kinds of neighborhoods which are heavily and lightly policed). Wang describes this as one of several sleights of hand enacted in PredPol's software. ⁶⁵ Put another way: it is masking some differences while enunciating others.

Difference is a crucial aspect in image processing; in the software I wrote for *Unburning*, discussed in detail in Chapter 3, I comparing images several frames apart to determine how much has changed over time. With footage produced by a circling plane, the video is in constant motion. The burned-in text is largely static, with text changing at the scale of individual symbols, but occupying the same space in each frame. Within the formal aesthetics of these surveillance videos, pixels that do not change over time are likely to be "burned in"; the pixels that move are likely to be the underlying video and this subtractive differencing process provides a map of change over time.

^{65.} Jackie Wang, *Carceral Capitalism*, Semiotext(e) Intervention Series 21, OCLC: on1025343349 (South Pasadena, CA: Semiotext(e), 2018), 247.

This process of measuring distance across video frames or photographs taken over a delay is commonly used in image-based motion detection in surveillance systems, but also in artworks, such as Lisa Jevbratt's *EVIDENCE: (Days Following: Difference)*. Jevbratt describes this project as an "honest attempt to capture a ghost". The project documents changes that occur in an empty room five days after the artist's mother died. EVIDENCE includes photographs taken in a living room every minute for five hours in September 2009, displaying photographs paired with images showing the difference between sequential images, twelve at a time (six of each).⁶⁶ The differenced images are mostly black, with faint outlines of a rug, a lamp, a table, or doll as evidence of slight variations in light illuminating the form of objects in the room. Jevbratt's project, while applying a forensic approach (as implied by its title), is probing for something irretrievably lost.

The code does as it is programmed to, subtracting pixel brightness values separately per channel (red, green, and blue) from one still to the next. A lot can change in a minute, but within this collection of images, very little does. The camera is still and nothing in the room is in motion. Difference is also used in document digitization workflows.

In the JBIG2-encoded images of text published by the Senate Select Committee on Intelligence, a process of comparison is used to measure

^{66.} Lisa Jevbratt, EVIDENCE (DAYS FOLLOWING: DIFFERENCE), 2009, accessed March 7, 2022, https://rosebud.arts.ucsb.edu/~jevbratt/evidence/days_following/doc umentation/limits_of_knowledge/.

each glyph against every other it had encountered. JBIG2's compression operates on a logic of identicality (losslessness) or similarity (lossiness), with some flexibility of how much difference (if any) to allow between what it sees and what it has already stored in its dictionary of recognized glyphs from the page. Like the small differences of light in *EVIDENCE* that could set off an overly sensitive motion detector, the JBIG2 encoder tries to account for minute differences in otherwise identical letter forms like changes in toner density, dust or flyspecks on the paper. But loosened too much, a 6 can look like an 8.

Difference is often framed and measured in terms of distance. In Operational Character Rendition I make extensive use of the Levenshtein algorithm to measure the distance between words as observed by software that attempts to read an image of text and words that are known in a given dictionary. In this example, the measure of difference is a measure of distance, not in spatial terms, but in how many steps (or operations) away one word is from the target. This is a task that underlies many ubiquitous tasks that involve words, and the codification of Levenshtein can be thought of as a process of defining a kind of lexical proximity—like a rhyme of sorts, but one with a score that can be ranked. Each of these systems has rules that code-in what constitutes proximity.

2. Lossy States, Vulnerable Texts

 $Figure~2.1:~170112_1000_questionnaire-011217_tesseract_2.1.1.pdf$

SELECT COMMITTEE ON INTELLIGENCE

UNITED STATES SENATE



QUESTIONNAIRE FOR COMPLETION BY PRESIDENTIAL NOMINEES

ŧ

SELECT COMMITTEE ON INTELLIGENCE UNITED STATES SENATE

QUESTIONNAIRE FOR COMPLETION BY PRESIDENTIAL NOMINEES

PART A - HIOGRAPHICAL INFORMATION

- FULL NAME: Michael Richard Pompeo OTHER NAMES USED: N/A
- DATE AND FLACE OF BIRTH: 12/30/1963, Orange, California. CITIZENSHIP: USA
- 3. MARITAL STATUS: Married
- 4. SPOUSE'S NAME: Susan Elaine Pompeo
- 5. SPOUSE'S MAIDEN NAME IF APPLICABLE: Justice
- 6. NAMES AND AGES OF CHILDREN:

NAME

AGE

[INFORMATION REDACTED]

7. EDUCATION SINCE HIGH SCHOOL:

INSTITUTION	DATES ATTENDED	DECKER KECEIAED	DATE OF DEG
United States Military Academy	07/1982-05/1986	Bachelor's	05/1986
at West Point	Ť		
Harvard Law School	09/1991-05/1994	m'	05/1994

EMPLOYMENT RECORD (LIST ALL POSITIONS HELD SINCE COLLEGE, INCLUDING MILITARY SERVICE. INDICATE NAME OF EMPLOYER, POSITION, TITLE OR DESCRIPTION, LOCATION, AND DATES OF EMPLOYMENT).

EMPLOYER POSITION/TITLE LOCATION DATES

U.S. House of Representatives Member, Washington, DC 2011-Present

Thayer Aerospace Consolidated, LLC Chief Executive Officer, Wichita, KS 1998 - 2006

Thayer Holdings LLC, Partner, Kansas City, MO 1997 - 1998

Sentry International, President, Wichita, KS 2006 -2010

Williams & Connolly LLP, Associate, Washington, DC 1994 - 1996

2

Herverd Law School Professor Mary Ann Glendon, Research Assistant, Cambridge, MA 1993-1994

O'Melveny & Myers LLC, Summer Intern, Newport Beach, CA 1993-1993

Hogan & Hartson (now Hogan Lovella, LLP), Summer Intern, Washington, DC 1993-1993

Harvard Law School Professor Mary Am Glendon, Research Assistant, Cambridge, MA 1992-1993

United States Attorney's Office for the Central District of California, Summer Intern, Los Angeles, CA 1992-1992

Hervard Law School Professor Mary Anta Glendon, Research Assistant, Cambridge, MA 1991-1992

United States Army, Squadron Adjutant, 2/7 Cavalry, 4th Infantry Division, Ft. Carson, CO 1990 - 1991

U.S. Army, Student, Armor Officer Advanced Course, Radcliff, KY 1989 - 1990

U.S. Army 1th Squadron, Second Armored Cavalry (B Troop, C Troop and HHT) Platoon Leader, Troop Executive Officer, Squadron Maintenance Officer, Bindlach, Federal Republic of Germany 1986 - 1989

 GOVERNMENT EXPERIENCE (INDICATE EXPERIENCE IN OR ASSOCIATION WITH FEDERAL, STATE, OR LOCAL GOVERNMENTS, INCLUDING ADVISORY, CONSULTATIVE, HONORARY, OR OTHER PART-TIME SERVICE OR POSITION. DO NOT REPEAT INFORMATION ALREADY PROVIDED IN QUESTION 8).

N/A

10. INDICATE ANY SPECIALIZED INTELLIGENCE OR NATIONAL SECURITY EXPERTISE YOU HAVE ACQUIRED HAVING SERVED IN THE POSITIONS DESCRIBED IN QUESTIONS 8 AND/OR 9.

Most recently, I have represented the Fourth District of Kansas for six years as a member of the U.S. House of Representatives, including four years of service on the Kouse Permanent Select Committee on Intelligence (HPSCI) and its Central Intelligence Agency Subcommittee and National Security Agency and Cybersecurity Subcommittee. My work as member of FIPSCI has included extensive work related to the oversight of the 17 elements of the United States Intelligence Community (IC), legislation related to the IC, and related matters. As a HPSCI member, I regularly receive intelligence briefings covering a wide variety of national security topics and hold frequent discussions with members of the IC to explore significant topics in depth. My duties involve worldwide travel to meet members of the IC, to review national security activities firsthand, and to understand the challenges faced by IC members in the field.

Previously, I served as an Armor Officer for five years in the United States Army. My tour of duty included service in the Second Armored Cavalry as a small unit leader tasked with understanding threat intelligence to assist in battlefield defense and preparation to defeat Soviet aggression along the then-East German and Czechoslovakian horder. I graduated from the United States Military Academy at West Point, where I received an extensive background on national security topics.

After leaving the military, I was the Chief Executive Officer of an aerospace and defense manufacturing company providing components for military and commercial aircraft. As CEO, I gained experience as a leader of an organization charged with delivering products for military support and managing personnel and budgets to ensure fulfillment of the company's commitments.

11. HONORS AND AWARDS (PROVIDE INFORMATION ON SCHOLARSHIPS, FELLOWSHIPS, HONORARY DEGREES, MILITARY DECORATIONS, CIVILIAN SERVICE CITATIONS, OR ANY OTHER SPECIAL RECOGNITION FOR OUTSTANDING PERFORMANCE OR ACHIEVEMENT).

3

Legislative

- National Association of Manufacturers Award for Manufacturing, Legislative Excellence; 2011 and 2013
- Associated Builders & Contractors Champion of the Merit Shop: 2012
- American Conservative Union "Defender of Liberty" award: 2012, 2013, 2014
- National Taxpayers Union Taxpayers' Friend Award: 2013, 2015
- Family Research Council True Blue Award: 2013, 2016
- Citizens Against Government Waste Taxpayer Hero: 2014, 2015
- Kansas Farm Bureau Friend of Agriculture: 2014
- National Retail Federation Heroes of Main Street: 2014
- National Association of Wheat Growers Wheat Advocate Award: 2015
- American Conservative Union Defender of Liberty Award: 2015
- American Soybean Association Soy Champion: 2016
- International Foodservice Distributors Association Thomas Jefferson Award: 2016
- National Federation of Independent Business Defender of Small Business: 2015, 2016

Department of Defense Awards, 1986-1991

- Army Service Ribbon
- National Defense Service Medal
- Army Lapel Button
- Overseas Service Ribbon
- Army Commendation Medal
- Army Achievement Medal with one Oakleaf cluster
- Parachutists Badge

U.S. Military Academy at West Point

- Cavalry Saber Award, USMA, 1986
- · General Robert B. Wood Award (distinguished cadet), 1986
- General Winfield S. Scott Memorial Award (highest achievement in engineering management), 1986
- 12. ORGANIZATIONAL AFFILIATIONS (LIST MEMBERSHIPS IN AND OFFICES HELD WITHIN THE LAST TEN YEARS IN ANY PROFESSIONAL, CIVIC, FRATERNAL, BUSINESS, SCHOLARLY, CULTURAL, CHARITABLE, OR OTHER SIMILAR ORGANIZATIONS).

	ÓRGANIZATION	OFFICE HELD	DATES
	Kansas Policy Institute (Flint Hills Center for Public Policy)	Trustee	2002-2010
	American Legion	Member	2012 to Present
	Military Officers Association	Member .	Approx. 2010 to Present
	National Rifle Association	Member	2008 to Present
	Young Presidents Organization/SOP	Education Chair	Approx. 2000-present
•	Wichita Country Chih	Member	2005-2011
	Eastminster Presbyterian Church	Deacon & Sunday School teacher	Арргох. 2006-2010
	Orpheum Theater, Wichita	Board of Directors	2004-2006
	Industrial Container Services	Board of Directors	Аррхох. 2005-2008

4

Wichita South Branch YMCA

Board of Directors

2007-2009

13. PUBLISHED WRITINGS AND SPEECHES (LIST THE TITLES, PUBLISHERS, BLOGS AND PUBLICATION DATES OF ANY BOOKS, ARTICLES, REPORTS, OR OTHER PUBLISHED MATERIALS YOU HAVE AUTHORED. ALSO LIST ANY PUBLIC SPEECHES OR REMARKS YOU HAVE MADE WITHIN THE LAST TEN YEARS FOR WHICH THERE IS A TEXT, TRANSCRIPT, OR VIDEO). IF ASKED, WILL YOU PROVIDE A COPY OF EACH REQUESTED PUBLICATION, TEXT, TRANSCRIPT, OR VIDEO?

See attachments. The attachments are based on my best efforts to identify all published writings and speecies. As a Member of Congress, however, I frequently make public remarks, at times unscheduled, and these remarks may not be reflected in my records.

Yes.

PART B - OUALIFICATIONS

14. QUALIFICATIONS (DESCRIBE WHY YOU BELIEVE YOU ARE QUALIFIED TO SERVE AS THE DIRECTOR OF THE CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE AGENCY).

As noted in my response to Question 19, I have been deeply involved as a member of the House Permanent Select Committee on Intelligence (HPSCI) in understanding, anthorizing through legislation, and overseeing the 17 elements of the IC. This has included a specific focus on the CIA as a member of the CIA subcommittee of HPSCI. My work has provided me with a deep, current background on the most significant threats facing America and how the CIA is responding to those threats. Through my work over the years, I have looked closely at the structure, personnel, capabilities, activities, funding, and operations (including highly classified activities) of the CIA: My worldwide travel has provided me with a close look at how CIA personnel perform their difficult tasks gathering foreign intelligence, frequently under adverse and threatening circumstances.

I have also seen the importance of intelligence as a junior officer in the Army and understand from firsthand experience how intelligence information is vital to protecting the most junior mambers of our military from harm. As a CEO of an aerospace company and President of an oilfield equipment manufacturing, distribution, and service company, I have experience in leading organizations, managing personnel, meeting budgets, managing projects, and carrying out my duties as the leader of an organization and setting the "tone at the top" and leading by example.

As a member of Congress, I understand the importance of carrying out the statutory duties of the Director of the CIA to keep the intelligence Committees of the Congress fully and currently informed of intelligence activities, to provide information required for the Congress to perform its legislative duties, and participate in the authorization and appropriations process. Participation of the CIA in this process is particularly complex because of the classified nature of its activities and the need to protect sources and methods. My understanding of these legislative issues will be important in working with the Congress on important issues related to the CIA.

From my time at Harvard Law School and practicing law, I gained a deep understanding of the importance of the rule of law. This background will assist me in ensuring that all activities carried out by the CIA are authorized by law and fully comply with the Constitution and applicable statutes and regulations.

My work in Congress and frequent interactions with CIA personnel have given me a deep appreciation of the critically important and offen dangerous work done by CIA personnel at great personal sacrifice, including those members of the CIA who have given their lives to defend our country. My background provides me with the skills necessary as Director of the CIA to advocate within the Executive and Logislative Branch for such brave personnel to whom we all owe a great debt of gratitude for their work in protecting America.

PART C - POLITICAL AND FOREIGN AFFILIATIONS

15. POLITICAL ACTIVITIES (LIST ANY MEMBERSHIPS OR OFFICES HELD IN OR FINANCIAL CONTRIBUTIONS OR SERVICES RENDERED TO, ANY POLITICAL PARTY, ELECTION COMMITTEE, POLITICAL ACTION COMMITTEE, OR INDIVIDUAL CANDIDATE DURING THE LAST TEN YEARS).

OFFICES HELD:

- Kansas Republican National Committeeman
 - o Elected: January 26, 2008
 - o Resigned: 2011

FINANCIAL CONTRIBUTIONS:

• [See attachment]

SERVICES RENDERED:

- I serve as: Candidate Pompeo for Kansas
- · I serve as: Sponsor---CAVPAC
- Kansans for McCain
 - o Fourth District Chair
 - o January 2008 November 2008
- Romney for President
 Volunteer

 - o 2012
- Rubio for President
 - o Kansas Co-chair
 - ... November 2015 March 2016
- Trump for President
 Volunteer

 - o August 2016 November 2016
- 16. CANDIDACY FOR PUBLIC OFFICE (FURNISH DETAILS OF ANY CANDIDACY FOR ELECTIVE PUBLIC OFFICE).
 - Candidate, U.S. House of Representatives, Kansas Fourth Congressional District, 2010, 2012, 2014, 2016
 - Candidate, Kansas Republican National Committeeman, January 26, 2008
 - . Candidate, Kansas Precinct 734 Committeeman, August 1, 2006
 - · Candidate, Kansas Precinct 249 Committeeman, August 6, 2002

17. FOREIGN AFFILIATIONS

(NOTE: QUESTIONS 17A AND B ARE NOT LIMITED TO RELATIONSHIPS REQUIRING REGISTRATION UNDER THE FOREIGN AGENTS REGISTRATION ACT. QUESTIONS 17A, B, AND C DO NOT CALL FOR A POSITIVE RESPONSE IF THE REPRESENTATION OR TRANSACTION WAS AUTHORIZED BY THE UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT IN CONNECTION WITH YOUR OR YOUR SPOUSE'S EMPLOYMENT IN GOVERNMENT SERVICE.)

A. HAVE YOU OR YOUR SPOUSE EVER REPRESENTED IN ANY CAPACITY (E.G. EMPLOYEE, ATTORNEY, OR POLITICAL/BUSINESS CONSULTANT), WITH OR WITHOUT COMPENSATION, A FOREIGN GOVERNMENT OR AN ENTITY CONTROLLED BY A FOREIGN GOVERNMENT? IF SO, PLEASE FULLY DESCRIBE SUCH RELATIONSHIP.

B. HAVE ANY OF YOUR OR YOUR SPOUSE'S ASSOCIATES REPRESENTED, IN ANY CAPACITY, WITH OR WITHOUT COMPENSATION, A FOREIGN GOVERNMENT OR AN ENTITY

CONTROLLED BY A FOREIGN GOVERNMENT? IF SO, PLEASE FULLY DESCRIBE SUCH RELATIONSHIP.

No

C. DURING THE PAST TEN YEARS, HAVE YOU OR YOUR SPOUSE RECEIVED ANY COMPENSATION FROM, OR BEEN INVOLVED IN ANY FINANCIAL OR BUSINESS TRANSACTIONS WITH, A FOREIGN GOVERNMENT OR ANY ENTITY CONTROLLED BY A FOREIGN GOVERNMENT? IF SO, PLEASE PROVIDE DETAILS.

No.

D. HAVE YOU OR YOUR SPOUSE EVER REGISTERED UNDER THE FOREIGN AGENTS REGISTRATION ACT? IF SO, PLEASE PROVIDE DETAILS.

No

18. DESCRIBE ANY LOBBYING ACTIVITY DURING THE PAST TEN YEARS, OTHER THAN IN AN OFFICIAL U.S. GOVERNMENT CAPACITY, IN WHICH YOU OR YOUR SPOUSE HAVE ENGAGED FOR THE PURPOSE OF DIRECTLY OR INDIRECTLY INFLUENCING THE PASSAGE, DEFEAT, OR MODIFICATION OF FEDERAL LEGISLATION, OR FOR THE PURPOSE OF AFFECTING THE ADMINISTRATION AND EXECUTION OF FEDERAL LAW OR PUBLIC POLICY.

None.

PART D - FINANCIAL DISCLOSURE AND CONFLICT OF INTEREST

19. DESCRIBE ANY HMPLOYMENT, BUSINESS RELATIONSHIP, FINANCIAL TRANSACTION, INVESTMENT, ASSOCIATION, OR ACTIVITY (INCLUDING, BUT NOT LIMITED TO, DEALINGS WITH THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT ON YOUR OWN BEHALF OR ON BEHALF OF A CLIENT), WHICH COULD CREATE, OR APPEAR TO CREATE, A CONFLICT OF INTEREST IN THE POSITION TO WHICH YOU HAVE BEEN NOMINATED.

None.

20. DO YOU INTEND TO SEVER ALL BUSINESS CONNECTIONS WITH YOUR PRESENT EMPLOYERS, FIRMS, BUSINESS ASSOCIATES AND/OR-PARTNERSHIPS, OR OTHER ORGANIZATIONS IN THE EVENT THAT YOU ARE CONFIRMED BY THE SENATE? IF NOT, PLEASE EXPLAIN.

N/A

21. DESCRIBE THE FINANCIAL ARRANGEMENTS YOU HAVE MADE OR FLAN TO MAKE, IF YOU ARE CONFIRMED, IN CONNECTION WITH SEVERANCE FROM YOUR CURRENT POSITION. FLEASE INCLUDE SEVERANCE PAY, PENSION RIGHTS, STOCK OPTIONS, DEFERRED INCOME ARRANGEMENTS, AND ANY AND ALL COMPENSATION THAT WILL OR MIGHT BE RECEIVED IN THE FUTURE AS A RESULT OF YOUR CURRENT BUSINESS OR PROFESSIONAL RELATIONSHIPS.

NA

22. DO YOU HAVE ANY PLANS; COMMITMENTS, OR AGREEMENTS TO PURSUB OUTSIDE EMPLOYMENT, WITH OR WITHOUT COMPENSATION, DURING YOUR SERVICE WITH THE GOVERNMENT? IF SO, PLEASE PROVIDE DETAILS.

No.

23. AS FAR AS CAN BE FORESEEN, STATE YOUR PLANS AFTER COMPLETING GOVERNMENT SERVICE. PLEASE SPECIFICALLY DESCRIBE ANY AGREEMENTS OR UNDERSTANDINGS, WRITTEN OR UNWRITTEN, CONCERNING EMPLOYMENT AFTER LEAVING GOVERNMENT SERVICE. IN PARTICULAR, DESCRIBE ANY AGREEMENTS, UNDERSTANDINGS, OR OPTIONS TO RETURN TO YOUR CURRENT POSITION.

None.

24. IF YOU ARE PRESENTLY IN GOVERNMENT SERVICE, DURING THE PAST FIVE YEARS OF SUCH SERVICE, HAVE YOU RECEIVED FROM A PERSON OUTSIDE OF GOVERNMENT AN OFFER OR EXPRESSION OF INTEREST TO EMPLOY YOUR SERVICES AFTER YOU LEAVE GOVERNMENT SERVICE? IF YES, PLEASE PROVIDE DETAILS.

No.

25. IS YOUR SPOUSH EMPLOYED? IF YES AND THE NATURE OF THIS EMPLOYMENT IS RELATED IN ANY WAY TO THE POSITION FOR WHICH YOU ARE SERKING CONFIRMATION, PLEASE INDICATE YOUR SPOUSE'S EMPLOYER, THE POSITION, AND THE LENGTH OF TIME THE POSITION HAS BEEN HELD. IF YOUR SPOUSE'S EMPLOYMENT IS NOT RELATED TO THE POSITION TO WHICH YOU HAVE BEEN NOMINATED, PLEASE SO STATE.

No

26. LIST BELOW ALL CORPORATIONS, PARTNERSHIPS, FOUNDATIONS, TRUSTS, OR OTHER ENTITIES TOWARD WHICH YOU OR YOUR SPOUSE HAVE FIDUCIARY OBLIGATIONS OR IN WHICH YOU OR YOUR SPOUSE HAVE HELD DIRECTORSHIPS OR OTHER POSITIONS OF TRUST DURING THE PAST FIVE YEARS.

[INFORMATION REDACTED]

27. LIST ALL GIFTS EXCHEDING \$100 IN VALUE RECEIVED DURING THE PAST FIVE YEARS BY YOU, YOUR SPOUSE, OR YOUR DEPENDENTS. (NOTE: GIFTS RECEIVED FROM RELATIVES AND GIFTS GIVEN TO YOUR SPOUSE OR DEPENDENT NEED NOT BE INCLUDED UNLESS THE GIFT WAS GIVEN WITH YOUR KNOWLEDGE AND ACQUIESCENCE AND YOU HAD REASON TO BELIEVE THE GIFT WAS GIVEN BECAUSE OF YOUR OFFICIAL POSITION.)

I have not received such gifts in the past five years. I have no reason to believe that any gifts given to my spouse or to my son were given because of my official position.

28. LIST ALL SECURITIES, REAL PROPERTY, PARTNERSHIP INTERESTS, OR OTHER INVESTMENTS OR RECEIVABLES WITH A CURRENT MARKET VALUE (OR, IF MARKET VALUE IS NOT ASCERTAINABLE, ESTIMATED CURRENT FAIR VALUE) IN EXCESS OF \$1,000. (NOTE: THE INFORMATION PROVIDED IN RESPONSE TO SCHEDULE A OF THE DISCLOSURE FORMS OF THE OFFICE OF GOVERNMENT ETHICS MAY BE INCORPORATED BY REFERENCE, PROVIDED THAT CURRENT VALUATIONS ARE USED.)

DESCRIPTION OF PROPERTY

VALUE

METHOD OF VALUATION

I incorporate my 278e by reference, which I submitted to the Office of Government Ethics.

29. LIST ALL LOANS OR OTHER INDEBTEDNESS (INCLUDING ANY CONTINGENT LIABILITIES) IN EXCESS OF \$10,000. EXCLUDE A MORTGAGE ON YOUR PERSONAL RESIDENCE UNLESS IT IS RENTED OUT, AND LOANS SECURED BY AUTOMOBILES, HOUSEHOLD FURNITURE, OR APPLIANCES. (NOTE: THE INFORMATION PROVIDED IN RESPONSE TO SCHEDULE C OF THE DISCLOSURE FORM OF THE OFFICE OF GOVERNMENT ETHICS MAY BE INCORPORATED BY REFERENCE, PROVIDED THAT CONTINGENT LIABILITIES ARE ALSO INCLUDED.)

NATURE OF OBLIGATION

NAME OF OBLIGHE

AMOUNT

None.

30. ARE YOU OR YOUR SPOUSE NOW IN DEFAULT ON ANY LOAN, DEBT, OR OTHER FINANCIAL OBLIGATION? HAVE YOU OR YOUR SPOUSE BEEN IN DEFAULT ON ANY LOAN, DEBT, OR OTHER FINANCIAL OBLIGATION IN THE PAST TEN YEARS? HAVE YOU OR YOUR SPOUSE EVER BEEN REFUSED CREDIT OR HAD A LOAN APPLICATION DENIED? IF THE ANSWER TO ANY OF THESE QUESTIONS IS YES, PLEASE PROVIDE DETAILS.

No.

31. LIST THE SPECIFIC SOURCES AND AMOUNTS OF ALL INCOME RECEIVED DURING THE LAST FIVE YEARS, INCLUDING ALL SALARIES, FEES, DIVIDENDS, INTEREST, GIFTS, RENTS, ROYALTIES, PATENTS, HONORARIA, AND OTHER ITEMS EXCEEDING \$200. (COPIES OF U.S. INCOME TAX RETURNS FOR THESE YEARS MAY BE SUBSTITUTED HERE, BUT THEIR SUBMISSION IS NOT REQUIRED.)

[INFORMATION REDACTED]

[INFORMATION REDACTED]

32. IF ASKED, WILL YOU PROVIDE THE COMMITTEE WITH COPIES OF YOUR AND YOUR SPOUSE'S FEDERAL INCOME TAX RETURNS FOR THE PAST THREE YEARS?

33. LIST ALL JURISDICTIONS IN WHICH YOU AND YOUR SPOUSE FILE ANNUAL INCOME TAX RETURNS.

Kansas

34. HAVE YOUR FEDERAL OR STATE TAX RETURNS BEEN THE SUBJECT OF AN AUDIT, Investigation, or inquiry at any time? If so, please provide details, including the result of any such proceeding.

35. IF YOU ARE AN ATTORNEY, ACCOUNTANT, OR OTHER PROFESSIONAL, PLBASE LIST ALL CLIENTS AND CUSTOMERS WHOM YOU BILLED MORE THAN \$200 WORTH OF SERVICES DURING THE PAST FIVE YEARS. ALSO, LIST ALL JURISDICTIONS IN WHICH YOU ARE LICENSED TO PRACTICE.

N/A N/A

36. DO YOU INTEND TO PLACE YOUR FINANCIAL HOLDINGS AND THOSE OF YOUR SPOUSE AND DEPENDENT MEMBERS OF YOUR IMMEDIATE HOUSEHOLD IN A BLIND TRUST? IF YES, PLEASE FURNISH DETAILS. IF NO, DESCRIBE OTHER ARRANGEMENTS FOR AVOIDING ANY POTENTIAL CONFLICTS OF INTEREST.

No. Given the nature of our investments, I do not anticipate any conflicts of interest. As required by law, I will execute, and will abide by, an agreement with the Central Intelligence Agency to avoid any conflicts of interest under the applicable statutes and regulations.

37. IF APPLICABLE, LIST THE LAST THREE YEARS OF ANNUAL FINANCIAL DISCLOSURE REPORTS YOU HAVE BEEN REQUIRED TO FILE WITH YOUR AGENCY, DEPARTMENT, OR BRANCH OF GOVERNMENT. IF ASKED, WILL YOU PROVIDE A COPY OF THESE REPORTS?

2015 House of Representatives Financial Disclosure Statement 2014 House of Representatives Financial Disclosure Statement

2013 House of Representatives Financial Disclosure Statement

PART E - ETHICAL MATTERS

38. HAVE YOU EVER BEEN THE SUBJECT OF A DISCIPLINARY PROCEEDING OR CITED FOR A BREACH OF ETHICS OR UNPROFESSIONAL CONDUCT BY, OR BEEN THE SUBJECT OF A COMPLAINT TO, ANY COURT, ADMINISTRATIVE AGENCY, PROFESSIONAL ASSOCIATION, DISCIPLINARY COMMITTEE, OR OTHER PROFESSIONAL GROUP? IF SO, PLEASE PROVIDE DETAILS.

No.

39. HAVE YOU EVER BEEN INVESTIGATED, HELD, ARRESTED, OR CHARGED BY ANY FEDERAL, STATE, OR OTHER LAW ENFORCEMENT AUTHORITY FOR VIOLATION OF ANY FEDERAL STATE, COUNTY, OR MUNICIPAL LAW, REGULATION, OR ORDINANCE, OTHER THAN A MINOR TRAFFIC OFFENSE, OR NAMED AS A DEFENDANT OR OTHER WISE IN ANY INDICTMENT OR INFORMATION RELATING TO SUCH VIOLATION? IF SO, PLEASE PROVIDE DETAILS.

No.

40. HAVE YOU EVER BEEN CONVICTED OF OR ENTERED A PLEA OF GUILTY OR NOLO CONTENDERE TO ANY CRIMINAL VIOLATION OTHER THAN A MINOR TRAFFIC OFFENSE? IF SO, PLEASE PROVIDE DETAILS.

No.

41. ARE YOU PRESENTLY OR HAVE YOU EVER BEEN A PARTY IN INTEREST IN ANY ADMINISTRATIVE AGENCY PROCEEDING OR CIVIL LITIGATION? IF SO, PLEASE PROVIDE DETAILS.

Yes.

Daniel Hasenbank filed a lawsuit against multiple parties including Mike Pompeo and Pompeo For Congress (my campaign) in approximately December 2015 in Sedwick County District Court, Kansas. Mr. Hasenbank was riding his motorcycle and collided with a car travelling north on Hydraulic Avenue. Hasenbank sustained injuries and sued both me and Pompeo for Congress. The claim was that a campaign sign placed on the SE corner of the intersection blocked his view and that of the driver who struck the motorcyclist and that both I and my campaign were responsible for his injuries.

The case was terminated on a motion to dismiss for failure to state a legal claim on June 30, 2016 as to both me and Pompeo for Congress. The time for appeal ended on September 11, 2016.

42. HAVE YOU BEEN INTERVIEWED OR ASKED TO SUPPLY ANY INFORMATION AS A WITNESS OR OTHERWISE IN CONNECTION WITH ANY CONGRESSIONAL INVESTIGATION, FEDERAL, OR STATE AGENCY PROCEEDING, GRAND JURY INVESTIGATION, OR CRIMINAL OR CIVIL LITIGATION IN THE PAST TEN YEARS? IF SO, PLEASE PROVIDE DETAILS.

No

43. HAS ANY BUSINESS OF WHICH YOU ARE OR WERE AN OFFICER, DIRECTOR, OR PARTNER BEEN A PARTY TO ANY ADMINISTRATIVE AGENCY PROCEEDING OR CRIMINAL OR CIVIL LITIGATION RELEVANT TO THE POSITION TO WHICH YOU HAVE BEEN NOMINATED? IF SO, FLEASE PROVIDE DETAILS. (WITH RESPECT TO A BUSINESS OF WHICH YOU ARE OR WERE AN OFFICER, YOU NEED ONLY CONSIDER PROCEEDINGS AND LITIGATION THAT OCCURRED WHILE YOU WERE AN OFFICER OF THAT BUSINESS.)

No.

44. HAVE YOU EVER BEEN THE SUBJECT OF ANY INSPECTOR GENERAL INVESTIGATION? IF SO, PLEASE PROVIDE DETAILS.

No

PART F - SECURITY INFORMATION

 HAVE YOU EVER BEEN DENIED ANY SECURITY CLEARANCE OR ACCESS TO CLASSIFIED INFORMATION FOR ANY REASON? IF YES, FLEASE EXPLAIN IN DETAIL.

No.

46. HAVE YOU BEEN REQUIRED TO TAKE A POLYGRAPH EXAMINATION FOR ANY SECURITY CLEARANCE OR ACCESS TO CLASSIFIED INFORMATION? IF YES, PLEASE EXPLAIN.

No.

 HAVE YOU EVER REFUSED TO SUBMIT TO A POLYGRAPH EXAMINATION? IF YES, PLEASE EXPLAIN.

No.

PART G - ADDITIONAL INFORMATION

48. DESCRIBE IN YOUR OWN WORDS THE CONCEPT OF CONGRESSIONAL OVERSIGHT OF U.S.
INTRICKENCE ACTIVITIES. IN PARTICULAR, CHARACTERIZE WHAT YOU BELIEVE TO BE
THE OBLIGATIONS OF THE DIRECTOR OF THE CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE AGENCY AND THE
INTELLIGENCE COMMITTEES OF THE CONGRESS RESPECTIVELY IN THE OVERSIGHT
PROCESS.

The Director of Central Intelligence Agency is required by law to keep the intelligence committees of the Congress fully and currently informed of intelligence activities. As a member of Congress currently serving on the House Permanent Select Committee on Intelligence (HPSCI), I understand the importance of congressional oversight and the intelligence committees' need for information to enable the committees to perform their critical oversight function. As many of the CIA's intelligence activities are highly classified in order to protect national security, congressional oversight plays an important role in our representative democracy of ensuring there is oversight of these activities.

Furnishing information about CIA activities to the intelligence committees of the Congress enables the Congress to consider necessary legislation, provide appropriate levels of resources for CIA activities, and assess the effectiveness of the CIA. In addition, the CIA plays a critical role in furnishing the intelligence committees with analysis that assists the committees in understanding world events and considering legislative action. I understand that without timely and complete information, congressional oversight is made more difficult, harming the CIA's relationship with Congress and ultimately mission effectiveness in the long term. If confirmed, I am committed to ensuring that the CIA understands the importance of congressional oversight and familishing complete and timely information to the intelligence committees of the Congress.

 EXPLAIN YOUR UNDERSTANDING OF THE RESPONSIBILITIES OF THE DIRECTOR OF THE CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE AGENCY.

As set furth in the National Security Act of 1947 and Executive Order 12333, the Director is the head of the Central Intelligence Agency and responsible for all of its functions and operations. The Director is responsible for collecting intelligence through human sources and other appropriate methods. The Director also provides

direction and coordination of the collection of national intalligence cutside of the United States through human sources by other elements of the Intelligence Community. The Director coordinates relationships between the IC and the intelligence or security services of fixeign governments on all matters involving intelligence related to the national security. The Director is responsible for ensuring that CIA safeguards secrets to protect America's interests. The Director of the Central Intelligence Agency conducts covert actions approved by the President and in compliance with the procedures set forth in the National Security Act of 1947.

The Director is also responsible for leading the IC's analysis, production, and dissemination of foreign intelligence and counterintelligence. The Director ensures that well-supported, factual, timely, objective analysis is provided to the President, the Congress, senior policymakers, and other consumers who depend on CIA analytical products. The Director elso ensures that the CIA's activities are conducted in full compliance with the Constitution and applicable statutes and regulations.

Finally, the Director is responsible for the effective leadership of the Central Intelligence Agency in these functions and many others. This includes ensuring the Central Intelligence Agency receives appropriate resources for its difficult mission and its personnel have an effective advocate and supporter of their work.

AFFIRMATION

I, MICHAEL POMPEO, IXO SWEAR THAT THE ANSWERS I HAVE PROVIDED TO THIS QUESTIONNAIRE ARE ACCURATE AND COMPLETE.



[SIGNATURE]

TO THE CHAIRMAN, SELECT COMMITTEE ON INTELLIGENCE:

In connection with my nomination to be the Director of the Central Intelligence Agency, I hereby express my willingness to respond to reconsist appear and testify before any duly constituted committee of the Senate.

[SIGNATURE]

Date: 12/16/16

 $\label{prop:control_figure 2.2: 170112_1000_questionnaire-011217_tesseract_2.1.1.pdf \ metadata} \\$

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}

2.1 Opening (the document)

Eight days before the presidential inauguration of Donald J. Trump, the Senate Select Committee on Intelligence (SSCI) held a nomination hearing for Michael Richard Pompeo to be Director of the CIA. Later that day, and over the following weeks, the SSCI added a collection of media (video and documents) to the Hearing Archive section of the SSCI's website. One of these documents, *questionnaire-o11217.pdf*, is a questionnaire filled out by all nominees who come before the SSCI. This PDF document contains a few scant fields of metadata and 15 pages of images. There is no textual information to be found in this document, nothing that can be searched, selected, or copied. If you activated a text-to-speech engine to read the document aloud, it would remain silent.

This writing centers on a collection of PDF documents that includes *questionnaire-o11217.pdf* (henceforth *questionnaire*) published by the Senate Select Committee on Intelligence (SSCI) in order to consider the position of public documents in an age of digital formats and readers, and the historically specific technical and institutional particularities that shape how these documents emerge as sites of counter-intelligibility, opacity, and illegibility. Within the Hearing Archive, these documents, which range from filled out questionnaires, pre- and post-hearing question and answer period, prepared testimony, and background or biographical documents, are associated

with and provided by individual witnesses or nominees. I focus on the material presences produced by the "work" of transparency. I read this collection for the chains of operations involved in their production and (human and non-) interpretation: the hidden labors of machines and coded bureaucratic artifacts and actualities, the reading publics they anticipate (and those they fail to), placing them within larger media histories of public documents within media histories of experimental art practices, including my own. This shift from audiences to operations breaks from more desiccated models that reduce the operative figures of documents to writers and readers. Throughout this writing I turn to the work of feminist scholars and artists whose use documents to methodically challenge naturalized aspects of media and representation within the broader frame of the document, while also attending to subjecthood and citizenship under militarism.

The images of of text that constitute *questionnaire* are not, per se, screenshots (they appear to mostly be scans of printed documents), but they offer some similarities worth considering. In "Techniques for Secondary Mediation," Jacob Gaboury notes:

The screenshot here functions as a method for visually fixing and rearticulating an existing dynamic medium, such that it might be made legible and coherent as an object for analysis. Yet doing so necessarily flattens the thick materiality of the medium it captures, preserving it as a static image. The screenshot is in this sense a deeply ambivalent object, at once alienated from the context of its historical production and yet simultaneously central to the very possibility of producing a history that attends to the visual articulation of

our digital media technologies.1

The ambivalent position referenced here is an apt description of these scanned documents—some of the thick materiality of its past forms carries through in these images that record the documents they once were and some of the processes they've endured.

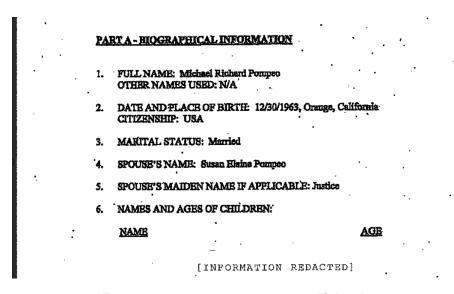


Figure 2.3: questionnaire-011217.pdf detail

The detail in the above figure makes a number of features apparent: an irregularly dotted line along the left edge, irregularly shaped debris distributed across the image, and a noisy, dithered quality to the lettering to the extent that some letter forms are indistinct. This document contains no text layer: it is an image, and a poor one at that. Hito Steyerl's 2010 essay, "In Defense of the Poor Image," considers degraded media as a site of political possibility. Steyerl's defining

^{1.} Jacob Gaboury, *Techniques for Secondary Mediation*, May 2019, accessed November 25, 2021, https://www.fotomuseum.ch/de/2019/05/29/techniques-for-secondary-mediation/.

qualities of the poor image aptly apply to questionnaire: "a copy in motion, an itinerant image, [...] distributed for free, [...] compressed, reproduced [...]."2 She continues, "The poor image is an illicit fifthgeneration bastard of an original image. Its genealogy is dubious."3 All of that applies here: this image, while poor in quality, is rich in traces of mediality. A speculative guess at this document's dubious genealogy reveals some of these relations: a form filled out and produced in a word processor, printed out, signed, copied, redacted, faxed, scanned, turned into a PDF, and published on a web server. These guesses are based on the regularity of type and margins, the high contrast and dithering; a reading of signs and artifacts. 4 This genealogy is dubious, but not illicit. While it wears the aesthetics of a bootleg, this is an official document published by the U.S. Senate. Steyerl's essay primarily describes cultural artifacts (her examples include bootleg Chris Marker film torrents, underground films, carbon-copied pamphlets). The politics Steverl activates is one of media as it relates to cultural artifacts, deriving from conditions of access, distribution, property, and provenance. Her language is carefully ambiguous; poor as a statement of quality while also carrying the urgency of poverty (as in Arte Povera). But questionnaire is not punk rock xerography, or a bootleg copy of a copy of the original questionnaire (or is

^{2.} Hito Steyerl, "In Defense of the Poor Image," *e-flux* 10 (November 2009), http://www.e-flux.com/journal/10/61362/in-defense-of-the-poor-image/.

^{3.} Steverl.

^{4.} In "lossy" compression, in which quality is sacrificed for file size, artifacts of these failures to perfectly capture the copied original, the intelligible differences between the source and the compressed media.

it?); it is official. It isn not cheap; if anything, it is free (both libre and gratis): a work of the US Government, not subject to copyright.

The specks and compression artifacts that litter the page call attention to a complex material process, but have wider implications. As Whitney Pow notes in A Trans Historiography of Glitches and Errors:

These everyday glitches—happenstance, unintended, random—call attention to the fact that these software systems are designed to be immediate but in reality are mediating, serving as an intermediary. To unmediate is to call attention to this continuous mediation, to the continuous interpellation we experience through media, to the fact that systems of governance function similarly—that some people are interpellated fully into systems of power while others are not.

Here the stakes of these limited public images begin to emerge. While text has traditionally been an overwhelmingly visual media, the absence of a text layer in *questionnaire* has noticeable effects. While sighted readers fluent in English can still look at the images of text and make sense of them, those with visual impairment who rely on screen readers (which relies on a functional and accurate text layer) and those who rely on automatic translation from English into other languages are both notably unable to 'read' this material (even through these extra layers of mediation).⁵

Disability scholars theorize citizenship as constitutively embodied through negotiation, mediation, interdependence and not atomized

^{5.} Even PDFs with text layers present difficulties for those with accessibility needs. Text flow is often broken in scanned documents, which is sometimes evident as extra whitespace or strange characters when trying to paste a paragraph from PDF into a word processor.

experiences of individuals as well as being situated in practice: rooted in deliberation, contestation, and performance.⁶ Public documents along with the infrastructures and interfaces that make them available articulate and interpellate publics, and those publics often disinclude disabled and non-English speakers.

There is friction here between the publics subject to the agencies the SSCI oversees (and overlooks) and how citizenry is constituted, as many of those who are subjects—if not targets—of US intelligence's surveillance, rendition, and torture are not U.S. citizens. But availability to citizens is the operative reason for publishing these documents. Members of the SSCI are, under constitutional constraints, necessarily citizens (9 years of citizenship is among the requirements to be a U.S. senator).

It is tempting to think that a technical fix would remedy this dearth of access. I am less interested in proposing or advocating for a solution than making intelligible how these historically and materially specific conditions of access function, in the minutia of software work and within larger (but not universal) politics of media; how and which publics are constituted, addressed, and neglected. And while conditions can certainly be improved, there is reason to be wary of solutionism. Elizabeth Ellcessor explains that often "technology not only fails to 'fix' disability but in fact creates it, as these technological barriers

^{6.} Allison Carey, "Citizenship," in *Keywords for Disability Studies*, ed. Benjamin Reiss, Rachel Adams, and David Serlin, 635.

function to exclude certain bodies from full participation."⁷ This is not to imply that mediation always introduces alienation—a further distancing from some pure and accessible act of communication—but a recognition that there are no universal subjects and that a technology affords accessibility for some can also selectively avert it from others.

2.2 Aversion and Puncture

There are different layers of aversion at work in these public images of text. In an interview describing her series Redaction Paintings, which is composed of public documents describing Bush era torture programs (obtained mostly via FOIA and other public records requests), artist Jenny Holzer describes the effect of the documents on her and her team:

I know that my researchers and I have had to stop, at various times, reading the material for these redacted paintings. Sometimes it's a relief to come to the pages that are wholly blacked out because then, for at least a page or so, you do not have to read what was there.⁸

The documents enlarged and painted by Holzer and her assistants in this series are from public documents.⁹ In addition to redactions (some with hard straight lines, but many clearly hand-drawn with

^{7.} Elizabeth Ellcessor, Restricted access: media, disability, and the politics of participation, Postmillennial pop (New York: New York University Press, 2016), 3.

^{8.} Jenny Holzer, "For 7 World Trade" and "Redaction Paintings", 2007, https://art21.org/read/jenny-holzer-for-7-world-trade-and-redaction-paintings/.

^{9.} Ibid. These documents were largely obtained through Freedom of Information Act requests by the ACLU.

marker) carry the visual degradation of having been photocopied—perhaps multiple times; some show evidence of folds, with handwritten notes (usually as FOIA exemption codes), as well as canceled words (words that have been struck through).

These works (both as documents and as enlarged paintings) are poor in the sense of the image quality and legibility of text. Even the unredacted parts can be difficult to read. Legible text in these legal memos and bureaucratic forms refers to interrogation and torture with a mix of directness and obliqueness. The aversion experienced by Holzer and her team is, ultimately, through the exhibition, transferred to publics who attend museums and galleries. Rather than objects of beauty or abstract figures for contemplation (even if the large redacted areas can be captivating as abstractions of text), these memos confront audiences—and especially American audiences—with the complicity of the US government in abhorrent acts that these publics may have been averse to investigating on their own. As Anjali Nath notes, reading about such matters can inflict feelings of harm in the reader, "Although the apparent aim of FOIA requests is to create and [sic] open, accountable government, for documentation of necropolitical violence, the redaction visually offers a bruising of the spectator[...]."10 Nath invokes Roland Barthes' concept of the punctum to understand, "[t]he unintended ways images can bruise us, puncture us, and disrupt

^{10.} Anjali Nath, "Beyond the Public Eye: On FOIA Documents and the Visual Politics of Redaction," *Cultural Studies* ↔ *Critical Methodologies* 14, no. 1 (February 2014): p. 26, accessed October 11, 2018, https://doi.org/10.1177/1532708613507885, http://journals.sagepub.com/doi/10.1177/1532708613507885.

our ways of experiencing and perceiving."¹¹ For Barthes, punctum (literally "point" or puncture, but also denoting the opening of a tear duct) refers to "that accident which pricks me (but also bruises me, is poignant to me),"¹² the accidental layers of meaning specific to photography that nonetheless penetrate our subjectivity and activate meaning.¹³ In the context of torture memos, redacted text carries the weight of signifying without specifying content (potentially) too terrible to know: a floating signifier graphically submerged, allowing ruptures between speculations and suspicions about what lays beneath, but also a knowing-of-not-knowing.

While the documents used by Holzer are not from the SSCI itself, the committee oversees the agencies and departments that produced them. Shortly after Democrats regained control of the Senate in 2009, the Committee voted (14–1) to initiate a Study of the Central Intelligence Agency's Detention and Interrogation Program. In 2014, a conflict emerged between the CIA and SSCI staffers, who retained copies of a CIA version of the report titled "The Panetta Review" in a Senate office safe after the CIA had destroyed video evidence and

^{11.} Nath, "Beyond the Public Eye," p. 26.

^{12.} Roland Barthes, Camera Lucida: Reflections on Photography, Pbk. ed, OCLC: ocn671819280 (New York: Hill / Wang, 2010), p. 27.

^{13.} If applying methods of photographic analysis to documents seems out of scope, consider the optical and photographic technologies that underlie photocopying and scanning. The image of a document, complete with the (accidental) artifacts, is also a photographic image.

^{14.} Senate Select Committee on Intelligence, Committee Study of the Central Intelligence Agency's Detention and Interrogation Program: Minority Views of Vice Chairman Chambliss joined by Senators Burr, Risch, Coats, Rubio, and Coburn, December 2014.

textual reports of rendition and interrogation.¹⁵ In response, the CIA hacked into the computers of SSCI staffers in an act that was deemed inappropriate by the CIA Inspector General, although charges were not ultimately pursued.¹⁶ The revised and redacted executive summary was made public on December 9, 2014, a month before Republicans would take control of the Senate. A month later, neither the Department of Justice nor the Department of State opened the packages the report was delivered in.¹⁷ The new SSCI Chair, Richard Burr, attempted to recall all copies of the full report to block access through the Freedom of Information Act (this was rebuffed by the Senate parliamentarian and the DC Circuit Court of appeals).¹⁸ The CIA later revealed that they inadvertently deleted their only copy of the report.¹⁹

Even Senators who are committee-members of the SSCI are averse to documents describing these events. On June 14, 2015, on his show "Last Week Tonight," John Oliver recorded a segment about CIA tor-

^{15.} Paul Lewis, "The Documents That Disappeared: How a Furious Cia-Senate Row Erupted," *The Guardian*, March 2014, chap. World news, accessed December 5, 2021, https://www.theguardian.com/world/2014/mar/12/cia-senate-row-documents-feins tein-brennan.

^{16.} Mark Mazzetti and Carl Hulse, "Inquiry by C.I.A. Affirms It Spied on Senate Panel," *The New York Times*, July 2014, chap. U.S. Accessed December 5, 2021, https://www.nytimes.com/2014/08/01/world/senate-intelligence-commitee-cia-interrogation-report.html.

^{17.} Ali Watkins, CIA Torture Report Sinks A Little More, As Agencies Don't Bother To Read It, Section: Politics, January 2015, accessed December 5, 2021, https://www.huffpost.com/entry/cia-torture-richard-burr_n_6535064.

^{18.} Katherine Hawkins, At Least One Copy of the Senate Torture Report Will Be Preserved. What About the Others?, December 2016, accessed December 5, 2021, https://www.justsecurity.org/35490/copy-senate-torture-report-preserved-others/.

^{19.} Sadie Levy Gale, *The CIA Destroyed a Copy of a Torture Report 'by Accident'*, Section: News, May 2016, accessed December 5, 2021, https://www.independent.co.uk/news/world/americas/cia-mistakenly-destroys-copy-of-6-700page-us-torture-report-feinstein-a7034096.html.

ture and extraordinary rendition after 9/11.²⁰ Oliver describes a lack of public interest in the SSCI report on CIA torture, and that numerous public officials were openly bragging about their refusal to read it. In response, Oliver commissions actress Helen Mirren to read the report as an audiobook, to reduce aversion or disinterest by sweetening the pill with the power of a beloved and charismatic voice. Although he plays two excerpts of the audiobook on the program, and encourages the public and CIA officers to listen to it in its entirety, the audiobook was a parafictional gesture by Oliver and Mirren.

2.3 Prayer for the Torture Memos

Greta Snider's experimental short film, *Prayer for the Torture Memos* responds to the aforementioned material. By reducing and exaggerating details of pages from the report with partial words large enough to fill (and extend out of) the screen, viewers are confronted with the gritty materiality of type. The words have been 'blown up' beyond what the screen can contain, with pits and grooves in the edges of the letterforms. The text is sharp, yet provides only partially comprehensible scraps. This is not redaction, rather, the text is obscured by black spaces of heavy ink. Its illegibility comes from the pace at which the words are replaced. There are moments of recognition but the visual pace is too fast to keep up with. This is an unintelligibility rooted in

^{20.} Jim Hoskinson, *Torture: Last Week Tonight with John Oliver (HBO) - YouTube*, June 2015, accessed March 20, 2017, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=zmeF2rzsZSU.

speed. To pause the digital copy and isolate a still would be to watch (or read) the film beyond the usual affordances of a public screening.²¹

These textual fragments are not empty signifiers. The text evokes the mediality of text on film (the abovementioned pits, and the tell-tale dust, hair, and scratches of celluloid) and is—in the experience of watching—inseparable from the title, other visual information, and sound. Throughout the film, voices read—some spoken, some whispered—excerpts from the memos in voices that suggest different genders and accents. The spoken text begins with a male voice listing techniques used at Cat's Eye:

The ten techniques were: (1) attention grasp, (2) walling, (3) facial hold, (4) facial slap (insult slap), (5) cramped confinement, (6) wall standing, (7) stress positions, (8) sleep deprivation, (9) insects placed in a confinement box, and (10) the waterboard.²²

The sometimes overlapping voices are far more intelligible than the on-screen text, repeating the above list and reading descriptions of the techniques. A few minutes into the film, blue-tinged partially clothed bodies begin to underlie the text. Words and phrases are abstract (visually, but also in the formal and procedural language of the vocalized memos) while the bodies are concrete and perceptible. It is hard not to imagine them as subject to the whispered treatment.

^{21.} The quasi-legibility of text in the film is an intentional aesthetic I do not wish to break. The filmmaker made a digital file available to me, but I am not analyzing or including (as figures) still frames that an audience member at a film screening would not have access to. Curious readers can find such images as part of the film's announcement page on Canyon Cinema. (https://canyoncinema.com/2022/05/11/now-available-greta-sniders-prayer-for-the-torture-memos/)

^{22.} Senate Select Committee on Intelligence, Additional Minority Views, 435.

This calls to mind habeas corpus, the writ of law that provides recourse against illegal detention, which literally means, "you should have the body"; that judges should have physical access to the detained to determine the legality of detention.

Towards the end of the film, white silhouettes of seed pods the composited image (of text and bodies), and then the green outline of planes trail across the screen, evoking the rendition flights that brought prisoners to the secret prisons. A tactical response, Snider's film balances abstraction and concrete representations, layering text and body against—materially and positionally—the programs detailed in the memos.

2.4 Reading Nominations

questionnaire is not an anomaly within the SSCI Hearing Archive. Roughly 30% of documents from available hearings since 2009 are unsearchable images of text, and earlier documents tend to be more legible than recent ones. For instance, a nominee for Director of National Intelligence in 2009 provided answers to post-hearing questions in a fully searchable form. Eight years later, most nomination related documents are unsearchable. On the earliest version of the Hearing Archive website, before wide scale adoption of PDFs on the web, hearing testimonies were offered in HTML formatted text; no attempt was made to (re)format it in the likeness of a paper document. While screen readers at the time were still rudimentary, contemporary readers have

no problem with testimony of George Tenet from a hearing in 2000.

Prehearing Questions for the Honorable Mike Pompeo upon his nomination to be the Director of the Central Intelligence Agency Senators Wyden and Heinrich Collection Authorities The Committee's questions reference your January 2016 op-ed in The Wall Street Journal in which you wrote: "Congress should pass a law re-establishing collection of all metadata, and combining it with publicly available financial and lifestyle information into a comprehensive, searchable database." Please answer the following additional questions. • Please clarify whether "collection of all metadata" was a reference to bulk collection of metadata. If so, what kinds of metadata do you believe should be collected in bulk and entered into a "comprehensive, searchable database"? I was referring to metadata of the type collected under the then-existing program that was available for review under procedures and conditions reviewed and approved by federal judges.

Figure 2.4: excerpt of 170112_1000_pre-hearing-b-011217.pdf, page 2

Michael Pompeo's prehearing Q&A document from 2017 opens with questions about an editorial he wrote calling for the restoration of a controversial metadata collection program. Senators that would make the electronic traces of Americans' everyday life computationally legible to the NSA is an unsearchable grainy image of text. Aside from standard file-level metadata, the only fields of metadata set in the file are:

PDF Version	1.7
Linearized	Yes
Has XFA	No
Page Count	21

Table 2.1: Metadata from 170112_1000_pre-hearing-b-011217

These four fields provide scant details about the document, even less than the far more visually degraded but relatively metadata-rich *questionnaire* (provided at the beginning of this chapter). The presence

of XMP metadata in one and not the other suggests that they traversed different operational chains. The presence or absence of a property is as much of a signifier as its value.

Two of the questionnaires filled out by then Deputy CIA Director Gina Haspel as part of her May 2018 nomination hearings are also images of text. These text-images vary in resolution. The processes that convert them from documents into images also degrade the metadata of these files. While questionnaire's and pre- and posthearing responses to committee questions are images of text, both nominees' prepared testimonies are legible documents. Of the documents associated with a hearing, the prepared testimony is the one that is performed by the nominee in front of the committee and in front of cameras. Transcripts of the testimony are later released as an official transcription. Three records, one event. Multiple readings can destabilize a text, like having two clocks slightly out of sync. The written text is performed, recorded, and streamed live, and later transcribed. The initial text, an imprint of intent; the performance full of the complexities of public speaking, vocal affect, unintentional utterances, coughs and murmurs are each modes of documentation that hold different kinds of authority. The indeterminacy of Q&A, even if much is communicated in advance. The official transcript carries a finality of record. Multiple readings can reinforce a text.

All but one of the documents submitted as part of Pompeo's nomination hearing are images of text. Not all are as pixelated or illegible as *questionnaire*, but they are nonetheless unsearchable. Is this an absence, a lack of transparency, or something else? In her essay *Beyond the Public Eye: On FOIA Documents and the Visual Politics of Redaction*Anjali Nath disentangles transparency from visibility, "explor[ing] how redacted spaces function as images rather than simply as absent text." For Nath, redacted documents function as a "visual spectacle of nondisclosure" that, as images more than as texts, that "[create] multilayered and unintended meanings that exceed governmental instrumentality of the document." These SSCI documents, for the most part, are only lightly redacted (such as Pompeo's children's names and ages, and also his signature at the document's last page). But more so there is a different project at work, lossy compression out of control.

2.5 Asemic compression: JBIG2 if (true)

Table 2.2 shows the first 21 lines of output of "pdfimages," a free software command-line tool that is part of the "poppler-utils" suite of free software PDF analysis and manipulation tools for Linux and Windows. Pdfimages, when run with the "-list" flag, outputs a numbered list of images embedded in a pdf, with data about their resolution (width, height, pixels per inch), the format they are encoded in (enc) and other information. I will focus on the "color," "bpc," and "enc"

^{23.} Nath, "Beyond the Public Eye," 22.

^{24.} Nath, 24.

columns, which correspond to the color model of the image (rgb or grayscale), the bits per channel (or bit depth), and the encoding specification. There are two 24-bit rgb (a color model that can represent the range of human vision) JPEG images several pages apart (pages 1 and 13) while the rest are bilevel (1-bit) images encoded as JBIG2. JPEGs are a common format designed for photographic images, and used extensively on the web. JBIG2 is an image encoding specification developed for fax machines and document scanners, seldom seen, and is not supported widely in image editing applications.²⁵

JBIG2 is developed by and named after the Joint Bi-level Image Experts Group, which along with the Joint Photographic Experts Group (JPEG) forms a joint technical group that develops image specifications, codecs, and standards at the ISO and International Electrotechnical Commission (IEC). Bi-level images consist entirely of black and white pixels (1s and 0s); pixels are on or off (although gray tones can be approximated using dithering and halftoning). The format was designed for use cases that perform best with monochrome text.

While JBIG2 was developed to compress text-based documents, and its operations target letters, the format is functionally asemic (without the smallest unit of meaning), interested in patterns of things that need only resemble written language. Asemic writing is

^{25.} The twenty year old format is not supported natively by any web browsers, nor popular image editing programs, likely because of unclear licensing terms around unexpired patents. I used an open source encoder called jbig2enc which is developed and maintained by Adam Langley, and a decoder called jbig2dec, developed and maintained by the GhostScript project.

an artistic practice that produces forms that float between figurations and abstractions of words that lack clear referents. Rita Raley describes the practice as, "gestures of writing, reflexively thematizing and performing inscription, subtracting thought and content." Argentinian artist Mirtha Dermisache's artworks resemble writing in many forms; shapes that look like the broadsheet of a newspaper, or a handwritten letter, but whose letter forms are reduced to abstraction. Dermisache's work was not explicitly political, yet her work was largely invested in the liberation of signs. However, in one of her Diario (journal) series, she encoded in her abstraction of a newspaper the names of 16 victims of the Trelew massacre, in which Peronist political prisoners were killed in a mass execution. In a 2011 interview, she explained,

The left column on the last page is an allusion to the Trelew dead. This was in 1972. Apart from this massacre that did impact me, as it impacted many, I never wanted to give a political meaning to my work. What I did and continue to do is to develop graphic ideas with respect to writing, which in the end, I think, have little to do with political events but with structures and forms of language.²⁸

If asemic writing is the production of images that resemble documents and other forms of writing but in which the symbolic function of language has been stripped away, then asemic reading can be understood to be a kind of reading concerned with recognizing

^{26.} Rita Raley, "The Asemic at the End of the World," 2017, 3, accessed January 13, 2022, https://escholarship.org/uc/item/8847v06r.

^{27.} Will Fenstermaker, "Mirtha Dermisache and the Limits of Language," Section: Look, *The Paris Review*, January 2018, accessed January 7, 2022, https://www.theparisreview.org/blog/2018/01/30/mirtha-dermisache-limits-language/.

^{28.} Fenstermaker.

visual abstractions of letters and words. In this sense, JBIG2's imaging encoder can be thought of as a compression technique built on asemic reading, in which characters are identified through relatively simple image operations, but in a way that fails or refuses to recognize the textual layer of the document. The encoder isolates what it perceives to be symbols by removing color and grayscale portions of an image, and small clusters of pixels ("flyspecks") smaller than a threshold and presuming that the remaining shapes surrounded by whitespace are symbols.²⁹

JBIG2 has two main operating modes: lossless and lossy. In both modes, image encoding follows a set of operations: 1) once symbols have been isolated, 2) the encoder then iterates through them, and 3) storing each one that it does not recognize into a dictionary. If a symbol matches an extant dictionary entry, there is no need to store it a second time. Instead a reference is inserted to the dictionary item it matches. This dictionary process, also known as substitution coding, is a form of compression—not dissimilar from the filtering Lester Earnest developed in the early 1960s but applied to collections of pixels instead of letters and for different ends.

When encoded in this way, the information needed to reference the known block is much smaller than storing the pixel data and additional time. Each symbol encountered is either recognized or stored in anticipation of future recognition. In its lossless mode, the

^{29.} code found here: https://github.com/agl/jbig2enc/blob/master/src/jbig2enc.cc

encoder only stores references to exact bitwise matches, which are 100% identical, pixel for pixel. However, in the destructive reductions of its lossy mode, JBIG2 encoders allow a number of bits under a certain threshold to be different to account for dust or stray pixels in otherwise identical letters.

The lossy mode, when applied to low resolution documents, can also overwrite similar looking letters or numbers it has misidentified as a match. In 2014, security researcher David Kriesel discovered a number of Xerox WorkCenter multifunction copiers and scanners had enabled JBIG2 lossy compression by default, producing a situation in which there was no longer a way to guarantee which letters or numbers were on affected documents without access to the original paper.³⁰ In this mode, earlier glyphs in the image (starting in the top left corner) become the definitions that all other glyphs are compared to, and if found to be visually similar enough, replaced with. One might imagine a surrealist (re)writing game that follows a similar ruleset.

In an age of rampant paper reduction initiatives across both public and private bureaucracies in which digitization is sometimes followed by the destruction of original documents, JBIG's lossy compression introduces an aspect of indeterminacy to the resulting images. In response to Kriesel's findings, Switzerland and Germany banned the use of compression that utilizes "pattern-matching" for public sector

^{30.} David Kriesel, *Xerox scanners/photocopiers randomly alter numbers in scanned documents*, Section: 2015-09-02T12:31:38+02:00, September 2017, accessed May 24, 2021, https://www.dkriesel.com/en/blog/2013/0802_xerox-workcentres_are_switc hing written numbers when scanning.

 GOVERNMENT EXPERIENCE (INDICATE EXPERIENCE IN OR ASSOCIATION WITH FEDERAL, STATE, OR LOCAL GOVERNMENTS, INCLUDING ADVISORY, CONSULTATIVE, HONORARY, OR OTHER PART-TIME SERVICE OR POSITION. DO NOT REPEAT INFORMATION ALREADY PROVIDED IN QUESTION 8).

N/A

- INDICATE ANY SPECIALIZED INTELLIGENCE OR NATIONAL SECURITY EXPERTISE YOU HAVE ACQUIRED HAVING SERVED IN THE POSITIONS DESCRIBED IN QUESTIONS 8 AND/OR 9.
- GOVERNMENT EXPERIENCE (INDICATE EXPERIENCE IN GR ASSOCIATION WITH FEDERAL, STATE, OR LOCAL GOVERNMENTS, INCLUDING ADVISORY, CONSULTATIVE, HONGRARY, OR OTHER FART-TIME SERVICE OR POSITION. DO NOT REPEAT INFORMATION ALREADY PROVIDED IN QUESTION 8).

N/A

 INDICATE ANY SPECIALIZED INTELLIGENCE OR NATIONAL SECURITY EXPERTISE YOU NAVE ACQUIRED NAVING SERVED IN THE POSITIONS DESCRIBED IN QUESTIONS 8 AND/OR 9.

Figure 2.5: A segment of Pompeo's questionnaire before (top) and after (bottom) reencoded using jbig2enc with threshold set to 0.4 (its minimum in the distributed version).

document archival.³¹ As for Haspel's pre-hearing questions (and other SSCI documents, nearly all of which contain JBIG2 encoded images), it is unclear whether they were compressed using lossy mode. There is nothing in document metadata that specifies under which mode JBIG2 has operated. While it is possible the image encoder traded a 6 for an 8 or a comma for a period, or an O for a Q, there is no reason to conclude that the use of JBIG2 in encoding SSCI documents has produced any significant act of breaking sense.

In addition to its lossless and lossy modes, JBIG2 also has a middle ground "less lossy" mode, which allows near matches to be stored as a set of encoded differences. These differences are usually stored

^{31.} Christian Schiller, New Rules Governing Appropriate Compression Methods for Scans, accessed May 24, 2021, https://www.webpdf.de/blog/en/new-rules-governing-appropriate-compression-methods-for-scans/.

through the use of the exclusive or (XOR) operator run on the two images, storing pixels that are present in image A but not B, or B but not A, but not where they are identically on or off in both.

JBIG2's "less lossy" mode also allows for other bitwise operations (AND, OR, XNOR), and for these operations to be arranged into steps, with "each iteration using a logical operator [...] to set, clear or flip bits." Given the specification's intended use cases, these operations are intended to run on glyph-sized regions of an image. This capacity of JBIG2 to arrange image operations into logical sequences was exploited by the company NSO Group to hack foreign leaders, journalists, human rights activists, and U.S. State department officials.³²

NSO's Pegasus software made use of a "zero-click" exploit on iOS devices in which a JBIG2-encoded PDF pretending to be a GIF image is loaded and rendered by Apple's imaging APIs after being received by iMessage.³³ Hackers effectively built a virtual computer out of image differencing operations that was able to escape its own abstraction boundary and access the phones of those targeted by intelligence agencies who are clients and customers for NSO Group's "access as a service." The exploit used JBIG2's operational chains to run 70,000 segment commands to effectively construct the basic

^{32. &}quot;Pegasus: Who are the alleged victims of spyware targeting?," *BBC News*, July 2021, chap. World, accessed December 22, 2021, https://www.bbc.com/news/world-57891506.

^{33.} National Vulnerability Database, NVD - cve-2021-30860, Common Vulnerabilities and Exposures (National Institute of Standards and Technology Information Technology Library, August 2021), accessed December 22, 2021, https://nvd.nist.gov/vuln/detail/cve-2021-30860.

elements of a computer, from logic gates to a full 64-bit adder that can operate on arbitrary memory addresses of the targeted device. The act of receiving one of these images (a PDF with a JBIG2 payload pretending to be a GIF attachment to a text message) provides NSO's client with full remote access to the device. JBIG2 encapsulates the complex political work at stake in a task as fundamental as encoding an image of text: when used to encode public documents, JBIG2 makes the workings of states available to publics; as part of the Pegasus exploit it exposes targeted civilians to states. This is an assemblage of technical conditions that is difficult to analyze. Apple's imaging libraries are closed source and have been studied from outside more in terms of behavior than constitution. JBIG2's specification is nominally open. Like PDF, JBIG2 is an ISO specification and the same problems of access that obstructed access to PDF also apply to JBIG2. Aside from secondary literature, I have the choice between an obsolete paper-only version of the specification obtained through an international interlibrary loan or a \$214 payment to a standards body. Much like the techniques Anjali Nath proposes for understanding redacted text as materially present images, it is increasingly important to read unintelligible and inaccessible materials through whatever traces remain: as images, data, or as metadata.

2.6 Suspect Words, Dictionary Attacks

As discussed in Chapter 1, dictionaries play key roles in document scanning, analysis, validatation, and reconstruction of images of text, providing filters of legitimate words against which recognized words are compared, a process deeply similar to spell-checking. Peggy Ahwesh's 73 Suspect Words (1999 as text piece, 2000 as video short) uses spell check as a filter for Ted Kaczynski's Industrial Society and Its Future, aka the Unabomber Manifesto. Instead of correcting unrecognized words, the work isolates them; reducing the 34,000 word document to 73.34

At a structural level, 73 Suspect Words can be thought of as an assemblage of two inputs and a filtering operation. The inputs are the manifesto and a list of known words. The operation produces—and reduces—a list of words from the first input that do not occur in the second. Ahwesh's dictionary, or rather the dictionary in her word processor (or her operating system) functions here as a framing element.³⁵

This use of spell check is similar in form to the output of a spell check tool written in LISP by Aram Grayson in 1965 (approximately), a colleague of Lester Earnest at the Stanford Artificial Intelligence Lab, which "deliver[ed] a list of unrecognized words together with the page and line numbers in which they occurred, but offered no help on what

^{34.} Peggy Ahwesh, "73 Suspect Words," World Picture, no. 1 (1999).

^{35.} Ahwesh explained that the dictionary was used in Microsoft Word on a Macintosh computer in 1999 or 2000. Peggy Ahwesh, email correspondence with the artist, November 28 2021.

the correct spelling was."³⁶ Ahwesh's project applies a filter Kaczynski would have surely rejected, but one that might have helped him to evade the FBI. Kacyznski was caught when his brother recognized writing patterns between the manifesto and letters from Ted he saved. The FBI later used stylometric analysis on documents David Kacynzski provided to confirm the match.³⁷ Stylometry works by comparing the author's corpus of writing against a larger normative corpus and associated technologies under the heading of "authorship attribution" that produce models of an individual author's writing based on the words used and their frequency. While computational stylometric analysis goes back to the 1960s,³⁸ its applicability to everyday forms of writing has greatly increased as writing moves online and into various cloud-based services where these techniques have been integrated into writing services.³⁹

To defend oneself (or one's writing) against stylometry, Finn

^{36.} Lester Earnest, The First Cursive Handwriting Recognizer Needed a Spelling Checker and so did the Rest of the World, February 2016, accessed November 30, 2021, https://web.stanford.edu/~learnest/les/spelling.htm.

^{37.} Dave Davies, "FBI Profiler Says Linguistic Work Was Pivotal In Capture Of Unabomber," NPR, August 22, 2017, sec. Law, https://www.npr.org/2017/08/22/545122205/fbi-profiler-says-linguistic-work-was-pivotal-in-capture-of-unabomber.

^{38.} Frederick Mosteller and David L. Wallace, "Inference in an Authorship Problem," *Journal of the American Statistical Association* 58, no. 302 (June 1963): 275, accessed November 8, 2022, https://doi.org/10.2307/2283270, https://www.jstor.org/stable/2283270?origin=crossref.

^{39.} Hoshiladevi Ramnial, Shireen Panchoo, and Sameerchand Pudaruth, "Authorship Attribution Using Stylometry and Machine Learning Techniques," in *Intelligent Systems Technologies and Applications*, ed. Stefano Berretti, Sabu M. Thampi, and Praveen Ranjan Srivastava, vol. 384, Series Title: Advances in Intelligent Systems and Computing (Cham: Springer International Publishing, 2016), 113–125, accessed December 30, 2021, https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-23036-8_10, http://link.springer.com/10.1007/978-3-319-23036-8_10.

Brunton and Helen Nissenbaum suggest three tactics.⁴⁰ The first uses automatic translation software to convert the writing from and back to its original language from multiple others, "corrupting" the author's style with those of a translation algorithm at the cost of textual coherence. The second appropriates techniques from stylometry as part of an attempt to imitate another author's style, iteratively transposing identifying features in exchange for the target author's. The third similarly uses stylometry's methods but seeks to obfuscate and eliminate any apparent style from writing.⁴¹ Microsoft has patented a technique that, given a target text and a reference corpus, will suggest alterations that will obfuscate the document against stylometric analysis. 42 Anonymouth, an open source tool from Drexel University's Privacy, Security and Automation Lab, implements this obfuscatory method and offers suggestions to make writing unremarkable and stylistically unidentifiable by replacing words that stray from the normativity of the reference corpus.⁴³

Because dictionaries function relationally, they are fulcrums of political power. The spellcheck dictionary delineates boundaries of inside and outside, authorized and suspect: logics of enclosure. To be suspect

^{40.} Finn Brunton and Helen Fay Nissenbaum, *Obfuscation: a user's guide for privacy and protest* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: MIT Press, 2015), 32.

^{41.} Unlike asemic writing which is devoid of meaning, this mode still seeks to convey without containing any stylistic content (relative to the dataset used to interrogate the work).

^{42.} Gary J. Kacmarcik and Michael Gamon, Obfuscating Document Stylometry (US7627562B2, filed December 2009), accessed January 2, 2022, https://patents.goog le.com/patent/US7627562B2/en.

^{43.} Travis Macdonald, The O Mission Repo: a repo of the o mission error Attacks on Unit: official over edit, OCLC: 881826840 (Philadelphia: Fact-Simile Editions, 2014).

is to be absent from the known list, unknown, and unrecognized. Kaczynski's unfiltered polemic against socio-technical regulation reorganizes traces of the original text, most of the content includes actual valid English words, and so the work reveals contours and limits of its lexicon even more so than Kaczynski's apparent misspellings. The constrained lexicon that constitutes 73 Suspect Words flash on the screen one by one: leftism, leftism, transsexuality, trashiness, uncrowded, oversocialized, oversocialized, oversocialized. In a world where writing is increasingly subject to operation, it matters what words word words.

2.7 Operational Character Rendition

In the code of *Operational Character Rendition* I approach word matching similar to a standard dictionary-based search, but with three inputs: 1) the characters recognized by the OCR library, 2) a standard spellcheck dictionary, and 3) a second word list of watchwords for social media.⁴⁵ This second list is derived from an analyst's reference binder used by the Department of Homeland Security's Media Monitoring Capability (MMC), obtained by a Freedom of Information act request by the Electronic Privacy Information Center (EPIC).⁴⁶ The handbook describes

^{44.} Ahwesh, "73 Suspect Words."

^{45.} I am using the standard English dictionary that comes with the aspell package. I may include additional dictionaries in future versions of OCR.

^{46.} Media Monitoring Capability Desktop Reference Binder, 2011, https://epic.org/wp-content/uploads/foia/epic-v-dhs-media-monitoring/Analyst-Desktop-Binder-REDACTED.pdf.

the MMC's mission as a process of updating situation summaries using open source information and monitoring all open source information to detect and track new incidents. Open Source Intelligence (OSINT) is a set of intelligence practices that operate on public sites and sources of intelligence: academic journals, periodicals, public fora, and more recently social media.

These operations are performed, as the title suggests: rendition can be an exaggerated performance. The process is slowed down and enlarged and its interrogation made inefficient if not unreliable. Rendition suggests the system of extrajudicial carceral system documented in many of the texts OCR processes, but it can also suggest translation, interpretation, and surrender. In the technical jargon of imaging, rendering (absent the "sur") is key to image operations. Bernard Geoghegan notes the military and juridical connotations of rendering cannot wholly be separated (as one might render fat from meat in order to make it stable).⁴⁷ Geoghegan marks the connections in these operative logics of separation in rendering and rendition explicitly:

The US military's practice of "rendition," or extraterritorial kidnapping, is one of the the most radical instantiations of the drive to render a single planetary expanse governed by one rule, ideally operative at all points without interference or countervailing force. Even a chef "rendering fat" from a carcass ultimately subjects the peculiar singularity of a concrete and physical body to a set of purifying technical operations. The dissolution of the binds of one local body

^{47.} Bernard Dionysius Geoghegan, "The Bitmap is the Territory: How Digital Formats Render Global Positions," *MLN* 136, no. 5 (2021): p. 1084, accessed July 8, 2022, https://doi.org/10.1353/mln.2021.0081, https://muse.jhu.edu/article/846203.

serves, in each instance, to affirm a new collective body and its more or less uniform consistency.⁴⁸

Rendering and rendition function dispositionally as a means of purity and stabilization, coded into the operations of extrajudicial prisons and the workings of format.⁴⁹ How do artists push back against these "separating" operations?

Greta Snider's A Prayer for the Torture Memos offers one tactical response, subverting the legibility of text over the bodies they effect. Multiple readings can reinforce or destabilize a text. In *OCR* The initial 'reading' happens quickly (in the time it takes to display the page), producing a set of metadata about lines and character locations, and levels of confidence for each recognition. *OCR* then uses this metadata to fuel its rendition. As it reads, it cancels the text in the visible document. As legal media scholar Cornelia Vismann describes, within the deep histories of legal documents, copying and cancellation are part of the same operation:

Derived from Latin cancelli grating or lattice, from which are also derived 'chancel' and 'chancellor'—the word means "to cross out, from crossed lattice lines drawn across a legal document, to annul it, hence destroy or delete it." Annulling drafts is indispensable for the operation of a chancery. After they have been copied, drafts must be crossed out so that the clean copy can become the unmistakable original. The act of

^{48.} Geoghegan, "The Bitmap is the Territory."

^{49.} I'm using disposition(ally) here in the sense that Keller Easterling uses it to describe infrastructural space in terms of how it establishes tendencies. Keller Easterling, Extrastatecraft: the Power of Infrastructure Space, OCLC: 900761340 (London: Verso, 2014), p.57

copying, then, is followed by the act of canceling.⁵⁰

In place of the traditional cancel as strikethrough, OCR marks the bounding box of each shape recognized as a letterform as transparent, emptying it of image data. This erasure is not a particularly effective form of redaction, as the height and width of each letter in non-monospaced fonts can be used to reconstruct a document (and perhaps OCR opens the the possibility of a future reconstructive reader, using a Levenshtein-like distancing operation with letters weighted based on how similar their bounding boxes are on a page). The resulting images, produced as "findings" produced by OCR are, then, the source documents exhausted of their recognizable elements.

Reconstruction of documents has an extensive pre-digital history. Julia Meltzer and David Thorne's 2003 film *It's Not My Memory of it: Three Recollected Documents* considers a set of shredded classified documents reassembled by Iranian students in 1979 as one of three documents the film deploys to to experimentally reflect on "the role of documents in the constitution of the dynamic of knowing and not knowing." ⁵¹

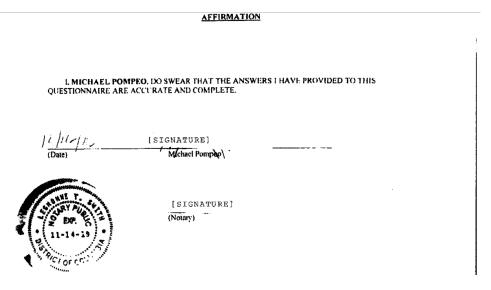


Figure 2.6: The last page of Pompeo's nomination questionnaire, detail

2.8 Signing and Authentication

Not all, but most of the SSCI documents which are images of text are signed documents. This observation suggests that they were printed out, signed, notarized (in some cases), copied, faxed, copied, and re-scanned. There is something poetic that the act of marking of one's name as an identificatory or authorizing act also strips a layer of intelligibility from a public document.

Printing a document activates a stack of software that manages the complex tasks negotiating between the word processor (or browser, etc.) and the drivers that can communicate with the printer. One of

^{50.} Cornelia Vismann, *Files: law and media technology*, trans. Geoffrey Winthrop-Young, Meridian, OCLC: ocn173748347 (Stanford, Calif: Stanford University Press, 2008).

^{51.} Julia Meltzer and David Thorne, *Julia Meltzer and David Thorne* | *It'* s *Not My Memory of It: Three Recollected Documents*, accessed December 6, 2022, http://www.meltzer thorne.com/itsnot.

the things that is lost in this orchestration of software, gears, rollers, and ink or toner is metadata. But sometimes, bleed-through occurs. In June 2017, NSA analyst Reality Winner was arrested for leaking documents describing Russian interference in the 2016 election to a news organization. As part of their story based on the leaked information, *The Intercept* published the unredacted documents. The FBI affidavit that led to her arrest notes that "the pages of the intelligence reporting appeared to be folded and/or creased, suggesting they had been printed and hand-carried out of a secured space." These documents contained small yellow dots known as Machine Identification Codes (MICs) that, when decoded, can identify the serial number of the printer that produced them along with other metadata (date and time). NSA reportedly used the MICs, along with more blatant signifiers that the documents had been printed and rescanned, to narrow their suspects and identify Winner.

Detected Pattern	4
Serial Number	-53218-
Timestamp	2017-05-09 06:20:00
Raw	54295352181271517050906020020
Dot Count per Pattern	55

Table 2.3: Output of deda, an open source software toolkit for reading, writing, and anonymizing MICs, when run on the PDFs published by *The Intercept*.

It is unlikely that MICs would survive the chain of operations that *questionnaire* endured. The reduction from a color print to the bilevel

^{52.} Justin C Garrick, Affidavit in Support of Application for Arrest Warrant Case 1:17-Mj-00024-Bke, June 2017.

^{53.} Seth Schoen and Luftfahrtmuseum Finowfurt, Decoding Identifying Printer Information, https://www.eff.org/files/filenode/printers/ccc.pdf.

(monochrome) encoding in JBIG2 would have erased the yellow dots by collapsing them into the background, or (much less likely) rendering them fully visible as black specks.

2.9 Gina and the *****

Roughly a year before Gina Haspel's confirmation as CIA Director, she was effectively an unknown figure who emerged from the secret life of a CIA agent to take public office 2017. Artist Mary Walling Blackburn deployed techniques of divination to intervene in Haspel's virual unqueriability in her 2017 epistolary work *Gina and the Stars*. Blackburn addresses her subject directly:

Hello Gina Cheri Haspel,

I locate you by odor print, by genitals, by stars. There's no eyeballing you as there is not one photograph of your face on the Internet or in a newspaper. When my mother was a child, one of my grandmother's boyfriends would pop his glass eye out of its socket and place it in her palm. One side was the iris and the other was the US flag. He'd pop it back in, flag out. You are the glass eye, sweetie. You're flag side out. The surveilling eye embedded in the head guts.⁵⁴

At the time of Blackburn's writing, Haspel had been recently appointed Deputy Director of the CIA (under Michael Pompeo) and, as Blackburn notes, there was no visual documentation of Haspel available. She was virtually an unknown figure. Blackburn continues, "my non-amblyopic eye fumbles against your web silhouette. You

^{54.} Mary Walling Blackburn, *Gina and the Stars*, April 2017, https://tamawuj.org:8453/tamawuj/tamawuj_post_detail?id=3060.

torturer you, literally; a soft executioner with a digital mask (you took Zubaydah's left eye but not the entire head). What did the left eye reveal? Data in the mush."55

Blackburn's droll turns of phrase turn over the deep layers of unknowability of Haspel's role in violent interrogations and the destruction of their evidence. She writes, "After recorded interrogations, you cleaned the tapes. Before or after the facts, the Internet was washed clean of you; what remains is your birthdate without place of birth or time of birth." What is knowable about Haspel is a coarse approximation of time, outside of the regimented, granular timestamps one might record on a birth certificate or web access log. For Blackburn, a birthdate is a singular piece of metadata—a date, absent a time or a coordinate, but it is something. While place and time of birth are key/value pairs one might expect on a birth certificate (the gold standard of identifying documents) they are also the basis for natal charts. Blackburn notes that while a scientist can do nothing with "October 1, 1956", that an astrologer can do something. And so she probes at the darkness with this coarse method because that is all that is available.

Blackburn inhales the timestamp - October 1st, 1956, and follows its "semio-chemical trail" to arrive at an astrological chart produced

^{55.} Blackburn. A brief clarification: at the time of her writing ProPublica reported that Haspel was Chief of Base (COB) at Cat's Eye during Zubaydah's interrogation and torture; in 2018 ProPublica corrected the story, noting that Haspel's predecessor was still in charge of the prison at that time. Haspel was, however, in charge for the interrogation and torture of Abd al-Rahim al-Nashiri at the prison camp.

automatically by a website:

Your Pluto is in Leo 30. The according Kozminsky symbol reveals a ship's steward, in his arms, a bowl of white lilies. But I'm going to go with the according Sabian symbol. Into a letter is poured vital and confidential information. It is folded carefully, but the envelope is not sealed. Poured? Stars. Seeds. Aqueous Humor.

Without protection, Mwb

The figure of the eye looms large in the letter; from the glass eye flag out (a prosthetic that cannot see, the window to the soul of a nationalist while also evoking Zubaydah's loss) to aqueous humor (the fluid of the eye contained by the cornea) to the artist's own amblyopia (also known as a lazy eye). The [un]queryability of bodies, databases, and documents collide in this work; whose information is available to whomever knows where and how to look and under specific terms. Blackburn wrote Gina and the Stars as an intervention against the conspicuous absence ("the internet washed clean of you") of queriable information about Haspel.⁵⁶ With little information to be found on the web, perhaps the piece would rise in the rankings of Google's search results so that in the absence of official information, the letter might stand in. The interrogation of Abu Zubaydah, however unreliable its output, was facilitated by a logic that Alex Galloway (writing about the series 24) describes in the terms of information retrieval, writing, "[t]he body is a database, torture a query algorithm." ⁵⁷ Zubaydah's

^{56.} Mary Walling Blackburn, interview with the artist, 2017.

^{57.} Galloway is not reducing the body to a data corpus, but rather emphasizing the cultural pervasiveness of this reduction—in entertainment and in the national policies it represents. Alexander R. Galloway, The Interface Effect (Cambridge, UK⊠; Malden, MA: Polity, 2012), 112.

torture was approved only after a determination was made that he would be held incommunicado for the rest of his life, without ever having been criminally charged.⁵⁸

Blackburn's intervention was targeted at a brief moment of Haspel's unqueriability, a moment now long passed. A search for the name returns 280,000 results. As Haspel's online footprint expanded, Gina and the Stars was eclipsed. The artwork was hosted on tamawuj.org, the off-site and (once) online platform of the 13th Sharjah Biennial; that site has been offline since 2020.⁵⁹ Gina and the Stars was not indexed by the Internet Archive's Wayback Machine and no cached version appears to be available through Google. 60 A literal string search for the title returns ten hits, one is a false positive and the others are from mentions of the piece in iterations of Blackburn's biography related to other writing and events through 2017. Both Sharjah Biennial's Tamawuj domain and the artist's personal website are currently offline. Their presence occurred in a moment in a moment of opportunity to stand in or Haspel's lack of knowability and then they faded into memory. Tamawuj.org now directs to a site that offers customers "help" with academic writing, linking to an essay-writing service

^{58.} Charles L. Church, *What Politics and the Media Still Get Wrong About Abu Zubaydah*, August 2018, accessed December 6, 2021, https://www.lawfareblog.com/what-politics-and-media-still-get-wrong-about-abu-zubaydah.

^{59.} When a domain goes offline, results from that site quickly disappear from Google results.

^{60.} I have relied on a personal Zotero web snapshot as I have been unable to find any currently accessible version of the piece.

that charges \$53.30 for a six page essay. Based on Wayback Machine queries, by August 2019, Blackburn's site had been replaced by a site ostensibly selling "fox bed sheets awesome and pillow covers new yin sun fashion animal duvet cover cases full" under the slogan, "the details are not the details. they make the design." In April 2021, the site simply read, "Coming soon" before going dark.

^{61.} Their estimated rate for an essay with this dissertation's current page count, not counting image and metadata inserts, is quoted at \$1,128.60

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y-ppi	240	240	240	240	240	240	240	240	240	240	240	240	240	240	240	240	240	240	240	240	27.0
x-ppi	240	240	240	240	240	240	240	240	240	240	240	240	240	240	240	240	240	240	240	240	27.0
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Table 2.2: Truncated output of "pdfimages" command run on a 76 page document consisting of pre-hearing Q&A for then CIA Director nominee Gina Cheri Haspel. Removed column "id" (all were zero)

Figure 2.7: Findings produced from OCR's reading of $170112_1000_$ questionnaire- $011217_$ tesseract $_2.1.1.$ pdf

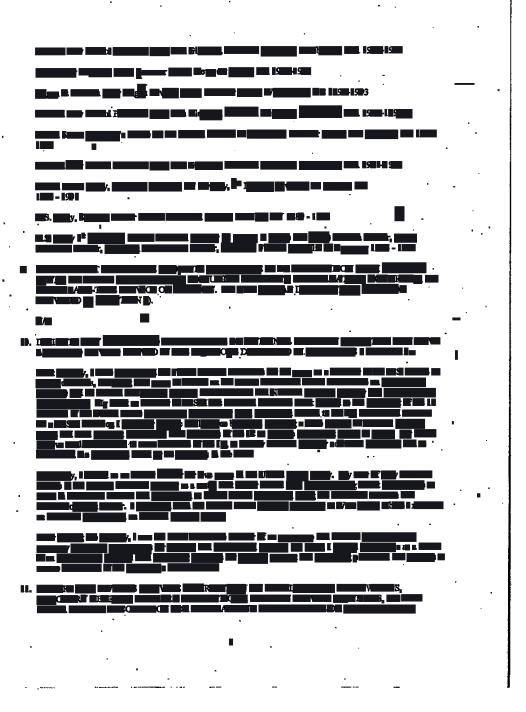


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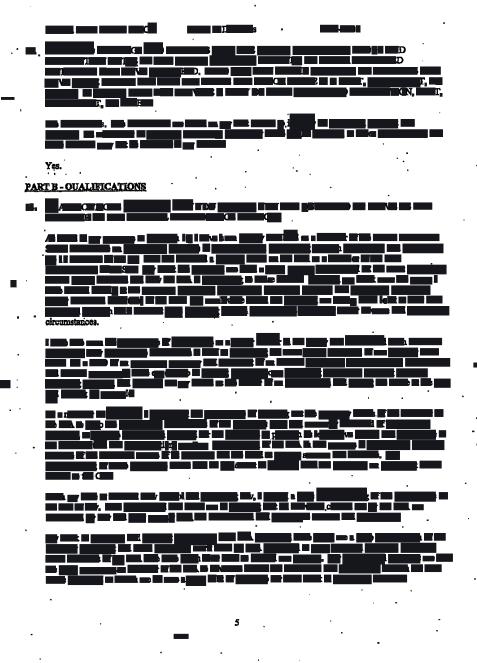
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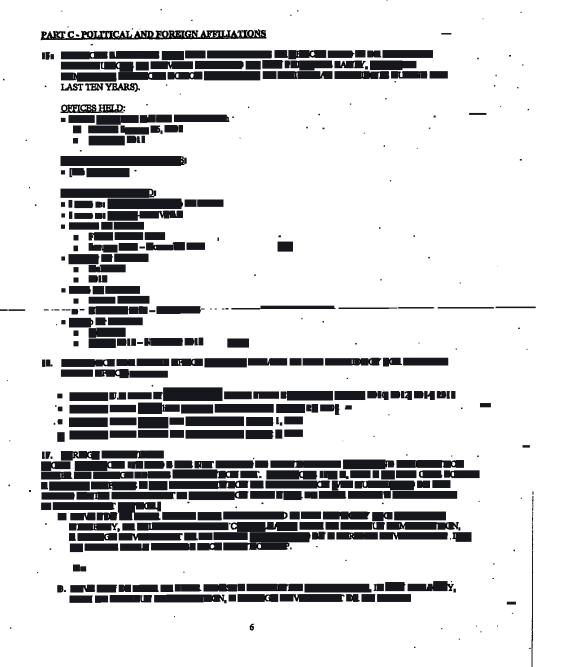
PART A - BIOGRAPHICAL INFORMATION

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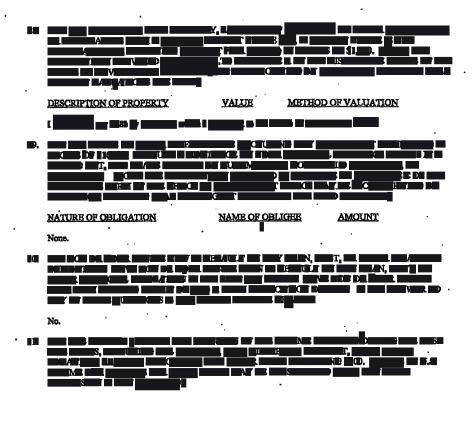
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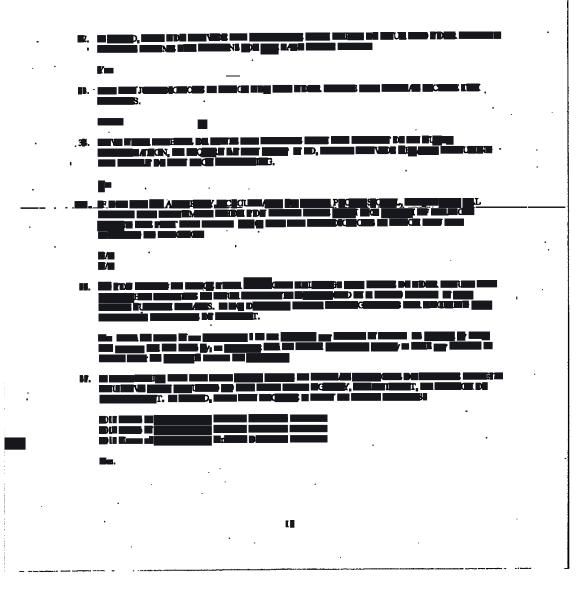




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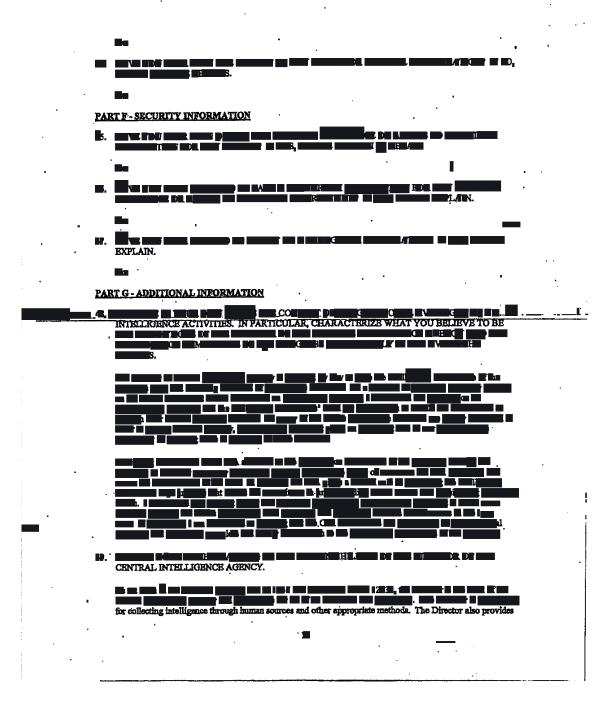


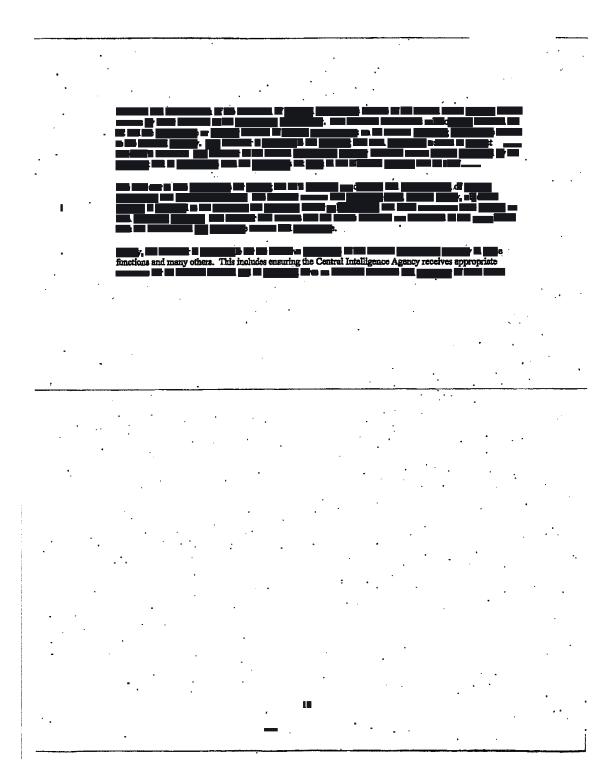
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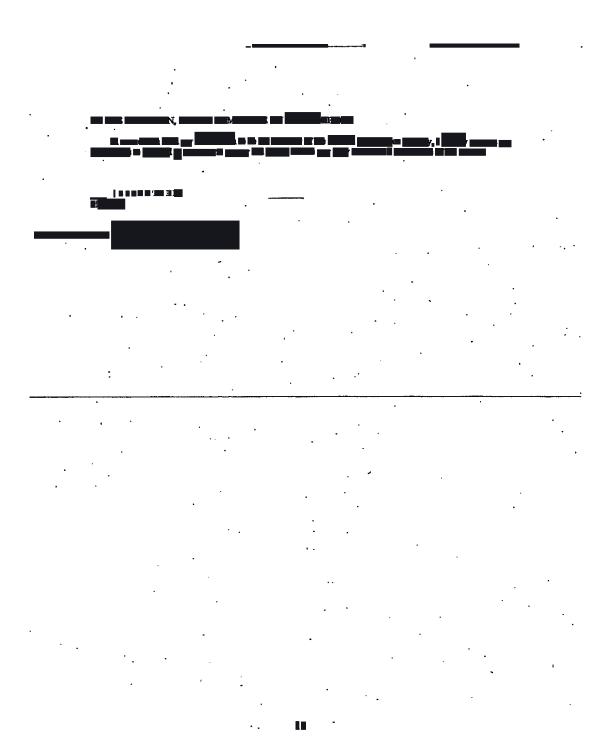


Figure 2.8: Metadata produced by Operational Character Rendition's reading of $170112_1000_questionnaire-011217_tesseract_2.1.1.pdf$

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fanny","canny","Lanny","nanny","Danny"],"lapel","button","army","commendation","med al"."E",["any","aunt","puny"],["achievement","achievements"],"medal","with","cluster","pa rachutists", "badge", "E", "cavalry", "saber", ["award", "awards"], "general", "Robert", "Woo d","award",["distinguished","undistinguished","distinguishes","distinguish"],"general",["i nfield", "airfield", "oilfield", "infields", "minefield", "midfield", "Winfred", "Whitfield", "Scot t","memorial","award",["highest","nighest"],"achievement","IN","engineering",["manage ment", "management's", "managements"], "last", "ten", ["bars", "years"], "IN", "any", ["professi onal","professionals","professionally","professional's","processional","processionals"," unprofessional", "profession", "professionalism", "profession's", "professions", "processio nal's", "professionalize"], ["civic", "civics"], ["fraternal", "fraternally"], ["business", "business" s","busyness","businesses","bushiness"],"scholarly",["cultural","culturally"],["charitabl e", "charitably"], "OR", "other", ["similar", "similarly"], ["organizations", "organization", "organization", zational", "organization's"], "A", "Kansas", ("policy", "Police"], "institute", ("trustee", "trustee s"],"lint","hills","center","for","public","policy","American","legion","member",["present"," presenter","presently","present's","presents","presented"],"military","officers","associa tion", "member", "approx", "to", "present", "national", "rifle", "association", "member", "to", "pr esent", "Young", "presidents", ["organization's", "organizations"], "education", "chair", "appr ox","Wichita","country","cine","member","Westminster","Presbyterian","Church","deaco n", "Sunday", "school", "teacher", "approx", ["theater", "theaters", "heaters", "cheat er","cheaters","theater's"],"Wichita","board","of","directors","industrial","container","ser vices", "approx", "Wichita", "South", "Branch", "YMCA", "board", "directors", "published", "wri tings", "and", ["speeches", "breeches", "beeches", "fetches", "leeches", "seethes", "screech es", "sketches", "speech's", "stenches"], "list", "the", "titles", ["publishers", "publisher", "publi sher's", "publishes"], "blogs", "and", "publication", "dates", "of", "any", "books", ["articles", "arti cle", "article's", "articled", "particles"], ["reports", "report", "reporter", "report's", "reported", "r esorts", "retorts", "deports"], "brother", "published", "materials", "you", ["have", "Wave"], ["aut hored", "authoress"], "also", "list", "any", "public", "speeches", "OR", "remarks", "you", ["have", " Wave"], "made", "within", "the", "last", "ten", "years", "for", "which", "there", "is", "A", ["text", "text", ts"],["transcript","transcripts","transcript's"],"OR","if","asked","Will","you","provide","A",[" copy","Cops"],"of","each","requested",["publication","publications","publication's","lubri cation", "republication", "republications", "sublimation", "duplication"], ["text", "texts"], ["tra nscript","transcripts","transcript's"],"OR",["video","videos"],"see",["attachments","attach ment", "attachment's", "attainments", "detachments"], "the", "attachments", "are", "based", " ON", "my", ["Best", "Bust"], "efforts", "to", ["identify", "identity"], "all", "published", "writings", " and",["speediest","speedier","speediness","seediest"],"As","member","of",["Congress"," congress", "Congress's", "congress's", "Congresses", "congresses"], "however", "I", ["frequ ently","frequency","frequent","frequenter","frequentes","frequented"],"make","publi c",["remarks","remark","remark's","remarked"],"At","times",["unscheduled","nonschedul ed","rescheduled","scheduled"],"and","these","remarks","May","not","Be","reflected","I N","my",["records","record","recorder","recorded","rewords"],"qualification s",["describe","prescribe","describer","describes","described"],"why","you","believe","yo u", "are", "qualified", "to", "serve", "As", "the", ["director", "directory", "directors", "directer", "director", "directors", "direct rector's"],"of","the","Central","intelligence",["agency","agency's"],"As",["noised","nose

d","noted"],"IN","my",["response","Response"],"to","question",["have","shave"],"boon","de eply"."involved"."As"."A"."member"."of"."the"."House"."permanent"."select"."committe e","ON","intelligence","IN",["understanding","understandings","understandingly","und erstanding's", "understating"], "authorizing", "through", ["legislation", "legislating", "legisla tion's", "legislator", "legislative", "legislators"], "and", "overseeing", "the ", "elements", "of", "th e","this","has","included","A","specific",["focus","fools","foods","foots"],"ON","the",["CI A","CIA"],"As","A","member","of","the",["CIA","CIA"],"subcommittee","of","my",["work","P ork","Worm"],"hes","provided","ME","with","A",["deep","deeps"],"current","background"," ax","the","most","significant",["threats","Threat"],"America","and","how","the",["CIA","CI A"],"IA","responding","to","those",["threats","threat","threaten","threads","threat's","thro ats","treats","Threat"],"through","my",["work","Pork","Worm"],"over","the",["yeas","yeas t"],["have","Wave"],"looked","closely","At","the",["structure","structures","structured","str icture", "structural", "strictures", "structure's"], ["personnel", "personnel's"], ["capabilities", " capability's"], "activities", ["finding", "findings", "bindings", "bindings", "finking", "fining", "fe nding", "funding", "finding's", "minding", "winding", "and", "operations", "including", "highl y","classified","activities","of","the",["CIA","ciao","CIA"],"my","worldwide","travel","has"," provided","ME","with","A","close","look","At","how",["CIA","CIA"],["personnel","persona e"],"perform","their","difficult",["take","task","tasks","tasked","taste"],"gathering","forei gn", ["intelligence", "intelligence's", "intelligent", "intelligently"], "frequently", "under", "adv erse", "and", "threatening", "also", "seen", "the", "importance", "of", "intelligence", "As", "Junio r","officer","IN","the","army","and","understand","from","firsthand","experience","how","i ntelligence", "information", "is", "vital", "TA", "protecting", "the", "most", "Junior", "members", " of","our","military","from",["harm","harms"],"As","CEO","of","en","aerospace","compan y", "and", "president", "of", "an", "oilfield", "equipment", "manufacturing", ["distribution", "dist ributions", "distribution", "distribution's", "redistribution", "distributor", "dis tributive", "distributors"], "and", "service", ["company", "company's"], "I", ["have", "Wave"], "ex perience","IN","leading",["organizations","organization","organization' s", "reorganizations"], "managing", ["personnel", "personnel's"], "meeting", ["budgets", "bud ges","budget","budget's","budgeted"],"MT","managing",["projects","project","projecto r","project's","projected","protects"],"and","carrying","out","my","duties","the","leader","o f","an","organization","and",["batting","hatting","catting","matting","patting","ratting","sc atting", "salting", "spatting", "setting", "sitting", "swatting", "tatting", "vatting"], "th e",["atone","Stone","stone","tone"],"At","the",["top","topi","tops"],"leading","by",["exampl e", "examples", "exampled", "example's"], "of", ["Congress", "congress", "Congress's", "cong ress's", "Congresses", "congresses"], "J", "understand", "the", "importance", "of", "carrying", ' out","the","statutory","duties","of","the","director","of","OS","the",["CIA","CIA"],"to","kee p","the","intelligence","committees","of","the","Congress","fully","and","currently","infor med","of","intelligence","activities","information","required","for","the",["Congress","con gress", "confess", "congers", "congest", "congests", "countess", "contest", "contests"], "to", " perform", "its", "legislative", "duties", "and", ["participate", "particulate", "participates", "participates, "participates, "participates, "participates, "participates, "participates, "participates, "participates, "parti cipated"],"IN","the","authorization",["and","Andy"],"appropriations",["process","profes s","processor","process's","processed","prowess"],"participation","of","th e",["CIA","CIA"],"IN","this","process","is","particularly",["complex","complexly","complex

es", "complex's", "complete"], "because", "of", "the", "classified", "nature", "of", "its", "activitie s"."and","the","need","to","protect","sources","and",["methods","method","method's","Me thodism", "Methodist"], "my", "understanding", "of", "those", "legislative", "issues", "Will", "B e","important","IN","working","with","the",["Congress","congress","ingress","caress"],"O N","important","related","to","the",["CIA","ciao","CIA"],"from","my","time","At","Harvard"," law", "school", "and", "practicing", ["law", "lawn", "laws"], "I", "gained", "A", "deep", "understan ding","of","the","importance","of","the","rule","of",["law","lawn","laws"],"this","backgroun d","Will","assist","ME","IN","ensuring","that","all",["activities","utilities","nativities"],"carri ed","out","by","the",["CIA","CIA"],"Ave","authorized","by","law","and","fully","comply","wi th","the","Constitution","and","applicable","statutes","and",["regulations","regulation","r egulation's", "emulations", "reflations", "Revelations", "revelations", "refutations", "regulati ng","regulators","relations","reputations"],"my",["work","Pork","Worm"],"IN","Congres s", "and", "frequent", "interactions", "with", "personnel", ["have", "Wave"], "given", "ME", "A", "d eep","appreciation","of","the","critically","important","and","often","dangerous",["work"," Pork", "Worm"], "done", "by", "personnel", "At", "great", "personal", ["sacrifice", "sacrifices", "s acrificed"],"including","those","members","of","the",["CIA","CIA"],"WHO",["have","Wav e"], "given", "their", "lives", "to", "defend", "our", ["country", "country", "country's"], "my", "backg round","provides","ME","with","the","skills","necessary's","director","of","to","advocate"," within", "the", "executive", "and", "legislative", "Branch", "for", "such", "brave", "personnel", "t o","whom","we","all","owe","A","great","debt","of","gratitude","for","their",["work","Por k","Worm"],"IN","protecting",["America","American","Americans","Americans","Americans ns","America's"],"political","activities","list","any","memberships","OR","offices",["held"," Help"],"IN","OR","financial","contributions","OR","services","rendered","any","political"," party",["election","Execution"],["committee","committees","committee's","committee"]," political", "action", ["committee", "committees", "committee's", "committeed"], "OR", "individu al","candidate","during","the","Kansas","Republican","national",["committeeman","com mitteemen", "committeeman's", "committeewoman"], ["elected", "ejected", "erected", "sele cted"],"January","OE","O",["resigned","reigned","resignedly","designed"],"financial",["co ntributions","contribution","contribution's","contributing","contributors"],"see",["attach ment", "attachments"], "services", ["rendered", "tendered"], "I", "serve", "for", ["Kansas", "ma nses"],"I","serve",["Kansans","Kenyans"],"for","McCain","O","Fourth","district","chair"," O","January","November","Romney","for","president","volunteer","O",["Rubik","Rubi n"],"for","president","O","Kansas","November","March","CT","Te","tramp","for","presiden t","CO","CO","volunteer","CO",["August","august","Angus","angst"],"November","M","ca ndidacy", "for", "public", "office", ["furnish", "burnish", "furbish", "refurnish"], "details", "of", "a ny","candidacy","for","elective","public",["office","officers","officers","office's","offices"],[" candidate", "candidates", "candidate's"], "House", "of", ["representatives", "Representativ e", "representative", "representative's", "representations", "unrepresentative", "preventativ es", "representation", "representational", "representation's"], "Kansas", "Fourth", "Congres sional",["district","districts","distract","distracts","district's"],["candidate","candidates","c andidate's"],"Kansas","Republican","national","January","Lot",["candidate","candidate s","candidate's"],"Kansas","precinct",["committeeman","committeemen","committeema n's"],["candidate","candidates","candidate's"],"Kansas","precinct",["committeeman","co

mmitteemen", "committeeman's", "committeewoman"], ["August", "august", "Angus", "ang st"], "foreign", "affiliations", "questions", "and", "B", "not", "limited", "to", "relationships", "requi ring","registration","under","the","foreign",["agents","Agent"],"registration",["ACTH","AC T", "act", "Acts", "acts"], "questions", "and", "C", "A", "positive", ["response", "Response"], "if", "t he","representation","OR","transaction","was","authorized","by","the","united","States"," government","IN","connection","with","your","OR","your",["spouse's","spouses","espous es", "spouse", "spousals", "souse's", "souses"], "employment", "IN", "government", ["service", " service's", "services", "serviced"], ["have", "Wave"], "you", "OR", "your", "spouse", "ever", "repr esented","IN","any","capacity",["employee","employees","employeer","employee's","emp loyers", "employed"], ["attorney", "attorneys", "attorney's"], "OR", ["consultant", "consultant" s","consultants","consultancy"],"with","OR","without",["compensation","compensation s", "compensating", "compensation's", "commendation", "commendations", "compensator y","condensation","condensations"],"A","foreign","government","an","entity","controlle d","by","A","foreign",["government","governments","governmental","government's"],"i f",["leash","pleas","please","plash"],"fully","describe","such",["relationship","relationship s", "relationship's"], ["have", "Wave"], "any", "of", "your", "OR", "your", "spouse's", "associate s",["represented","unrepresented","presented","reprehended","represent","representin g","represents"],"IN","any",["capacity","capacitor","capacity's","rapacity"],"with","OR"," without", "compensation", "compensations", "compensating", "compensation's", "comme ndation", "commendations", "compensatory", "condensation", "condensations"], "A", "forei gn", "government", "OR", "an", "entity", "controlled", "by", "A", "foreign", ["government", "gove rnments", "governmental", "government's"], "please", "fully", "describe", "such", "during", "th e","past","ten","years",["have","Wave"],"you","OR","your","spouse","received","any","com pensation",["from","Fromm"],"OR","been","involved","IN","any","financial","OR","busines s","transactions",["with","withe"],"A","foreign","government","OR","any","entity","control led","by","A","foreign",["government","governments","governmental","government's"],"i f","please","provide",["details","retails","derails","detail',"detail's","detailed","detains"],["h ave","Wave"],"you","OR","your","spouse","ever","registered","under","the","foreign",["ag ents","Agent"],"registration",["ACTH","ACT","act","Acts","acts"],"if","please","provide",["d etails", "retails", "derails", "detail", "detail's", "detailed", "detains"], "A", "describe", "any", "lobb ying", "activity", "during", "the", "past", "ten", "years", "other", "than", "IN", "an", "my", "official", " government",["capacity","capacitor","capacity's","rapacity"],"IN","which","you","OR","yo ur", "spouse", ["have", "Wave"], "engaged", "for", "the", "purpose", "of", "directly", "OR", "indire ctly", "influencing", "the", ["passage", "passages", "massages", "massages", "massaged", "pa ssage's"],["defeat","defeats"],"OR","modification","of","Federal",["legislation","legislatin g", "legislation's", "legislator", "legislative", "legislators"], "OR", "for", "the", "purpose", "of", "af fecting","the","MO","administration","and",["execution","Execution"],"of","Federal","non e", "describe", "any", ["employment", "employments", "employment's"], "business", ["relatio nship", "relationships", "relationship's"], "financial", ["transaction", "transactions", "transact ing", "transaction's", "transactor", "transecting", "transactors", "translation", "translation s","transition","transitions"],["investment","investments","investment's"],["association"," associations", "associating", "association's", "associative", "dissociation"], "OR", "activity", "i ncluding","but","not","limited","dealings","with","the","Federal","government","ON","you

r","own","behalf","OR","ON","behalf","of","A",["client","client's","clients"],"which","coul d",["create","creates","created"],"OR","appear","to",["create","creates","created"],"A","co nflict","of","interest","IN","the","position","PO","to","which","you",["have","Wave"],"bee n",["nominated","nominate","nominates","dominated"],"do","you","intend","to","sever","al l","business","connections","with","your","present",["employers","employer","employee s","employer's"],"firms","business","associates","OR","other","organizations","IN","the"," event","that","you","are","confirmed","by","the",["Senate","senate","Senates","senate s"],"if",["not","note"],"please",["explain","explains","explained"],"describe","the","financia l","arrangements","you",["have","Wave"],"made","OR",["plan","Plane"],"to",["make","Make r","maker","makes"],"if","you","are",["confirmed","conformed"],"IN","connection","with"," severance", "from", "your", "current", ["position", "positions", "positing", "positron", "positron s","positional","position's","positioned"],["phase","please"],"include","severance",["pay"," pays"],"pension","rights",["stock","Stuck"],["options","option","optional","option's","option ed"],"deferred","income",["arrangements","arrangement","arrangement's","arraignmen ts","rearrangements"],"and","any","and","all","compensation","that","Will","Be","receive d","IN","the","future","As","A","result","of","your","current","business","OR","professiona l","Na","A","A","rm","do","you",["have","Wave"],"any","plans",["commitments","commitme nt","commitment's"],"OR","agreements","to","pursue","outside",["employment","employ ments","employment's","unemployment","reemployment","deployment","deployment ation's","commendation","commendations","compensatory","condensation","condensa tions"],"during","your","service","with","the",["government","governments","government al", "government's"], "if", ["fleas", "lease", "please"], "provide", ["details", "retails", "derails", "de tail", "detail's", "detailed", "detains"], "afar", "As", "Can", "Be", ["foreseen", "foresee", "foresee r","foreseeing","foreseers","foresees"],"state","your",["plans","Plane"],"after","completi ng", "government", ["service", "services", "serviced", "servile", "cervices", "service's"], "pleas e", "specifically", "describe", "any", "agreements", "OR", ["understandings", "understandin g","understandingly","understanding's"],"written","OR","unwritten","concerning","empl oyment", "after", "leaving", "government", "IN", ["particular", "particulars", "articular", "particular", "particu ularly", "particular's", "particulate"], "describe", "any", "agreements", ["understandings", "u nderstanding", "understandingly", "understanding's"], "OR", "options", "to", "return", "to", "y our", "current", ["position", "positions", " on's", "positioned"], "if", "you", "are", "presently", "IN", "government", ["service", "services", "se rviced", "servile", "cervices", "service's"], "during", "the", "past", "five", "years", "of", "such", ["se rvice", "services", "serviced", "servile", "cervices", "service's"], ["have", "Wave"], "you", "receiv ed","from","A","person","outside","of","government","an","offer","OR",["expression","exp ressions", "impression", "oppression", "repression", "depression"], "of", "interest", "to", "empl oy", "your", "services", "after", "you", "leave", "government", ["service", "services", "service d", "servile", "cervices", "service's"], "if", ["yes", "yest"], "please", "provide", ["details", "retails", " derails", "detail", "detail's", "detailed", "detains"], "A", "spouse", ["employed", "employee", "em ployer","employees","employers"],"if","yes","and","the","nature","of","this","employmen t","is","related","IN","any","way","to","the","position","for","which","you","are","seeking",[" confirmation", "confirmations", "conformation", "confirmation's", "conformations", "confirmations", "confirmation", "confirmat

matory", "conformation's", "confiscation", "confiscations", "reconfirmation", "recon ons"],"please","indicate","your","spouse's",["employer","employers","employee","employ ees","employer's","employed"],"the",["position","positions","positing","positron","positro ns","positional","position's","positioned"],"and","the","length","of","time","position","ha s",["been","Bren","brew","Bran","bran","Brent","bred","Bret","Wren","wren"],"held","if","yo ur",["spouse's","spouses","espouses","spouse","souse's","souse's","souses"],"employm ent","is","not","related","to","the","position","to","which","you",["have","Wave"],"been",["no minated", "nominate", "nominates", "dominated"], "please", "SO", ["state", "stater", "Staten", " States", "states", "stated"], "ts", "list", "below", "all", ["corporations", "corporation", "cor on's", "corporatism", "coronations"], ["partnerships", "partnership", "partnership's"], ["found ations", "foundation", "foundation's", "inundations"], "trusts", "OR", "other", "A", "entities", "to ward","which","you","OR","your","spouse",["have","Wave"],"fiduciary","obligations","O R","IN","OS","which","you","OR","your","spouse",["have","Wave"],["held","Help"],"director ships","OR","other","positions","of","trust","during","the","past","five","years",["informati on", "conformation", "informative", "informational", "information's", "formation", "confirmati on", "conformations", "malformation", "misinformation", "Reformation", "reformation", "def ormation", "disinformation"], ["redacted", "reacted"], "list", "all", "gifts", "exceeding", "IN", ["v alue","valuer","values","valued"],"received","during","the","past",["you","your","yous"],"y our",["spouse","spouses"],"OR","your",["dependents","dependent","dependently","depe ndent's"], "gifts", "received", "from", "relatives", "and", "gifts", "given", "to", "your", "spouse", "O R","dependent","need",["knot","not","snot"],"Be","included","unless","the","gift","was","gi ven", "with", "your", "knowledge", "and", "acquiescence", "and", "you", "had", "reason", "to", "b elieve", "was", "given", "because", "of", "your", "official", ["position", "positional", "position's", " positions", "positioned"], ["thane", "have", "shave"], "not", "received", "such", "gifts", "IN", "th e","past","five","years",["have","shave"],"No","reason","to","believe","that","any","gifts","gi ven", "to", "my", "spouse", ["onto", "Oreo", "orzo", "Otto", "Porto"], "my", "Son", "were", "giver", "b ecause", "of", "my", "official", ["position", "positions", "positing", "positron", "positrons", "positions", ional", "position's", "positioned"], "PO", "ween", "OE", "Es", "tee", "list", "Ali", "securities", "rea l",["property","property's"],"partnership",["interests","interest","interest's","int erested"],"OR","other","investments","OR",["receivables","receivable"],"with","A","curre nt","market","value","if","market","value","not","ascertainable","estimated","current","fai r",["value","valuer","values","valued"],"IN","excess","of","the","information","provided","I N",["response","responses","response's","responded","Response"],"to","schedule","A","t he", "disclosure", "forms", "of", "the", "office", "of", "government", "May", "Be", "Incorporate d","by",["reference","references","referenced","preference","preferences","reverenc e", "reference's", "reverences", "reverenced", "deference"], "provided", "that", "current", "val uations", "are", "OS", "incorporate", "my", "by", ["reference", "references", "referenced", "pref erence", "preferences", "reverence", "reference's", "reverences", "reverenced", "deference e"],"which","I","submitted","to","the","office","of",["government","governments","movem ent"],"list","all","loans","OR","other",["indebtedness","indebtedness's"],["including","con cluding"], "any", "contingent", ["liabilities", "abilities", "inabilities", "liability's", "disabilitie s"],"IN","excess","of","exclude","A","mortgage","ON","your","personal","residence","unle ss","IT","rented",["out","outs"],"and","loans","secured","by",["automobiles","automobile","

automobile's", "automobiled", "automobiling"], ["household", "households"], ["furniture", "f urniture's"], "OR", ["appliances", "appliance", "appliance's"], "the", "information", "provide d","IN",["response","Response"],"to","schedule","of","the","disclosure",["form","Worm"]," of","the","office","of","government","ethics","May","Be","Incorporated","by",["reference e", "references", "referenced", "preference", "preferences", "reverence", "reference's", "reverence", "reference's", "reverence", "reference's", "reverence", "reference", "references", "reverence", "references", "reverence", "references", "reverences", " erences", "reverenced", "deference"], "provided", "that", "contingent", "liabilities", "are", "als o", "included", "F", "are", "you", "OR", "your", "spouse", "NOW", "IN", "default", "ON", "any", ["loa n","loans"],["debt","debts"],"OR","other","financial",["obligation","obligations","obligation g","obligation's"],["have","Wave"],"you","OR","your","spouse","been","IN","default","ON"," any",["loan","loans"],["debt","debts"],"OR","other","financial","obligation","IN","the","pas t","ten","years",["have","Wave"],"you","OR","your","spouse","ever","been","refused","cred it","OR","had","A","loan","application","denied","if","answer","any","of","these","question s","is",["yes","yest"],["fleas","lease","please"],"provide",["details","retails","details","details l","detail's","detailed","detains"],"list","the","specific","sources","and","amounts","of","al l","income","received","during","the","last","five","years","including","all",["salaries","sala ried"],"fees",["dividends","dividend","dividend's"],["interest","interests"],"rents",["royaltie s", "loyalties", "royalties's"], ["patents", "parents", "patent", "patently", "patent's", "patents", " patented"],["honorarily","honorarium"],"and","other","items","exceeding","copies","of","i ncome","tax","returns","for","these","years","May","Be","substituted","here","but","thei ational","information's","formation","confirmation","conformations","malformation","mis information", "Reformation", "reformation", "deformation", "disinformation"], ["redacted", "r eacted"],"babe",["Abe","Abel","abler","Abner","abed","abet","aver","Amer","Amb er","amber","Haber","caber","saber"],"Ra","ii","IN","OE",["information","conformation","in formative", "informational", "information's", "formation", "confirmation", "conformations", " malformation", "misinformation", "Reformation", "reformation", "deformation", "disinforma tion"],["redacted","reacted"],"if","asked","Will","you","provide","committee","with","copie s", "of", "your", "and", "your", ["spousals", "spouse's", "spouses"], "Federal", "income", "return s", "for", "the", "fast", "three", "years", ["yes", "yest"], "list", "all", "jurisdictions", "IN", "which", "y ou", "and", "your", "spouse", "file", "annual", "income", "tax", ["returns", "return", "returnee", "ret urner", "return's", "returned"], "Kansas", ["have", "Wave"], "your", "Federal", "OR", "state", "ta x","returns","been","the","suspect","of","an",["audit","audits"],["investigation","investigati ons", "investigating", "investigation's", "investigator", "investigative", "investigatory", tigators", "instigation"], "OR", "inquiry", "At", "any", ["time", "timer", "Timex", "times", "time d"],"if","please","provide",["details","retails","detail s"],"including","the","result","of","any","such",["proceeding","proceedings","proceeding" s"],"you","are","an",["attorney","attorneys","attorney's"],["accountant","accountants","ac countancy", "accountant's"], "OR", "other", ["professional", "professionals", "professionals", "professionals", v"."professional's"."processional"."professional"."professional"."professional sionalism", "profession's", "professions", "processional's", "professionalize"], "all", ["cunts", " cents"], "and", "customers", "whom", "you", "billed", "More", "than", "worth", "of", "services", "d uring","the","past","five","years",["also","Alsop"],"list","all","jurisdictions","IN","which","yo u", "are", "licensed", "to", ["practice", "practices", "practiced", "practical", "practicum", "practi

ce's"],"Na","do","you","intend","to",["place","Plane"],"your","financial","holdings","and","t hose"."of"."your"."spouse"."and"."dependent"."members"."of"."your"."immediate"."hous ehold","IN","A","blind",["trust","trusty","trusts"],["yes","yest"],"please","furnish",["detail s","retails","derails","detail","detail's","detailed","detains"],"if","describe","other","arrang ements", "for", "avoiding", "any", "potential", "conflicts", "of", ["interest", "interests", "interest" s","interested"],"given","tho","nature","of","our",["investments","investment","investment 's","vestments"],"I","do","not","anticipate","any","conflicts","of",["interest","interests","int erest's","interested"],"As","required","by",["law","lawn","laws"],"I","Will",["execute","exec utes", "executed", "executor"], "and", "Will", "abide", "an", "agreement", "with", "the", "Centra l","intelligence", "agency", "to", "avoid", "any", "conflicts", "of", "interest", "under", "the", "appli cable", "statutes", "and", ["regulations", "regulation", "regulation's", "emulations", "reflation s", "Revelations", "revelations", "regulating", "regulators", "relations", "reputa tions"],"if",["applicable","applicably"],"list","the","last",["three","threw"],"years",["annua l","annuals"],"financial","disclosure","reports",["been","Ben","brew","Bran","bran","Bren t","bred","Bret","Wren","wren"],"required","to","file","with","your","agency",["departmen t","departments","deportment","departmental","department's"],"OR","Branch","of",["gov ernment", "governments", "governmental", "government's"], "if", "asked", "Will", "you", "prov ide","A",["copy","Cops"],"of","these",["reports","report","reporter","report's","reported","r esorts", "retorts", "deports"], ["horse", "house", "house", "house", "hows", "Howe", "dowse"], "o f","representatives","financial","disclosure","statement","House","of","representative s", "financial", "disclosure", "statement", "House", "of", "representatives", "financial", "disclo sure", "statement", ["yest"], "matters", ["have", "Wave"], "you", "ever", "been", "the", "subj ect", "of", "A", "disciplinary", "proceeding", "OR", "cited", "fora", ["breach", "Breach"], "of", "eth ics","OR","unprofessional","conduct","OR","been","the","subject","of","A","complaint","a ny",["court","courts"],"administrative","agency","professional",["association","associatio ns", "associating", "association's", "associative", "dissociation"], "disciplinary", ["committe e","committees","committed"],"OR","other",["professional","professionals","processiona l","unprofessional","confessional","profession","professionally","professional's","professional sion's", "professions", "processionals", "recessional"], ["group", "groups"], "if", "please", "prov ide",["details", "retails", "derails", "detail", "detail's", "detailed", "detains"], ["have", "Wave"], "y ou", "ever", "been", ["investigated", "investigate", "investigates", "investigator", "investigativ e", "investigating", "investigatory", "investigators", "investigation", "instigated"], "held", "arr ested", "OR", "charged", "by", "any", ["Federal", "federal", "Federals", "fede y","Federal's","federale"],["state","stater","Staten","States","states","state d"],"OR","other","law","enforcement","authority","for","violation","of","any","Federal",["st ate", "stater", "Staten", "States", "states", "stated"], "county", "OR", "municipal", ["law", "law n","laws"],["regulation","regulations","regulation's"],"OR",["ordinance","ordi nances", "ordnance", "ordinance's"], "other", "than", "A", ["minor", "minors"], "traffic", ["offens e"."offenses","offender","offended","offense's"],"OR","named","As","A","defendant","O R","otherwise","IN","any","indictment","OR","information","relating","to","such",["violatio n","violations","violating","violation's"],"if","please","provide",["details","retails","derails"," detail", "detailed", "detains"], ["have", "Wave"], "you", "ever", "been", "convicted", "o f","OR","entered","A","plea","of","guilty","OR",["Colo","Nola","Polo","polo","solo"],["conten der", "contenders", "contender's", "contended"], "to", "any", "criminal", "violation", "other", "th an"."A","minor","traffic",["offense","offenses","offender","offended","offense's"],"if","ple ase", "provide", ["details", "retails", "details", "det u","presently","OR",["have","Wave"],"you","ever","been","A","party","IN","interest","IN","a ny", "administrative", "agency", "proceeding", "OR", "civil", ["litigation", "litigating", "litigation", 's","mitigation","Mitigation"],"if","please","provide","NE","tails",["yes","yest"],"Daniel",["fix ed", "filed", "fired", "fired", "feted", "fitted", "kited", "cited", "sited"], "A", "lawsuit", "ag ainst","multiple","parties","including","Mike","pamper","and","Pompey","for","Congres s",["Cary","Gary","Mary","nary","vary","wary"],["campaign","campaigns","campaigner"," campaigned", "campaign's"], "IN", "approximately", "December", "IN", "county", "district", [" court","courts"],"Kansas","was","riding","his","motorcycle","and","collided","with","ca r",["traveling","grovelling","travailing","traversing","graveling","raveling","travelings"]," North", "ON", ["hydraulic", "hydraulics"], ["avenue", "avenues"], "sustained", "injuries", "and", " sued","both","ME","Pompey","for",["Congress","congress","Congress's","Congress's","C ongresses", "congresses"], "the", "claim", "that", "A", "campaign", "sign", "placed", "ON", "th e", "SE", "comer", "of", "the", "intersection", "blocked", "his", "view", "and", "that", "of", "the", "dri ver","WHO",["struck","Stuck"],"the","motorcyclist","and","that","both","I","and","my","ca mpaign", "were", "responsible", "for", "his", "the", "Case", "was", "terminated", "ON", "A", "moti on", "to", "dismiss", "for", ["failure", "Failure"], "to", "state", "A", "legal", "claim", "ON", "As", "to", "b ath","NE","and","Pompey","for",["Congress","congress","Congress's","congress's","Congress's "Congress's","Congress's "Congress's "Congr gresses", "congresses"], "the", "time", "for", "appeal", "ended", "OH", "September", ["have", " Wave"],"you",["Bern","Burn"],"interviewed","OR", "asked","to", "supply", "any", "informatio n","As","A","witness","OR","otherwise","IN","connection","with","any","Congressional",["i nvestigation", "investigations", "investigation's", "investigation's "inve ve","investigatory","investigators","instigation"],["Federal","federal","Federals","federal s", "federally", "Federal's", "federal's", "federate"], "OR", "state", "agency", ["proceeding", "pr oceedings", "proceeding's"], "grand", "jury", ["investigation", "investigations", "investigation g", "investigation's", "investigator", "investigatory", "investigatory", "investigatory", "investigators", "investigatory", " ion"],"OR","criminal","OR","civil",["litigation","Mitigation"],"IN","the","past","ten","years","i f","please","provide",["details","retails","derails","detail","detail's","detailed","detains"],"h as","any",["business","busyness","bushiness","busing's"],"of","which","you","OR","wer e", "an", ["officer", "officers", "office", "officer's", "office's", "offices"], ["director", "directory", " directors", "director's"], "OR", "partner", "been", "A", "party", "to", "any", "administr ative", "agency", "proceeding", "OR", "criminal", "OR", "civil", ["litigation", "Mitigation"], "relev ant","to","the",["position","fruition","monition","positron","positions","volition"],"to","whic h","you",["have","Wave"],["been","Ben","brew","Bran","bran","Brent","bred","Bret","Wre n","wren"],["nominated","nominate","nominates","dominated"],"if","please","provide",["de tails", "retails", "derails", "detail", "detail's", "detailed", "detains"], "with", "respect", "A", "busin ess", "of", "which", "you", "are", "OR", "were", "an", ["officer", "officers", "officers", "officer's", "offi ce's", "offices"], "you", "need", "only", "consider", "proceedings", "and", ["litigation", "Mitigati on"],"that","occurred","while","you","were","an","officer","of","that",["business","busines s's","businesses"],"IL","Re","ear",["then","Wren","wren","teen","tree","Trey","trey","t rek", "Tran", "tron", "trend", "Trent"], "Ni", ["have", "Wave"], "you", "ever", "been", "the", "subjec

t","of","any","inspector","general",["investigation","investigations", investigations, inv tigation's", "investigator", "investigative", "investigatory", "investigators", "instigation"], "i f","please","provide",["details","retails","derails","detail","detail's","detailed","detains"],["h ave","Wave"],"you","ever",["been","Ben","brew","Bran","bran","Brent","bred","Bret","Wre n", "wren"], "denied", "any", ["security", "Security"], "clearance", "OR", "access", "to", "classifi ed","information","for","any",["reason","reasons"],"if",["yes","yest"],"please","explain","I N",["detail","details"],["have","Wave"],"you","been","required","to","polygraph","examinati on","for","any",["security","Security"],"clearance","OR","access","to","classified",["infor mation", "informational", "information's", "informative", "formation", "formations", "conform ation", "conformations", "Reformation", "reformation", "Reformations", "reformations", "def ormation","deformations"],"if",["yes","yest"],"please",["explain","explains","explained"],[" have","Wave"],"you","ever","refused","to","submit","to","A","polygraph",["examination","e xaminations", "examination's", "elimination", "lamination", "reexamination", " reexaminations"],"if",["yes","yest"],"please","describe","own","words","the","concept","o f","Congressional","oversight","of","the","obligations","of","the","director","of","the","Ce ntral", "intelligence", "agency", "and", "the", "intelligence", "committees", "of", "the", "Congre ss","respectively","IN","the","oversight",["process","profess","processor","process's","pr ocesses", "processed", "prowess"], "the", "director", "of", "Central", "intelligence", "agenc y","is","required","by","law","to","keep","the","intelligence","committees","of","the","Con gress", "fully", "and", "currently", "informed", "of", "intelligence", "activities", "As", "membe r","of","Congress","currently","serving","ON","the","House","permanent","select","com mittee","ON","intelligence","I","understand","the","importance","of","Congressional","ov ersight", "and", "the", "intelligence", "committees", "need", "for", "information", "to", "enabl e","the","committees","to","perform","their","critical","oversight",["function","function s","unction","unctions","functional","function's","functioned","junction","junctions"],"A s", "many", "of", "the", ["clams", "clans", "class", "Claus", "claws"], "intelligence", "activi ties", "are", "highly", "classified", "IN", ["order", "Border"], "to", "protect", ["security", "security" s", "Security"], "Congressional", "oversight", "plays", "an", "important", "role", "IN", "our", "Rep resentative", "democracy", "of", "ensuring", "there", "is", "oversight", "of", "these", "activitie s",["furnishing","burnishing","furbishing","finishing","furnishings","garnishing","tarnish ing","varnishing"],"information","about",["CIA","CIA"],"activities","to","the","intelligenc e", "committees", "of", "the", "Congress", "enables", "the", "Congress", "to", "consider", "neces sary",["legislation","legislating","legislation's"],"provide",["expropriate","appropriate","e xpropriates", "expropriated", "appropriates", "appropriated", "levels", "of", "resources", "fo r",["CIA","CIA"],"activities","and","assess","the","effectiveness","of","the",["CIA","ciao","C IA"], "TN", ["addition", "additions", "addictions", "addictions", "audition", "additional", "addition 's", "auditions"], "the", "plays", "A", "critical", "role", "IN", "furnishing", "the", "intelligence", "wit h", "analysis", "that", "assists", "the", ["committees", "committee", "committees", "committees, "committ s", "committed"], ["understanding", "misunderstanding", "understandings", "misundersta ndings"], "world", "events", "and", "considering", "legislative", "I", "understand", "that", "with out", "timely", "MD", "complete", ["information", "informational", "information's", "informativ e", "formation", "formations", "conformation", "conformations", "Reformation", "reformation n", "Reformations", "reformations", "deformation", "deformations"], "Congressional", "over

sight","is","made","More",["difficult","difficulty","difficultly"],"harming","the",["clams","cl ans", "claps", "class", "Claus", "claws"], "relationship", "with", "Congress", "and", "ultimatel y",["effectiveness","effectiveness's","ineffectiveness","defectiveness"],"IN","the","Lon g",["term","terms"],"if",["confirmed","conformed"],"I","AM",["committed","committee","c ommuted"],"to","ensuring",["that","FHA","flat","frat","feat","Fiat","fiat","phat","ha t","ghat","what","chat"],["understands","understand"],"the","importance","of","Congress ional","oversight","and","furnishing","complete","and","timely","information","to","the","i ntelligence", "committees", "of", "the", ["Congress", "congress", "Congress's", "congress' s","Congresses","congresses"],"explain","your","understanding","of","the","responsibili ties", "of", "the", "director", "of", "the", "As", "wot", "forth", "IN", "the", "national", ["security", "Se curity"],"ACT","of","and",["executive","Execution"],["order","Border"],"the","director","i s","the","Head","of","the","Central","intelligence","agency","responsible","for","all","of","i ts", "fictions", "and", "operations", "the", "director", "is", "responsible", "direction", "and", "coor dination", "of", "the", "collection", "of", ["national", "notional", "optional", "neuronal", "national s","regional","retinal","rational","sectional"],["intelligence","intelligence's","intelligent","i ntransigence"],"outside","of","the","united","States","through","human","sources","by"," other", "elements", "of", "the", "intelligence", ["community", "community's"], "the", "directo r","coordinates","relationships","between",["the","thee","these","those"],"and","the","inte lligence", "OR", ["security", "Security"], "services", "of", "foreign", "governments", "ON", "al l","matters","involving","intelligence","related","to","the","national",["security","security" s", "Security"], "the", "director", "is", "responsible", "for", "ensuring", "that", "to", "protect", "O T",["Americans","America's","Americas","American","American","Americana","American' s"],["interests","interest","interest's","interested"],"the","director","of","the","Central","int elligence", "agency", "conducts", "covert", "actions", "approved", "by", "the", "president", "an d","IN","compliance","with","the",["procedures","procedure","procedure's"],"Set","fort h","IN","the","national",["security","Security"],"ACT","of","the","director","is","also","resp onsible", "for", "leading", "the", ["if's", "IV's", "AC's", "Ac's", "IQ's", "In's", "in's", "lo's", "Ir's", "Ic e's", "ices", "ID's", "id's", "it's", "BC's", "Bic's", "C's", "PC's", "pic's", "SC's", "Sc's", "DC's", "Tc's", "tic' s"],["production","productions","production's"],"and","dissemination","of","foreign","intel ligence", "and", ["counterintelligence", "counterintelligence's"], "the", "director", "ensure s","that","factual","timely","objective",["analysis","analyses","analysts","dialysis"],"fa","p rovided", "to", "the", ["president", "presidents", "presidency", "president's", "resident", "resident", "resident", "president", "presi ents"],"the",["Congress","congress',"Congress's","Congress's","Congresses","congress es"],"Senior",["policymakers","policymaker"],"and","other","consumers","WHO","depen $\verb|d","ON",["CIA","CIA"],["analogical","analytic","analytically"],["products","product","produc$ ct's","produces"],"the","director",["ale","oleo","Alec","Alex","Alpo","ales","also","Aldo","alt o","Cleo","Leo"],"ensures","that","the",["ciaos","CIA's"],"activities","are","conducted","fil l","compliance","with","the","Constitution","and","statutes","and",["regulations","regulati on", "regulation's", "emulations", "reflations", "Revelations", "revelations", "refutations", "re gulating", "regulators", "relations", "reputations"], "finally", "the", "director", "is", "responsibl e", "for", "the", "effective", "leadership", "of", "the", "Central", "intelligence", "agency", "IN", "th ese",["resources","resonances","resonates","resource","resource's","resourced"],"for","i ts","difficult","mission","and","its","personnel",["have","Wave"],"an","effective","advocat

e", "and", "supporter", "of", "their", "OS", "affirmation", "Michael", "swear", "that", "the", "answe rs","I",["have","Wave"],"provided","to","this","questionnaire","are","accurate","and",["com plete","completer","completes","completed","complexes","complected","completely"," completest", "compete", "competes", "competed"], "F", "JP", ["Left", "left"], ["signature", "sign atures"],"Fe","Michael","NE","A",["ENE","Eire","fine","Heine","kine","line","mine","nine","pi ne", "cine", "Seine", "seine", "sine", "zine", "dine", "tine", "vine", "wine"], "Fe", ["signature", "signat ures", "signature's"], "bf", "ERA", "He", "bap", "T", "reread", "Si", "A", ["ante", "ate", "atty", "Attn", " attn","latte","matte"],"AD","Ti","areal","A","the",["chairman","chairmen","chairman's"],"sel ect", "committee", "ON", ["intelligence", "intelligence's", "intelligent", "intelligently"], "IN", "c onnection", "with", "my", ["nomination", "notarization"], "to", "Be", "the", "director", "of", "the", " Central", "intelligence", "agency", "I", "hereby", "express", "my", "willingness", "to", "respond","to","and","testify","before","duly","constituted","committee","of","the",["Senate","sen ate", "Senates", "senates"], ["signature", "signatures"], ["signature", "signatures"], "OE", "L e",["ells","bells","fells","hell","hello","helms","helps","halls","heals","heels","hellos","hell s", "hills", "hulls", "jells", "cells", "sells", "dells", "tells", "Wells", "wells", "shells", "yells"], "selec t","committee","ON","intelligence","united","States","Senate","P","Y",["Jan","Jana","Jan e"],"AR","Ha","questionnaire","for",["complication","completion"],"by","presidential","no minees","en","Ann","PO","select","committee","ON","intelligence","A",["united","reunite d"], "States", "Senate", "other", "names", "used", "of", ["birth", "births"], ["Orange", "orange", "or anges"],["California","californium","Californian"],"A",["citizenship","citizenship's"],"US A","marital","status","married","spouse's","Susan","Pompey","SS","name","if",["applicabl e", "applicably"], "Justice", "names", "and", "ages", "of", "children", ["information", "conformati on", "informative", "informational", "information's", "formation", "confirmation", "conformati ons", "malformation", "misinformation", "Reformation", "reformation", "deformation", "disin formation"],["redacted","reacted"],"A","education","since","high",["school","schools"],"un ited","States","military","academy","bachelor's","At","West","point","OT","PO","school",[" ESE","ESP","esp","espy","ESPN"],"employment","record","list","all","positions",["held"," Help"], "since", ["colleges", "colleges"], "including", "military", ["service", "services", "service d", "servile", "cervices", "service's"], "indicate", "name", "of", ["employer", "employers", "em yee", "employees", "employer's", "employed"], ["position", "positions", "positing", "positro n", "positrons", "positional", "position's", "positioned"], "title", "OR", ["description", "descriptio ns", "description's", "inscription", "inscriptions", "ascription", "prescription", "prescription" s","decryption","descriptor","descriptive","descriptors"],["location","locations","location g", "locution", "location's", "locutions", "vocation", "vocations"], "and", "dates", "of", ["employ ment","employment's","employments"],"OS","OE","House","of","representatives",["mem ber","members"],["Washington","Washington's"],"DC",["international","Internationale","i nternationals", "internationally", "international's", "international", "Internationale's", "internationale's", ionalism", "internationalist", "internationalize"], ["president", "presidents", "presidency", "pr esident's", "residents", ["Wichita", "Wichita's"], "KS", "A", "aerospace", ["consolid ated","consolidate","consolidates","unconsolidated","consolidator","consolidating","co nsolidators", "consolidation"], "chief", ["executive", "Execution"], ["officer", "officers", "officers e", "officer's", "offices", "offices"], ["Wichita", "Wichita's"], "KS", "holdings", ["partner", "partn ers", "pardner", "partnered", "pardners", "partner's"], "Kansas", "city", "Williams", "Connoll

y",["associate","associates","associated","associate's"],["Washington","Washington's"]," DC","Harvard","law","professor","Mary","Ana","research",["assistant","assistants"],["Ca mbridge", "Cambridge's"], "MA", "Myers", "Summer", ["intern", "interns"], "Newport", ["Beac h","beach"],"CA","Hogan",["know","NOW","now","Snow","Snow","Snow"],"Hogan","lovel ess",["inter","interj","intern","inters"],["Washington","Washington's"],"DC","Harvard","la w","school","professor","Mary","AM","research",["assistant","assistants","assistance","a ssistant's"],["Cambridge","Cambridge's"],"MA","united","States","office","for","the","Cen tral", "district", "of", ["California", "Californian", "californium", "Californians", "California's"], " Summer",["intern","interns"],"Les",["ageless","Angel's","angel's","angels","Angles","angl es"],"CA","Harvard","law","school","professor","Mary","research",["assistant","assistant s", "assistance", "assistant's"], ["Cambridge", "Cambridge's"], "MA", "united", "States", "arm y", "squadron", ["adjutant", "adjutants", "adjutant's"], ["cavalry", "cavalry's"], "infantry", ["divis ion","divisions","divisional","division's"],"CO",["student","students","student's"],"armor","o fficer", "advanced", "Radcliffe", "KY", "army", ["squadron", "squadrons", "squadron's"], "seco nd", "armored", "cavalry", ["troop", "troops"], "C", "troop", "and", "platoon", ["leader", "leader s"],"troop",["executive","Execution"],["officer","officers,"officers","officers","officers","officers","officers,"o ces"], "squadron", "maintenance", ["officer", "officers", "officer, "officer's", "office's", "office s"], "Federal", "republic", "of", "Germany", "government", "experience", ["indicate", "vindicate", "vindicae","indicates","indicated","syndicate","vindicates","vindicated"],"experience","IN","OR"," association", "with", ["Federal", "federal", "federals", "federals deral's", "federate"], ["state", "stater", "Staten", "States", "states", "stated"], "OR", "local", ["gov ernments", "government", "governmental", "government's"], "including", ["advisory", "advis or","advisory's"],["consultative","consultation","consultations"],"honorary","OR",["othe r","others"],"partitive","service","OR",["position","positions","positing","positron","positro ns","positional","position's","positioned"],"do","not","repeat","information","already",["pro vided", "unprovided", "provide", "provider", "provides"], "IN", "question", "ON", "indicate", "an y", "specialized", "intelligence", "OR", "national", ["security", "Security"], ["expertise", "Exerc ise"],"you",["have","Wave"],"acquired","having","served","IN","the",["positions","postilion s", "positrons", "position", "position's"], "described", "questions", "most", ["recently", "decentl y"],"F",["have","Wave"],"represented","the","Fourth","district","of","Kansas","for","six",["y ears","yours"],"As","A","of","the","House","of",["representatives","Representative","repr esentative", "representative's", "representations", "unrepresentative", "preventatives", "re presentation", "representational", "representation's"], ["including", "inflaming", "inflatin g","invading","inclining","inlaying"],"four","years","of","service","ON","the","House","per manent", "select", ["committee", "committees", "committees, "co mittals", "commits", "committee's", "commutes"], "ON", "intelligence", "and", "its", "Central", "i ntelligence", "agency", "subcommittee", "and", "national", ["security", "Security"], "agenc y","and","Cyber security",["subcommittee","subcommittees","subcommittee's"],"my",[" work","Pork","Worm"],"As","member","of","has","included",["extensive","extenuate"],["w ork","Pork","Worm"],"related","to","the","oversight","of","the","elements","of","the","unite d", "States", "intelligence", "community", "legislation", "related", "to", "the", "unrelated", ["ma tters", "batters", "hatters", "masters", "masters", "matterd", "matter's", "matter's", "matter's", "matter's", mattes", "mutters", "natters", "patters", "ratters", "tatters", "maters"], "As", "S", ["member", "m

embers"],"I","regularly","receive","intelligence","briefings","covering","wide","variety"," of",["security","Security"],"topics","and","hold","frequent","discussions","with","membe rs","of","the","to","explore","significant",["topic","topical","topics"],"IN",["depth","depth s"],"my","duties","involve","to","meet","members","of","the","to","review","national",["sec urity", "Security"], "activities", "firsthand", "and", "to", "pot", "understand", "the", "challenge s", "faced", "by", "members", "IN", "the", ["field", "Fields", "fields"], ["previously", "preciousl y"],"I","served","As","an","armor","for","five","years","IN","the","united","States","army"," my","tour","of","duty","included","service","IN","the","second","armored","cavalry",["uni t","quit","suit"],"leader","tasked","with","understanding",["threat","Threat"],"intelligenc e","to",["against","ageist"],"IN",["battlefield","battlefields"],"defense","and","preparatio n","to","defeat","Soviet","aggression","along","the","German","and","Czechoslovakian",[" border", "borders", "Border"], "I", "graduated", "from", "the", "united", "States", "military", "ac ademy","At","West",["point","pointy","points"],"MI","extensive","ON","national",["securit y", "Security"], "topics", "PO", "after", "leaving", "the", ["military", "military's"], "I", "was", "the", " chief",["executive","Execution"],"officer","of","an","aerospace","and","defines","manufac turing", "company", "providing", "components", "for", "military", "and", "commercial", ["aircr aft", "aircraft's"], "As", "I", "gained", "experience", "As", "A", "leader", "of", "an", "organization", " charged", "with", "delivering", "products", "for", "military", "support", "and", "managing", ["pe rsonnel","personae","personal"],"end","budgets","to","ensure","fulfillment","of","the",["c ompany's", "company", "companies"], ["commitments", "commitment", "commitment's"], "h onors", "and", "awards", ["provide", "provider", "provides", "provided"], "information", "ON", ["s cholarships", "scholarship", "scholarship's"], ["fellowships", "fellowship", "fellowship's"], "h onorary",["degrees","degrees","decrees","degree's"],"military",["decorations","decoratio n","decoration's","perorations","deformations","declarations","decorating","decorator s","denotations","deportations","detonations"],"civilian","service",["citations","citation"," citation's"],"OR","any","other","special","recognition","for",["outstanding","upstandin g"], "performance", "OR", ["achievement", "achievement's", "achievements"], "nations", "o f",["manufacturers","manufacturer","manufacturer's","manufacture's","manufacture s", "manufacture", "manufactured"], "award", ["manufacturing", "manufacturing's"], "legisl ative",["excellence","Excellency","excellency","excellence's","Excellencies","excellenci es"], "and", "E", ["associated", "associate", "associates"], "builders", "contractors", "champio n","of","the","merit",["shop","shops"],"American","Conservative","Union",["definer","defe nder"], "of", ["award", "awards"], "national", "taxpayers", "Union", ["taxpayers", "taxpayers", axpayer's"],"Friend",["award","awards"],"family","research","council","true","blue",["awar d","awards"],"A","citizens","against","government","waste","taxpayer",["hero","heron","H erod"],"I","Kansas",["arm","farm","harm","par","PARC","Park","park","palm","Pam","Per m","perm","para","pare","Parr","pars","part","warm"],"bureau","Friend","of","national","ret ail", "federation", "heroes", "of", "main", ["stet", "stets"], ["nations", "cations", "Nation", "natio n", "national", "nation's", "notions", "rations"], "association", "of", "wheat", "growers", "wheat", " advocate", ["award", "awards"], "American", "Conservative", "Union", "of", "liberty", ["awar d","awards"],"American","soybean","association","soy",["champions","champions" ping","champion's","championed"],["intentional","international","informational","invitati onal", "unemotional", "intimation", "intimation's", "intimations", "Internationale", "internationale",

nals", "intestinal"], "distributors", "association", "Thomas", "Jefferson", ["award", "awards"], " A",["national","Nation","nation","notional","nationals","nation's","nations","rational"],"fed eration", "of", "independent", "business", "defender", "of", ["Mali", "Small", "Small", "Somal i"],"business","department","of","defense","awards","army","service","ribbon","OT",["nati onal","notional","optional","neuronal","nationals", "regional", "retinal", "rational", "sectiona l"],"defense","service","medal","E",["Ann","Anna","Anne","annoy","any","Andy","Fanny"," fanny", "canny", "Lanny", "nanny", "Danny", "lapel", "button", "army", "commendation", "med al","E",["any","aunt","puny"],["achievement","achievements"],"medal","with","cluster","pa rachutists", "badge", "E", "cavalry", "saber", ["award", "awards"], "general", "Robert", "Woo d","award",["distinguished","undistinguished","distinguishes","distinguish"],"general",["i nfield", "airfield", "oilfield", "infields", "minefield", "midfield", "Winfred", "Whitfield"], "Scot t","memorial","award",["highest","nighest"],"achievement","IN","engineering",["manage ment","management's","managements"],"last","ten",["bars","years"],"IN","any",["professi onal", "professionals", "professionally", "professional's", "processional", "processionals", " unprofessional", "profession", "professionalism", "profession's", "professions", "procession nal's", "professionalize"], ["civic", "civics"], ["fraternal", "fraternally"], ["business", "business" s","busyness","businesses","bushiness"],"scholarly",["cultural","culturally"],["charitabl e", "charitably"], "OR", "other", ["similar", "similarly"], ["organizations", "organization", "organization", zational", "organization's"], "A", "Kansas", ["policy", "Police"], "institute", ["trustee", "trustee s"],"lint","hills","center","for","public","policy","American","legion","member",["present"," presenter", "presently", "present's", "presented"], "military", "officers", "associa tion", "member", "approx", "to", "present", "national", "rifle", "association", "member", "to", "pr esent", "Young", "presidents", ["organization's", "organizations"], "education", "chair", "appr ox","Wichita","country","cine","member","Westminster","Presbyterian","Church","deaco n", "Sunday", "school", "teacher", "approx", ["theater", "theaters", "heaters", "heaters", "cheat er","cheaters","theater's"],"Wichita","board","of","directors","industrial","container","ser vices", "approx", "Wichita", "South", "Branch", "YMCA", "board", "directors", "published", "wri tings", "and", ["speeches", "breeches", "beeches", "fetches", "leeches", "seethes", "screech es", "sketches", "speech's", "stenches"], "list", "the", "titles", ["publishers", "publisher", "publi sher's", "publishes"], "blogs", "and", "publication", "dates", "of", "any", "books", ["articles", "arti cle", "article's", "articled", "particles"], ["reports", "report", "reporter", "report's", "reported", "r esorts","retorts","deports"],"brother","published","materials","you",["have","Wave"],["aut hored", "authoress"], "also", "list", "any", "public", "speeches", "OR", "remarks", "you", ["have", " Wave"], "made", "within", "the", "last", "ten", "years", "for", "which", "there", "is", "A", ["text", "text", ts"],["transcript","transcripts","transcript's"],"OR","if","asked","Will","you","provide","A",[" copy", "Cops"], "of", "each", "requested", ["publication", "publications", "publication's", "lubri cation", "republication", "republications", "sublimation", "duplication"], ["text", "texts"], ["tra nscript","transcripts","transcript's"],"OR",["video","videos"],"see",["attachments","attach ment", "attachment's", "attainments", "detachments"], "the", "attachments", "are", "based", " ON","my",["Best","Bust"],"efforts","to",["identify","identity"],"all","published","writings"," and",["speediest","speedier","speediness","seediest"],"As","member","of",["Congress"," congress", "Congress's", "congress's", "Congresses", "congresses"], "however", "I", ["frequ ently", "frequency", "frequent", "frequenter", "frequents", "frequented"], "make", "publi

c",["remarks","remark","remark's","remarked"],"At","times",["unscheduled","nonschedul ed", "rescheduled", "scheduled", "and", "these", "remarks", "May", "not", "Be", "reflected", "I N","my",["records","record","recorder","recorded","rewords"],"qualification s",["describe","prescribe","describer","describes","described"],"why","you","believe","yo u", "are", "qualified", "to", "serve", "As", "the", ["director", "directory", "directors", "dire rector's"],"of","the","Central","intelligence",["agency","agency's"],"As",["noised","nose d"."noted"]."IN"."my",["response","Response"]."to","question",["have","shave"],"boon","de eply","involved","As","A","member","of","the","House","permanent","select","committe e","ON","intelligence","IN",["understanding","understandings","understandingly","und erstanding's", "understating"], "authorizing", "through", ["legislation", "legislating", "legisla tion's", "legislator", "legislative", "legislators"], "and", "overseeing", "the ", "elements", "of ", "th e","this","has","included","A","specific",["focus","foods","foods","foots"],"ON","the",["CI A","CIA"],"As","A","member","of","the",["CIA","CIA"],"subcommittee","of","my",["work","P ork","Worm"],"hes","provided","ME","with","A",["deep","deeps"],"current","background"," ax"."the", "most", "significant", ["threats", "Threat"], "America", "and", "how", "the", ["CIA", "CI A"],"IA","responding","to","throse",["threats","threat","threaten","threads","threat's","thro ats","treats","Threat"],"through","my",["work","Pork","Worm"],"over","the",["yeas","yeas t"],["have","Wave"],"looked","closely","At","the",["structure","structures","structured","str icture", "structural", "strictures", "structure's"], ["personnel", "personnel's"], ["capabilities", " capability's"], "activities", ["finding", "findings", "bindings", "bindings", "finking", "fining", "fe nding", "funding", "finding's", "minding", "winding", and ", "operations", "including", "highl y","classified","activities","of","the",["CIA","ciao","CIA"],"my","worldwide","travel","has"," provided","ME","with","A","close","look","At","how",["CIA","CIA"],["personnel","persona e"],"perform","their","difficult",["take","task","tasks","tasked","taste"],"gathering","forei gn",["intelligence","intelligence's","intelligent","intelligently"],"frequently","under","adv erse", "and", "threatening", "also", "seen", "the", "importance", "of", "intelligence", "As", "Junio r","officer","IN","the","army","and","understand","from","firsthand","experience","how","i ntelligence", "information", "is", "vital", "TA", "protecting", "the", "most", "Junior", "members", " of","our","military","from",["harm","harms"],"As","CEO","of","en","aerospace","compan y","and","president","of","an","oilfield","equipment","manufacturing",["distribution","dist ributions", "distribution", "distribution's", "redistribution", "distributor", "dis tributive", "distributors"], "and", "service", ["company", "company's"], "I", ["have", "Wave"], "ex perience","IN","leading",["organizations","organization","organizational","organization' s","reorganizations"],"managing",["personnel","personnel's"],"meeting",["budgets","bud ges","budget","budget's","budgeted"],"MT","managing",["projects","project","projecto r","project's","projected","protects"],"and","carrying","out","my","duties","the","leader","o f","an","organization","and",["batting","hatting","catting","matting","patting","ratting","sc atting", "salting", "spatting", "setting", "sitting", "swatting", "tatting", "vatting", "tatting", "vatting", "tatting", "salting", e",["atone","Stone","stone","tone"],"At","the",["top","topi","tops"],"leading","by",["exampl e", "examples", "exampled", "example's"], "of", ["Congress", "congress", "Congress's", "cong ress's", "Congresses", "congresses"], "J", "understand", "the", "importance", "of", "carrying", ' out", "the", "statutory", "duties", "of", "the", "director", "of", "OS", "the", ["CIA", "CIA"], "to", "kee p","the","intelligence","committees","of","the","Congress","fully","and","currently","infor

med", "of", "intelligence", "activities", "information", "required", "for", "the", ["Congress", "con gress", "confess", "congers", "congest", "congests", "countess", "contest", "contests"], "to", " perform", "its", "legislative", "duties", "and", ["participate", "particulate", "participates", "partic cipated"],"IN","the","authorization",["and","Andy"],"appropriations",["process","profes s","processor","process's","processes","processed","prowess"],"participation","of","th e",["CIA","CIA"],"IN","this","process","is","particularly",["complex","complexly","complex es", "complex's", "complete"], "because", "of", "the", "classified", "nature", "of", "its", "activitie s","and","the","need","to","protect","sources","and",["methods","method","method's","Me thodism", "Methodist"], "my", "understanding", "of", "those", "legislative", "issues", "Will", "B e","important","IN","working","with","the",["Congress","congress","ingress","caress"],"O N","important","related","to","the",["CIA","ciao","CIA"],"from","my","time","At","Harvard"," law", "school", "and", "practicing", ["law", "lawn", "laws"], "I", "gained", "A", "deep", "understan ding","of","the","importance","of","the","rule","of",["law","lawn","laws"],"this","backgroun d","Will","assist","ME","IN","ensuring","that","all",["activities","utilities","nativities"],"carri ed","out","by","the",["CIA","CIA"],"Ave","authorized","by","law","and","fully","comply","wi th","the","Constitution","and","applicable","statutes","and",["regulations","regulation","r egulation's", "emulations", "reflations", "Revelations", "revelations", "refutations", "regulati ng", "regulators", "relations", "reputations"], "my", ["work", "Pork", "Worm"], "IN", "Congres s", "and", "frequent", "interactions", "with", "personnel", ["have", "Wave"], "given", "ME", "A", "d eep", "appreciation", "of", "the", "critically", "important", "and", "often", "dangerous", ["work", " Pork", "Worm"], "done", "by", "personnel", "At", "great", "personal", ["sacrifice", "sacrifices", "s acrificed"],"including","those","members","of","the",["CIA","CIA"],"WHO",["have","Wav e"], "given", "their", "lives", "to", "defend", "our", ["country", "country", "country's"], "my", "backg round","provides","ME","with","the","skills","necessary's","director","of","to","advocate"," within", "the", "executive", "and", "legislative", "Branch", "for", "such", "brave", "personnel", "t o", "whom", "we", "all", "owe", "A", "great", "debt", "of", "gratitude", "for", "their", ["work", "Por k","Worm"],"IN","protecting",["America","American","Americas","Americana","America ns","America's"],"political","activities","list","any","memberships","OR","offices",["held"," Help"],"IN","OR","financial","contributions","OR","services","rendered","any","political"," party",["election","Execution"],["committee","committees","committee's","committee"]," political", "action", ["committee", "committees", "committee's", "committeed"], "OR", "individu al","candidate","during","the","Kansas","Republican","national",["committeeman","com mitteemen", "committeeman's", "committeewoman"], ["elected", "ejected", "erected", "sele cted"],"January","OE","O",["resigned","reigned","resignedly","designed"],"financial",["co ntributions","contribution","contribution's","contributing","contributors"],"see",["attach ment", "attachments"], "services", ["rendered", "tendered"], "I", "serve", "for", ["Kansas", "ma nses"],"I","serve",["Kansans","Kenyans"],"for","McCain","O","Fourth","district","chair"," O","January","November","Romney","for","president","volunteer","O",["Rubik","Rubi n"],"for","president","O","Kansas","November","March","CT","Te","tramp","for","presiden t","CO","CO","volunteer","CO",["August","august","Angus","angst"],"November","M","ca ndidacy", "for", "public", "office", ["furnish", "burnish", "furbish", "refurnish"], "details", "of", "a ny", "candidacy", "for", "elective", "public", ["office", "officers", "officers", "office's", "offices"], [" candidate", "candidates", "candidate's"], "House", "of", ["representatives", "Representative

e", "representative", "representative", "representations", "unrepresentative", "preventativ es", "representation", "representational", "representation's"], "Kansas", "Fourth", "Congres sional", ["district", "districts", "distract", "distracts", "district's"], ["candidate", "candidates", "c andidate's"],"Kansas","Republican","national","January","Lot",["candidate","candidate s","candidate's"],"Kansas","precinct",["committeeman","committeemen","committeema n's"],["candidate","candidates","candidate's"],"Kansas","precinct",["committeeman","co mmitteemen", "committeeman's", "committeewoman"], ["August", "august", "Angus", "ang st"],"foreign","affiliations","questions","and","B","not","limited","to","relationships","requi ring", "registration", "under", "the", "foreign", ["agents", "Agent"], "registration", ["ACTH", "AC T", "act", "Acts", "acts"], "questions", "and", "C", "A", "positive", ["response", "Response"], "if", "t he","representation","OR","transaction","was","authorized","by","the","united","States"," government","IN","connection","with","your","OR","your",["spouse's","spouses","espous es", "spouse", "spousals", "souse's", "souses"], "employment", "IN", "government", ["service", " service's", "services", "serviced"], ["have", "Wave"], "you", "OR", "your", "spouse", "ever", "repr esented","IN","any","capacity",["employee","employees","employeer","employee's","employee's","employees loyers", "employed"], ["attorney", "attorneys", "attorney's"], "OR", ["consultant", "consultant" s","consultants","consultancy"],"with","OR","without",["compensation","compensation s", "compensating", "compensation's", "commendation", "commendations", "compensator y","condensation","condensations"],"A","foreign","government","an","entity","controlle d","by","A","foreign",["government","governments","governmental","government's"],"i f",["leash","pleas","please","plash"],"fully","describe","such",["relationship","relationship s","relationship's"],["have","Wave"],"any","of","your","OR","your","spouse's","associate s",["represented","unrepresented","presented","reprehended","represent","representin g","represents"],"IN","any",["capacity","capacitor","capacity's","rapacity"],"with","OR"," without",["compensation","compensations","compensationg","compensation's","comme ndation", "commendations", "compensatory", "condensation", "condensations"], "A", "forei gn", "government", "OR", "an", "entity", "controlled", "by", "A", "foreign", ["government", "gove rnments", "governmental", "government's"], "please", "fully", "describe", "such", "during", "th e","past","ten","years",["have","Wave"],"you","OR","your","spouse","received","any","com pensation",["from","Fromm"],"OR","been","involved","IN","any","financial","OR","busines s","transactions",["with","withe"],"A","foreign","government","OR","any","entity","control led","by","A","foreign",["government","governments","governmental","government's"],"i f","please","provide",["details","retails","details","detail's","detailed","detains"],["h ave","Wave"],"you","OR","your","spouse","ever","registered","under","the","foreign",["ag ents","Agent"],"registration",["ACTH","ACT","act","Acts","acts"],"if","please","provide",["d etails", "retails", "derails", "detail", "detail's", "detailed", "detains"], "A", "describe", "any", "lobb ying", "activity", "during", "the", "past", "ten", "years", "other", "than", "IN", "an", "my", "official", " government",["capacity","capacitor","capacity's","rapacity"],"IN","which","you","OR","yo ur", "spouse", ["have", "Wave"], "engaged", "for", "the", "purpose", "of", "directly", "OR", "indire ctly", "influencing", "the", ["passage", "passages", "massage", "massages", "massaged", "pa ssage's"],["defeat","defeats"],"OR","modification","of","Federal",["legislation","legislation g", "legislation's", "legislator", "legislative", "legislators"], "OR", "for", "the", "purpose", "of", "af fecting","the","MO","administration","and",["execution","Execution"],"of","Federal","non

e","describe","any",["employment","employments","employment's"],"business",["relatio nship", "relationships", "relationship's"], "financial", ["transaction", "transactions", "tran ing","transaction's","transactor","transecting","transactors","translation s","transition","transitions"],["investment","investments","investment's"],["association"," associations", "associating", "association's", "associative", "dissociation"], "OR", "activity", "i ncluding","but","not","limited","dealings","with","the","Federal","government","ON","you r","own","behalf","OR","ON","behalf","of","A",["client","client's","clients"],"which","coul d",["create","creates","created"],"OR","appear","to",["create","creates","created"],"A","co nflict", "of", "interest", "IN", "the", "position", "PO", "to", "which", "you", ["have", "Wave"], "bee n",["nominated","nominate","nominates","dominated"],"do","you","intend","to","sever","al l","business","connections","with","your","present",["employers","employer","employee s", "employer's"], "firms", "business", "associates", "OR", "other", "organizations", "IN", "the", " event", "that", "you", "are", "confirmed", "by", "the", ["Senate", "senate", "Senates", "senate s"],"if",["not","note"],"please",["explain","explains","explained"],"describe","the","financia l","arrangements","you",["have","Wave"],"made","OR",["plan","Plane"],"to",["make","Make r","maker","makes"],"if","you","are",["confirmed","conformed"],"IN","connection","with"," severance", "from", "your", "current", ["position", "positions", "positiong", "positron", "positron s", "positional", "position's", "positioned"], ["phase", "please"], "include", "severance", ["pay", " pays"], "pension", "rights", ["stock", "Stuck"], ["options", "option", "optional", "option's", "option ed"],"deferred","income",["arrangements","arrangement","arrangement's","arraignmen ts","rearrangements"],"and","any","and","all","compensation","that","Will","Be","receive d","IN","the","future","As","A","result","of","your","current","business","OR","professiona l","Na","A","rm","do","you",["have","Wave"],"any","plans",["commitments","commitme nt","commitment's"],"OR","agreements","to","pursue","outside",["employment","employ ments", "employment's", "unemployment", "reemployment", "deployment", "deployment s"],"with","OR","without",["compensation","compensations,","compensations,","compensations,","compensations,","compensations,","compensations,","compensations,","compensations,","compensations,","compensations,","compensations,","compensations,","compensations,","compensations,","compensations,","compensations,","compensations,","compensations,","compensations,","compensations,", ation's", "commendation", "commendations", "compensatory", "condensation", "condensation", "condensation", "compensatory", "condensation", "condensation", "condensation", "compensatory", "condensation", "co tions"],"during","your","service","with","the",["government","governments","government al", "government's"], "if", ["fleas", "lease", "please"], "provide", ["details", "retails", "derails", "de tail","detail's","detailed","detains"],"afar","As","Can","Be",["foreseen","foresee","foresee r","foreseeing","foreseers","foresees"],"state","your",["plans","Plane"],"after","completi ng", "government", ["service", "services", "serviced", "servile", "cervices", "service's"], "pleas e", "specifically", "describe", "any", "agreements", "OR", ["understandings", "understandin g","understandingly","understanding's"],"written","OR","unwritten","concerning","empl oyment", "after", "leaving", "government", "IN", ["particular", "particulars", "articular", "particular", "particu ularly", "particular's", "particulate"], "describe", "any", "agreements", ["understandings", "u nderstanding","understandingly","understanding's"],"OR","options","to","return","to","y our", "current", ["position", "positions", "positions", "positron", "positrons", "positional", "posi on's", "positioned"], "if", "you", "are", "presently", "IN", "government", ["service", "services", "se rviced", "servile", "cervices", "service's"], "during", "the", "past", "five", "years", "of", "such", ["se rvice", "services", "serviced", "servile", "cervices", "service's"], ["have", "Wave"], "you", "receiv ed", "from", "A", "person", "outside", "of", "government", "an", "offer", "OR", ["expression", "exp ressions", "impression", "oppression", "repression", "depression"], "of", "interest", "to", "empl

oy", "your", "services", "after", "you", "leave", "government", ["service", "services", "service d", "servile", "cervices", "service's"], "if", ["yes", "yest"], "please", "provide", ["details", "retails", " derails","detail","detail's","detailed","detains"],"A","spouse",["employed","employee","em ployer","employees","employers"],"if","yes","and","the","nature","of","this","employmen t","is","related","IN","any","way","to","the","position","for","which","you","are","seeking",[" confirmation", "confirmations", "conformation", "confirmation's", "conformations", "confir matory", "conformation's", "confiscation", "confiscations", "reconfirmation", "recon ons"],"please","indicate","your","spouse's",["employer","employers","employee","employ ees", "employer's", "employed"], "the", ["position", "positions", "positing", "positron", "positron", "positron", "positions", "positio ns", "positional", "position's", "positioned"], "and", "the", "length", "of", "time", "position", "ha s",["been","Ben","brew","Bran","bran","Brent","bred","Bret","Wren","wren"],"held","if","yo ur",["spouse's","spouses","espouses","spouse","spousals","souse's","souses"],"employm ent","is","not","related","to","the","position","to","which","you",["have","Wave"],"been",["no minated", "nominate", "nominates", "dominated"], "please", "SO", ["state", "stater", "Staten", " States", "states", "stated"], "ts", "list", "below", "all", ["corporations", "corporation", "cor on's", "corporatism", "coronations"], ["partnerships", "partnership", "partnership's"], ["found ations", "foundation", "foundation's", "inundations"], "trusts", "OR", "other", "A", "entities", "to ward","which","you","OR","your","spouse",["have","Wave"],"fiduciary","obligations","O R","IN","OS","which","you","OR","your","spouse",["have","Wave"],["held","Help"],"director ships","OR","other","positions","of","trust","during","the","past","five","years",["informati on", "conformation", "informative", "informational", "information's", "formation", "confirmati on", "conformations", "malformation", "misinformation", "Reformation", "reformation", "def ormation", "disinformation"], ["redacted", "reacted"], "list", "all", "gifts", "exceeding", "IN", ["v alue","valuer","values","valued"],"received","during","the","past",["you","your","yous"],"y our",["spouse","spouses"],"OR","your",["dependents","dependent","dependently","depe ndent's"], "gifts", "received", "from", "relatives", "and", "gifts", "given", "to", "your", "spouse", "O R","dependent","need",["knot","not","snot"],"Be","included","unless","the","gift","was","gi ven", "with", "your", "knowledge", "and", "acquiescence", "and", "you", "had", "reason", "to", "b elieve", "was", "given", "because", "of", "your", "official", ["position", "positional", "position's", " positions","positioned"],["thane","have","shave"],"not","received","such","gifts","IN","th e","past","five","years",["have","shave"],"No","reason","to","believe","that","any","gifts","gi ven", "to", "my", "spouse", ["onto", "Oreo", "orzo", "Otto", "Porto"], "my", "Son", "were", "giver", "be cause", "of", "my", "official", ["position", "positions", "positing", "positron", "positrons", "positions", " onal","position's","positioned"],"PO","ween","OE","Es","tee","list","Ali","securities","rea l",["property","properly","property's"],"partnership",["interests","interest","interest's","int erested"],"OR","other","investments","OR",["receivables","receivable"],"with","A","curre nt","market","value","if","market","value","not","ascertainable","estimated","current","fai r",["valuer","valuer","values","valued"],"IN","excess","of","the","information","provided","I N",["response","responses","response's","responded","Response"],"to","schedule","A","t he", "disclosure", "forms", "of", "the", "office", "of", "government", "May", "Be", "Incorporate d","by",["reference","references","referenced","preference","preferences","reverenc e", "reference's", "reverences", "reverenced", "deference"], "provided", "that", "current", "val uations", "are", "OS", "incorporate", "my", "by", ["reference", "references", "referenced", "pref

erence", "preferences", "reverence", "reference's", "reverences", "reverenced", "deference e"], "which", "I", "submitted", "to", "the", "office", "of", ["government", "governments", "movem ent"],"list","all","loans","OR","other",["indebtedness","indebtedness's"],["including","con cluding"], "any", "contingent", ["liabilities", "abilities", "inabilities", "liability's", "disabilitie s"],"IN","excess","of","exclude","A","mortgage","ON","your","personal","residence","unle ss","IT","rented",["out","outs"],"and","loans","secured","by",["automobiles","automobile"," automobile's", "automobiled", "automobiling"], ["household", "households"], ["furniture", "f urniture's"],"OR",["appliances","appliance's,"appliance's"],"the","information","provide d","IN",["response","Response"],"to","schedule","of","the","disclosure",["form","Worm"]," of","the","office","of","government","ethics","May","Be","Incorporated","by",["reference e", "references", "referenced", "preference", "preferences", "reverence", "reference's", "reverence", "reference's", "reverence", "reference's", "reverence", "references", "reverence", "references", "reverence", "references", "reverences", erences", "reverenced", "deference"], "provided", "that", "contingent", "liabilities", "are", "als o","included","F","are","you","OR","your","spouse","NOW","IN","default","ON","any",["loa n","loans"],["debt","debts"],"OR","other","financial",["obligation","obligations","obligation g","obligation's"],["have","Wave"],"you","OR","your","spouse","been","IN","default","ON"," any",["loan","loans"],["debt","debts"],"OR","other","financial","obligation","IN","the","pas t","ten","years",["have","Wave"],"you","OR","your","spouse","ever","been","refused","cred it","OR","had","A","loan","application","denied","if","answer","any","of","these","question s","is",["yes","yest"],["fleas","lease","please"],"provide",["details","retails","derails","detai l","detail's","detailed","detains"],"list","the","specific","sources","and","amounts","of","al l","income", "received", "during", "the", "last", "five", "years", "including", "all", ["salaries", "sala ried"],"fees",["dividends","dividend","dividend's"],["interest","interests"],"rents",["royaltie s", "loyalties", "royalties's"], ("patents", "parents", "patent", "patently", "patent's", "patients", "patent", "patent "s", "patent "s", "patent "s", "patent "s", "patent s", "patent s" patented"],["honorarily","honorarium"],"and","other","items","exceeding","copies","of","i ncome","tax","returns","for","these","years","May","Be","substituted","here","but","thei r","submission","is","not","required",["information","conformation","informative","inform ational", "information's", "formation", "confirmation", "conformations", "malformation", "mis information", "Reformation", "reformation", "deformation", "disinformation"], ["redacted", "r eacted"],"babe",["Abe","Abel","abler","Abner","abed","abet","aver","Amer","Amb er","amber","Haber","caber","saber"],"Ra","ii","IN","OE",["information","conformation","in formative", "informational", "information's", "formation", "confirmation", "conformations", " malformation", "misinformation", "Reformation", "reformation", "deformation", "disinforma tion"],["redacted","reacted"],"if","asked","Will","you","provide","committee","with","copie s", "of", "your", "and", "your", ["spousals", "spouse's", "spouses"], "Federal", "income", "return s","for","the","fast","three","years",["yes","yest"],"list","all","jurisdictions","lN","which","yest"],"list","all","jurisdictions","lN","which","yest"],"list","all","jurisdictions","lN","which","yest"],"list","all","jurisdictions","lN","which","yest"],"list","all","jurisdictions","lN","which","yest"],"list","all","jurisdictions","lN","which","yest"],"list","all","jurisdictions","lN","which","yest"],"list","all","jurisdictions","lN","which","yest"],"list","all","jurisdictions","lN","which","yest"],"list","all","jurisdictions","lN","which","yest"],"list","all","jurisdictions","lN","which","yest","list","all","jurisdictions","lN","which","yest","list","all","list","all","list","all","list","all","list","all","list","all","list","all","list","all"ou", "and", "your", "spouse", "file", "annual", "income", "tax", ["returns", "return", "returnee", "ret urner", "return's", "returned"], "Kansas", ["have", "Wave"], "your", "Federal", "OR", "state", "ta x","returns","been","the","suspect","of","an",["audit","audits"],["investigation","investigati ons", "investigating", "investigation's", "investigator", "investigative", "investigatory", tigators", "instigation"], "OR", "inquiry", "At", "any", ["time", "timer", "Timex", "times", "time d"],"if","please","provide",["details","retails","detail s"],"including","the","result","of","any","such",["proceeding","proceedings","proceeding s"],"you","are","an",["attorney","attorneys","attorney's"],["accountant","accountants","ac

countancy", "accountant's"], "OR", "other", ["professional", "professionals", "professionals", v"."professional's"."processional"."processionals"."unprofessional"."profession". sionalism", "profession's", "professions", "professionalise"], "all", ["cunts", " cents"], "and", "customers", "whom", "you", "billed", "More", "than", "worth", "of", "services", "d uring", "the", "past", "five", "years", ["also", "Alsop"], "list", "all", "jurisdictions", "IN", "which", "yo u", "are", "licensed", "to", ["practice", "practices", "practiced", "practical", "practicum", "practices", "practiced", "practical", "p ce's"],"Na","do","you","intend","to",["place","Plane"],"your","financial","holdings","and","t hose", "of", "your", "spouse", "and", "dependent", "members", "of", "your", "immediate", "hous ehold","IN","A","blind",["trust","trusty","trusts"],["yes","yest"],"please","furnish",["detail s", "retails", "derails", "detail", "detail's", "detailed", "detains"], "if", "describe", "other", "arrang ements", "for", "avoiding", "any", "potential", "conflicts", "of", ["interest", "interests", "interest" s", "interested"], "given", "tho", "nature", "of", "our", ["investments", "investment", "investment 's", "vestments"], "I", "do", "not", "anticipate", "any", "conflicts", "of", ["interest", "interests", "int erest's", "interested"], "As", "required", "by", ["law", "lawn", "laws"], "I", "Will", ["execute", "exec utes","executed","executor"],"and","Will","abide","an","agreement","with","the","Centra l","intelligence","agency","to","avoid","any","conflicts","of","interest","under","the","appli cable", "statutes", "and", ["regulations", "regulation", "regulation's", "emulations", "reflation s", "Revelations", "revelations", "refutations", "regulating", "regulators", "relations", "reputa tions"],"if",["applicable","applicably"],"list","the","last",["three","threw"],"years",["annua l","annuals"],"financial","disclosure","reports",["been","Ben","brew","Bran","bran","Bren t","bred","Bret","Wren","wren"],"required","to","file","with","your","agency",["departmen t","departments","deportment","departmental","department's"],"OR","Branch","of",["gov ernment", "governments", "governmental", "government's"], "if", "asked", "Will", "you", "prov ide","A",["copy","Cops"],"of","these",["reports","report","reporter","reported","r esorts", "retorts", "deports"], ["horse", "house", "house", "house", "hows", "Howe", "dowse"], "o f","representatives","financial","disclosure","statement","House","of","representative s", "financial", "disclosure", "statement", "House", "of", "representatives", "financial", "disclo sure", "statement", ["yes", "yest"], "matters", ["have", "Wave"], "you", "ever", "been", "the", "subj ect","of","A","disciplinary","proceeding","OR","cited","fora",["breach","Breach"],"of","eth ics","OR","unprofessional","conduct","OR","been","the","subject","of","A","complaint","a ny",["court","courts"],"administrative","agency","professional",["association","associatio ns", "associating", "association's", "associative", "dissociation"], "disciplinary", ["committe e","committees","committed"],"OR","other",["professional","professionals","processiona l","unprofessional","confessional","profession","professionally","professional's","professional sion's", "professions", "processionals", "recessional"], ["group", "groups"], "if", "please", "prov ide",["details","retails","derails","detail","detail's","detailed","detains"],["have","Wave"],"y ou", "ever", "been", ["investigated", "investigate", "investigates", "investigator", "investigativ e","investigating","investigatory","investigators","investigation","instigated"],"held","arr ested", "OR", "charged", "by", "any", ["Federal", "federal", "Federals", "fede y","Federal's","federal's","federate"],["state","stater","Staten","States","states d"],"OR","other","law","enforcement","authority","for","violation","of","any","Federal",["st ate", "stater", "Staten", "States", "states", "stated"], "county", "OR", "municipal", ["law", "law n","laws"],["regulation","regulations","regulating","regulation's"],"OR",["ordinance","ordi

nances", "ordnance", "ordinance's"], "other", "than", "A", ["minor", "minors"], "traffic", ["offens e"."offenses"."offender"."offended"."offense's"]."OR"."named"."As"."A"."defendant"."O R","otherwise","IN","any","indictment","OR","information","relating","to","such",["violatio n","violations","violating","violation's"],"if","please","provide",["details","retails","derails"," detail", "detailed", "detains"], ["have", "Wave"], "you", "ever", "been", "convicted", "o f","OR","entered","A","plea","of","guilty","OR",["Colo","Nola","Polo","polo","solo"],["conten der", "contenders", "contender's", "contended"], "to", "any", "criminal", "violation", "other", "th an","A","minor","traffic",["offense","offenses","offender","offended","offense's"],"if","ple ase","provide",["details","retails","derails","detail","detail's","detailed","detains"],"are","yo u","presently","OR",["have","Wave"],"you","ever","been","A","party","IN","interest","IN","a ny", "administrative", "agency", "proceeding", "OR", "civil", ["litigation", "litigating", "litigation", "litigati 's", "mitigation", "Mitigation"], "if", "please", "provide", "NE", "tails", ["yes", "yest"], "Daniel", ["fix ed", "filed", "fined", "fired", "fated", "feted", "fitted", "kited", "cited", "sited"], "A", "lawsuit", "ag ainst", "multiple", "parties", "including", "Mike", "pamper", "and", "Pompey", "for", "Congres s",["Cary","Gary","Mary","nary","vary","wary"],["campaign","campaigns","campaigner"," campaigned","campaign's"],"IN","approximately","December","IN","county","district",[" court", "courts"], "Kansas", "was", "riding", "his", "motorcycle", "and", "collided", "with", "ca r",["traveling","grovelling","travailing","traversing","graveling","raveling","travelings"], North", "ON", ["hydraulic", "hydraulics"], ["avenue", "avenues"], "sustained", "injuries", "and", " sued","both","ME","Pompey","for",["Congress","congress","Congress's "Congress's","Congress's "Congress's "Congress' ongresses", "congresses"], "the", "claim", "that", "A", "campaign", "sign", "placed", "ON", "th e", "SE", "comer", "of", "the", "intersection", "blocked", "his", "view", "and", "that", "of", "the", "dri ver","WHO",["struck","Stuck"],"the","motorcyclist","and","that","both","I","and","my","ca mpaign","were","responsible","for","his","the","Case","was","terminated","ON","A","moti on","to","dismiss","for",["failure","Failure"],"to","state","A","legal","claim","ON","As","to","b ath","NE","and","Pompey","for",["Congress","congress","Congress's","congress's","Congress's "Congress's","Congress's "Congress's","Congress's "Congress's "Cong gresses", "congresses"], "the", "time", "for", "appeal", "ended", "OH", "September", ["have", " Wave"], "you", ["Bern", "Burn"], "interviewed", "OR", "asked", "to", "supply", "any", "informatio n","As","A","witness","OR","otherwise","IN","connection","with","any","Congressional",["i nvestigation", "investigations", "investigating", "investigation's", "investigator", "investigation's", "investigation's "investi ve","investigatory","investigators","instigation"],["Federal","federal","Federals","federal s", "federally", "Federal's", "federal's", "federate"], "OR", "state", "agency", ["proceeding", "pr oceedings","proceeding's"],"grand","jury",["investigation","investigations","investigation g", "investigation's", "investigator", "investigatory", "investigatory", "investigators", "instigat ion"],"OR","criminal","OR","civil",["litigation","Mitigation"],"IN","the","past","ten","years","i f","please","provide",["details","retails","derails","detail","detail's","detailed","detains"],"h as", "any", ["business", "busyness", "bushiness", "busing's"], "of", "which", "you", "OR", "wer e", "an", ["officer", "officers", "office", "officer's", "office's", "offices"], ["director", "directory", " directors", "director's"], "OR", "partner", "been", "A", "party", "to", "any", "administr ative", "agency", "proceeding", "OR", "criminal", "OR", "civil", ["litigation", "Mitigation"], "relev ant","to","the",["position","fruition","monition","positron","positions","volition"],"to","whic h","you",["have","Wave"],["been","Ben","brew","Bran","bran","Brent","bred","Bret","Wre n","wren"],["nominated","nominate","nominates","dominated"],"if","please","provide",["de

tails", "retails", "derails", "detail", "detail's", "detailed", "detains"], "with", "respect", "A", "busin ess", "of", "which", "you", "are", "OR", "were", "an", ["officer", "officers", "officer, "officer's", "officer ce's", "offices"], "you", "need", "only", "consider", "proceedings", "and", ["litigation", "Mitigati on"],"that","occurred","while","you","were","an","officer","of","that",["business","busines s's","businesses"],"IL","Re","ear",["then","Wren","wren","teen","tree","Trey","trey","t rek","Tran","tron","trend","Trent"],"Ni",["have","Wave"],"you","ever","been","the","subjec t","of","any","inspector","general",["investigation","investigations","investigating","inves tigation's","investigator","investigative","investigatory","investigators","instigation"],"i f","please","provide",["details","retails","details","details","details","details","details","details","details ave","Wave"],"you","ever",["been","Ben","brew","Bran","bran","Brent","bred","Bret","Wre n", "wren"], "denied", "any", ["security", "Security"], "clearance", "OR", "access", "to", "classifi ed","information","for","any",["reason","reasons"],"if",["yes","yest"],"please","explain","I N",["detail","details"],["have","Wave"],"you","been","required","to","polygraph","examinati on", "for", "any", ["security", "Security"], "clearance", "OR", "access", "to", "classified", ["infor mation","informational","information's","informative","formation","formations","conform ation", "conformations", "Reformation", "reformation", "Reformations", "reformations", "def ormation", "deformations"], "if", ["yes", "yest"], "please", ["explain", "explains", "explained"], [" have","Wave"],"you","ever","refused","to","submit","to","A","polygraph",["examination","e xaminations", "examination's", "elimination", "lamination", "reexamination", " reexaminations"],"if",["yes","yest"],"please","describe","own","words","the","concept","o f","Congressional","oversight","of","the","obligations","of","the","director","of","the","Ce ntral", "intelligence", "agency", "and", "the", "intelligence", "committees", "of", "the", "Congre ss","respectively","IN","the","oversight",["process","profess","processor","process's","pr ocesses", "processed", "prowess"], "the", "director", "of", "Central", "intelligence", "agenc y","is","required","by","law","to","keep","the","intelligence","committees","of","the","Con gress", "fully", "and", "currently", "informed", "of", "intelligence", "activities", "As", "membe r","of","Congress","currently","serving","ON","the","House","permanent","select","com mittee","ON","intelligence","I","understand","the","importance","of","Congressional","ov ersight", "and", "the", "intelligence", "committees", "need", "for", "information", "to", "enabl e","the","committees","to","perform","their","critical","oversight",["function","function s","unctions","functional","function's","functioned","junctions","junctions"],"A s", "many", "of", "the", ["clams", "clans", "class", "Claus", "claws"], "intelligence", "activi ties", "are", "highly", "classified", "IN", ["order", "Border"], "to", "protect", ["security", "security" s", "Security"], "Congressional", "oversight", "plays", "an", "important", "role", "IN", "our", "Rep resentative", "democracy", "of", "ensuring", "there", "is", "oversight", "of", "these", "activitie s",["furnishing","burnishing","furbishing","finishing","furnishings","garnishing","tarnish ing","varnishing"],"information","about",["CIA","CIA"],"activities","to","the","intelligenc e", "committees", "of", "the", "Congress", "enables", "the", "Congress", "to", "consider", "neces sary",["legislation","legislating","legislation's"],"provide",["expropriate","appropriate","e xpropriates", "expropriated", "appropriates", "appropriated"], "levels", "of", "resources", "fo r",["CIA","CIA"],"activities","and","assess","the","effectiveness","of","the",["CIA","ciao","C IA"],"TN",["addition","additions","addiction","addictions","audition","additional","addition 's", "auditions"], "the", "plays", "A", "critical", "role", "IN", "furnishing", "the", "intelligence", "wit

h","analysis","that","assists","the",["committees","committee","committee' s", "committed"], ["understanding", "misunderstanding", "understandings", "misundersta ndings"],"world","events","and","considering","legislative","l","understand","that","with out", "timely", "MD", "complete", ["information", "informational", "information's", "informativ e", "formation", "formations", "conformation", "conformations", "Reformation", "reformation", "reformation", "conformations", "Reformation", "reformation", "conformations", "Reformations", " n","Reformations","reformations","deformation","deformations"],"Congressional","over sight", "is", "made", "More", ["difficult", "difficulty", "difficultly"], "harming", "the", ["clams", "cl ans","claps","class","Claus","claws"],"relationship","with","Congress","and","ultimatel y",["effectiveness","effectiveness's","ineffectiveness","defectiveness"],"IN","the","Lon g",["term","terms"],"if",["confirmed","conformed"],"I","AM",["committed","committee","c ommuted"],"to","ensuring",["that","FHA","flat","frat","feat","Fiat","Fiat","fiat","phat","ha t","ghat","what","chat"],["understands","understand"],"the","importance","of","Congress ional", "oversight", "and", "furnishing", "complete", "and", "timely", "information", "to", "the", "i ntelligence", "committees", "of", "the", ["Congress", "congress", "Congress's", "congress' s"."Congresses", "congresses"], "explain", "your", "understanding", "of", "the", "responsibili ties", "of", "the", "director", "of", "the", "As", "wot", "forth", "IN", "the", "national", ["security", "Se curity"],"ACT","of","and",["executive","Execution"],["order","Border"],"the","director","i s","the","Head","of","the","Central","intelligence","agency","responsible","for","all","of","i ts", "fictions", "and", "operations", "the", "director", "is", "responsible", "direction", "and", "coor dination", "of", "the", "collection", "of", ["national", "notional", "optional", "neuronal", "national s", "regional", "retinal", "rational", "sectional"], ["intelligence", "intelligence's", "intelligent", "i ntransigence"], "outside", "of", "the", "united", "States", "through", "human", "sources", "by", " other","elements","of","the","intelligence",["community","community's"],"the","directo r","coordinates","relationships","between",["the","thee","these","those"],"and","the","inte lligence", "OR", ["security", "Security"], "services", "of", "foreign", "governments", "ON", "al l","matters","involving","intelligence","related","to","the","national",["security","security' s", "Security"], "the", "director", "is", "responsible", "for", "ensuring", "that", "to", "protect", "O T",["Americans","America's","Americas","American","American","American' s"],["interests","interest","interest's","interested"],"the","director","of","the","Central","int elligence", "agency", "conducts", "covert", "actions", "approved", "by", "the", "president", "an d","IN","compliance","with","the",["procedures","procedure","procedure's"],"Set","fort h","IN","the","national",["security","Security"],"ACT","of","the","director","is","also","resp onsible", "for", "leading", "the", ["if's", "IV's", "AC's", "Ac's", "IQ's", "In's", "in's", "lo's", "Ir's", "Ic e's", "ices", "ID's", "id's", "it's", "BC's", "Bic's", "C's", "PC's", "pic's", "SC's", "Sc's", "DC's", "Tc's", "tic' s"],["production","productions","production's"],"and","dissemination","of","foreign","intel ligence", "and", ["counterintelligence", "counterintelligence's"], "the", "director", "ensure s","that","factual","timely","objective",["analysis","analyses","analysts","dialysis"],"fa","p rovided","to","the",["president","presidents","presidency","president's","resident ents"], "the", ["Congress", "congress", "Congress's", "Congress's", "Congresses", "congress es"], "Senior", ["policymakers", "policymaker"], "and", "other", "consumers", "WHO", "depen d","ON",["CIA","CIA"],["analogical","analytic","analytically"],["products","product","product ct's", "produces"], "the", "director", ["ale", "oleo", "Alec", "Alex", "Alpo", "ales", "also", "Aldo", "alt o", "Cleo", "Leo"], "ensures", "that", "the", ["ciaos", "CIA's"], "activities", "are", "conducted", "fil

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3. Unburning: Technics of Opacity, Oversight, and the Police Surveillance State

3.0 Part of that World: Spatial Politics Dialogue between Margaret Laurena Kemp and Abram Stern.



Figure 3.0: Still image from the combined work.

This is a dialogue between performing artist Margaret Laurena Kemp and digital media artist Abram Stern from February 2020. At the same time, it is a dialogue between two creative works of art: a performance titled *Surveillance Like a Hollywood Movie* and a digital "oversight machine" titled *Unburning*. In August 2019, the two of us collaborated artistically over the course of two days, exploring the intersections where our materials and ideas fit together. The image is a still that resulted from this collaborative venture. In this exploratory conversation, we are thinking together out loud about the material, bodies, histories, and gazes assembled.

Kemp: The film which undergirds this project was created from "surveillance" footage taken with personal digital devices and submitted

by viewers of my durational (five hour) performance at Montalvo Arts Center. The submitted footage was reassembled as a completed film and renamed *Surveillance Like a Hollywood Movie*. The original performance in three parts was called "Where Does the Blue Sky Start/Ghosting/ Witness This." The entire live performance was inspired by my quest to perform "The Souls of Black Folk" by W.E.B. Du Bois. The combined pieces—the performance and the film generated—question personal and technical systems that impact and result in surveillance, myth making, subjectivity, objectivity and authorship.

Stern: Thank you for this introduction to the work. I feel like I should first, as you did, introduce the process that made my image which overlays yours; going second means I can't help but think across both texts, and the works we've juxtaposed. The overlays come from Unburning, a series of operational images that visually separate overlays from FBI aerial surveillance video documentation of the Baltimore Uprising in 2005, which followed the death of Freddie Gray in police custody. This separation is an attempt to make legible a technical and institutional apparatus of subjection. My initial motivation was to make surveillance visible, but to hide the surveilled by making pixels from the underlying video transparent while rendering "burned in" sensor data as opaque. The goal here is less to make the data legible than to perform this separation. My intent is not erasure, but a restorative concealment inspired by Simone Browne's writing on dark sousveillance, which she describes as an "imaginative place from which to mobilize a critique of racializing surveillance, a critique that takes form in antisurveillance, countersurveillance, and other freedom practices."2

Kemp: I think we were both blown away when we overlayed your images on mine, and the images merged into something that looked

^{1.} W. E. B. Du Bois, *The Souls of Black Folk*, Unabridged edition (New York: Dover Publications, Incorporated, July 2016).

^{2.} Simone Browne, *Dark Matters: On the Surveillance of Blackness* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2015), p. 21.

like a daguerreotype. I was instantly taken back to "With From Here I Saw What Happened and I Cried," a photographic exhibition by Carrie Mae Weems.³ Briefly, in this exhibition Weems used a selection of found 1850 daguerreotypes which she altered to question identity and witnessing.

My physical action in the piece incorporates elements of African American vernacular dance or, depending on how you look at it, labor on a plantation or a low wage job, where movement is limited and repetitive. In my piece, I am negotiating with and shifting the soil within a confined space. Embodying and in conversation with past and present, public and private, personal and political, I am invoking ghosts.

Stern: *Unburning* operates at an uncomfortable distance, literally in the sense of the camera/sensor flying high above those protesting on behalf of Black lives, but also in the sense that these computational operations and the images produced by *Unburning* are each abstracted from the urgency of this event. I'm particularly struck by the juxtaposition of the "up in the air" position of Unburning with the "hands in the soil" of *Like a Hollywood Movie*. In both projects, I recognize gazes both within and upon the work and a commitment to unpacking how past injustices reside in—and haunt—material things.

Kemp: As a person who lives inside the experience which these two pieces evoke (individually and together) ...the distance is always uncomfortable. I see here at least three performances to contend with. There is palpable energy between these acts of observation. Performing the work and now viewing the work, I feel a loop of performance and oppression that evokes life 300 years ago and today. The vehicle that many African Americans are stopped in is this enclosed room: the solarium where there is no privacy and the body is vulnerable. That vulnerability is not the effect of having broken a law: the vulnerability

^{3.} Carrie Mae Weems, From Here I Saw What Happened and I Cried, 1995.

is the still affect of images burned into our national psyche. Inside this durational work, I am pointing to the temporality of contemporary and historical Black life. By performing in a solarium within a mansion – also a vehicle as its architecture suggests mobility, I am pointing to the surveillance economy of that historical time. Plantation systems' surveillance and today's economy of Baltimore, Sacramento, Boston (the list goes on...) and the systems of the poverty economy: all of these systems are echoed within my work.

As I write this now, I recall the controversy that Weems's exhibition ignited. That controversy, while not the same as our own project which we are discussing, is related to what we were beginning to question.

Specifically, we both began to wonder how we could—through our art—ignite conversations and political action without engaging in what we were calling 'violence porn.' Gazing upon carnage and enacting violence is one of our many national addictions. How do we 'unburn' that addiction? I began to see the marvelous double meaning in the title of your work. A double meaning that came to me because I am living that experience both as subject and object. In an interview with Frank B. Wilderson, III, C.S. Soong makes the following query:

If Orlando Patterson, who is a sociologist at Harvard, argues that Blacks and the Master/Slave Relation forced labor is not a defining characteristic of slavery, if he says that naked violence is one of the key elements of social death, which is slavery, and if the violence directed at Blacks is not based on, as you said, this person transgressing in some way, being disobedient in some way, refusing to consent in some way to what the ruling class thinks or does, then why is violence freely directed at Blacks?⁴

With the internet firmly in our culture, I think about how violence is directed at me/African Americans. I suggest that the 'violence

^{4.} Frank Wilderson, "Blacks and Master/Slave Relation," in *Afro-Pessimism: An Introduction* (Minneapolis, MN: Racked & Dispatched, 2017), 15–30, https://rackedand.dispatched.noblogs.org/.

porn' images of African Americans dying in the streets is violence; it is terrorism by another name; it is a psychic terror that impacts the victim the same way it does the perpetrator. I wonder if the new plantation system, by way of how it generates profits, by capitalizing on showing these images (surveillance economy), is the internet?

Stern: My own life has been pretty insulated from the experiences evoked by these pieces, but when I read the FBI's tweet announcing that they had published the surveillance footage, I felt very much caught in it: complicit in the way that democracy distributes (and dissipates) responsibility for its abuses across its citizens, subjects, and targets. I was confused why this footage was being featured in the collections of File Vault (which contains very little video — mostly featuring PDFs of files relating to dead celebrities and famous criminals) and being promoted on Twitter. I have been unable to determine who makes the decision of what gets shared in this way and what does not. Decisions about what gets seen and what doesn't can have enormous stakes. I have been thinking a lot about Harun Farocki's introduction to his 1968 film *Inextinguishable Fire*:

When we show you pictures of napalm victims, you'll shut your eyes. You'll close your eyes to the pictures. Then you'll close them to the memory. And then you'll close your eyes to the facts [...] When napalm is burning, it is too late to extinguish it. You have to fight napalm where it is produced: in the factories.⁵

This aerial surveillance footage isn't horrific in the way that pictures of a napalm victim are, or footage of police violence captured by body cams or witness's phones. It's too slow, distant, and durational to go viral. It still documents—and constitutes—violence: violence inflicted upon an uprising against police violence. I think that it is

^{5.} Harun Farocki, *Nicht Löschbares Feuer (inextinguishable Fire*), War, Short, Translated title: The Inextinguishable Fire IMDb ID: tt0063345 event-location: West Germany, June 1969.

still a kind of violence porn, but a kind that requires different tools to understand.

If we are to fight images like these, we need to understand where they are produced. Uncovering traces of metadata, I can follow this media to a Wescam sensor attached to a manned fixed wing Cessna with the tail code N859JA circling over Baltimore just after midnight ten days after Freddie Gray died, the night after his funeral, but also to an Adobe Premiere project file saved to the desktop folder on an analyst's Windows computer almost a year later (the analyst's name is Meredith). But as Surveillance Like a Hollywood Movie communicates, the social and historical forces that produced and reproduced this assemblage of gazes were not made in factories but in plantations. [am I reading this right?]

Kemp: Yes, that is what I am suggesting.

Stern: The gaze of a forward-looking infrared sensor can only see what is in front of it. It captures images of bodies, vehicles, buildings, and streets. Beneath all of this is ground. And so I see your performance through a spatial poetics of "getting at what's underneath". The work with the earth evokes un- and re-burial (like un- and re-burning?).

I was wondering if you would expand on the role of soil in the piece, and the invocation of ghosts?

Kemp: Let's take that question up in a longer piece, shall we?

Figure 3.1: Metadata extracted from "Protests in Baltimore, Maryland 2015, Aerial Surveillance Footage" collection

[["date":"08.02.16", "title": "April 29, 2015 Video 01", "pageUrl": "https://vault.fbi.gov/prote sts-in-baltimore-maryland-2015/unedited-versions-of-video-surveillance-footage/1D 3001Part1", "url": "https://static.fbi.gov/vault/1D3001Part1.mp4", "filename": "1D3001Part1. mp4","vidpath":"/var/www/oversightmachin.es/html/baltimore/1D3001Part1.mp4","met adata":{"exiftoolVersionNumber":10.23,"fileName":"1D3001Part1.mp4","directory":"/var/ www/oversightmachin.es/html/baltimore", "fileSize": "2162 MB", "fileModificationDate/ Time":"2016:07:25 16:45:39+00:00", "fileAccessDate/Time":"2017:06:24 07:34:50+00:0 0", "fileInodeChangeDate/Time": "2017:06:18 02:55:05+00:00", "filePermissions": "rwxr-xr -x","fileType":"MP4","fileTypeExtension":"mp4","mimeType":"video/mp4","majorBran d":"MP4 v2 [ISO 14496-14]","minorVersion":"0.0.0","compatibleBrands":"mp42, mp41"," movieHeaderVersion":0,"timeScale":90000,"duration":"0:30:01","preferredRate":1,"pref erredVolume":"100.00%","previewTime":"0 s","previewDuration":"0 s","posterTime":"0 s", "selectionTime": "0 s", "selectionDuration": "0 s", "currentTime": "0 s", "nextTrackID": 2, "tr ackHeaderVersion":0,"trackCreateDate":"2016:06:01 11:18:03","trackModifyDate":"2016: 06:01 11:18:03", "trackID":1, "trackDuration": "0:30:01", "trackLayer":0, "trackVolume": "0.0 0%","matrixStructure":"1 0 0 0 1 0 0 0 1","imageWidth":1280,"imageHeight":720,"media HeaderVersion":0,"mediaCreateDate":"2016:06:01 11:18:03","mediaModifyDate":"2016:0 6:01 11:18:03", "mediaTimeScale":30000, "mediaDuration": "0:30:01", "mediaLanguageCod e":"eng","graphicsMode":"srcCopy","opColor":"0 0 0","handlerType":"Alias Data","handl erDescription": "Alias Data Handler", "compressorID": "avc1", "sourceImageWidth": 1280, " sourceImageHeight":720,"xResolution":72,"yResolution":72,"compressorName":"AVC Coding","bitDepth":24,"userDataTIM":"00:00:00:00","userDataTSC":30000,"userDataTS Z":1001,"xmpToolkit":"Adobe XMP Core 5.6-c107 79.158019, 2015/06/29-13:20:40","cre ateDate": "2016:06:01 07:18:03-04:00", "modifyDate": "2016:06:01 07:19:46-04:00", "metad ataDate":"2016:06:01 07:19:46-04:00","creatorTool":"Adobe Premiere Pro CC 2015 (Win dows)","videoFrameRate":29.97003,"videoFieldOrder":"Progressive","videoPixelAspec tRatio":1, "startTimeScale":30000, "startTimeSampleSize":1001, "instanceID": "xmp.iid:7cc 640f7-e859-864f-8811-61e446a137b3", "documentID": "6a61ce71-a9dc-a97f-81db-85 3e0000004f","originalDocumentID":"xmp.did:3c21d530-f847-634f-b09c-44921e596 491", "format": "H.264", "duration Value": 162162000, "duration Scale": 0.000011111111111111 1,"projectRefType":"Movie","videoFrameSizeW":1280,"videoFrameSizeH":720,"videoFr ameSizeUnit":"pixel","startTimecodeTimeFormat":"29.97 fps (non-drop)","startTimeco deTimeValue":"00:00:00:00", "altTimecodeTimeValue":"00:00:00:00", "altTimecodeTimeF ormat":"29.97 fps (non-drop)", "historyAction": "saved, created, saved, saved", "historyIn stanceID":"1eec1b84-456a-08bc-6292-221c0000007c, xmp.iid:f420605a-7b7f-6644bfee-ce0614d50d46, xmp.iid:af9e3af1-37e6-fd40-95af-9eccea9f85e1, xmp.iid:7cc6 40f7-e859-864f-8811-61e446a137b3", "history When": "2016:06:01 07:19:46-04:00, 201 6:06:01 06:34:40-04:00, 2016:06:01 07:19:46-04:00, 2016:06:01 07:19:46-04:00", "history Software Agent": "Adobe Premiere Pro CC 2015 (Windows), Adobe Premiere Pro CC 2 015 (Windows), Adobe Premiere Pro CC 2015 (Windows), Adobe Premiere Pro CC 201 5 (Windows)", "historyChanged": "/, /, /metadata", "ingredientsInstanceID": "6d3bdb81-7 501-31d2-9109-dbcf00000076, c144e197-8995-6b17-241b-e8b00000008e"."ingredie

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p4","vidpath":"/var/www/oversightmachin.es/html/baltimore/1D6002Part3.mp4","met adata":{"exiftoolVersionNumber":10.23,"fileName":"1D6002Part3.mp4","directory":"/var /www/oversightmachin.es/html/baltimore", "fileSize": "1694 MB", "fileModificationDate/ Time": "2016:07:25 16:49:39+00:00", "file Access Date/Time": "2017:06:24 05:18:21+00:0 0", "fileInodeChangeDate/Time": "2017:06:17 23:45:22+00:00", "filePermissions": "rw-rwr--","fileType":"MP4","fileTypeExtension":"mp4","mimeType":"video/mp4","majorBran d":"MP4 v2 [ISO 14496-14]","minorVersion":"0.0.0","compatibleBrands":"mp42, mp41"," movieHeaderVersion":0,"timeScale":90000,"duration":"0:23:47","preferredRate":1,"pref erredVolume":"100.00%","previewTime":"0 s","previewDuration":"0 s","posterTime":"0 s", "selectionTime": "0 s", "selectionDuration": "0 s", "currentTime": "0 s", "nextTrackID": 2, "tr ackHeaderVersion":0,"trackCreateDate":"2016:06:03 17:27:08","trackModifyDate":"201 6:06:03 17:27:08", "trackID":1, "trackDuration": "0:23:47", "trackLayer":0, "trackVolume": "0. 00%","matrixStructure":"1 0 0 0 1 0 0 0 1","imageWidth":1920,"imageHeight":1080,"med iaHeaderVersion":0,"mediaCreateDate":"2016:06:03 17:27:08","mediaModifyDate":"201 6:06:03 17:27:08", "mediaTimeScale":30000, "mediaDuration": "0:23:47", "mediaLanguag eCode":"eng", "graphicsMode": "srcCopy", "opColor": "0 0 0", "handlerType": "Alias Data", " handlerDescription": "Alias Data Handler", "compressorID": "avc1", "sourceImageWidth": 1 920, "sourceImageHeight": 1080, "xResolution": 72, "yResolution": 72, "compressorNam e":"AVC Coding","bitDepth":24,"userDataTIM":"00:00:00:00","userDataTSC":30000,"use rDataTSZ":1001,"xmpToolkit":"Adobe XMP Core 5.6-c014 79.156821, 2014/08/29-03:0 7:50","createDate":"2016:06:03 13:27:08-04:00","modifyDate":"2016:06:03 13:27:41-04:0 0","metadataDate":"2016:06:03 13:27:41-04:00","creatorTool":"Adobe Premiere Pro CC 2014 (Macintosh)", "videoFrameRate": 29.97003, "videoFieldOrder": "Progressive", "video PixelAspectRatio":1, "startTimeScale":30000, "startTimeSampleSize":1001, "instanceID":" xmp.iid:98f5fb6d-d0a6-4b9a-8104-b39f3be90600","documentID":"9a034759-441f-b def-472b-caf30000004f","originalDocumentID":"xmp.did:2da827d2-11c9-47e0-8096b9118e65a707", "format": "H.264", "durationValue": 128483355, "durationScale": 0.000011 11111111111, "projectRefType": "Movie", "videoFrameSizeW":1920, "videoFrameSizeH":10 80,"videoFrameSizeUnit":"pixel","startTimecodeTimeFormat":"29.97 fps (non-drop)","s tartTimecodeTimeValue":"00:00:00:00","altTimecodeTimeValue":"00:00:00","altTime codeTimeFormat": "29.97 fps (non-drop)", "historyAction": "saved, created, saved, save d","historyInstanceID":"29737690-4868-4850-0856-a26b0000007c, xmp.iid:8453168 8-0d7c-4289-b542-12fbbb59f1c6, xmp.iid:4e03cef1-1931-43da-b757-e5919bf9745a, xmp.iid:98f5fb6d-d0a6-4b9a-8104-b39f3be90600", "historyWhen": "2016:06:03 13:27: 41-04:00. 2016:06:03 12:48:47-04:00. 2016:06:03 13:27:41-04:00. 2016:06:03 13:27:41-0 4:00", "history Software Agent": "Adobe Premiere Pro CC 2014 (Macintosh), Adobe Pre miere Pro CC 2014 (Macintosh), Adobe Premiere Pro CC 2014 (Macintosh), Adobe Pre miere Pro CC 2014 (Macintosh)", "historyChanged": "/, /, /metadata", "ingredientsInstanc elD":"5921dabd-1f28-14f4-1ebf-b2c70000090, 6d3bdb81-7501-31d2-9109-dbcf0000 0076", "ingredients Document ID": "66e25cbd-b4de-46f1-8af8-7d4e00000063, c0f61d 9b-20e5-07e6-575f-e14300000049", "ingredients From Part": "time: 915372057600000 f254016000000d362631421152000f254016000000, time:0", "ingredientsToPart": "tim e:0d362631421152000f254016000000, time:0d362631421152000f254016000000", "in

gredientsFilePath": "N539MY-2015-05-03-053442.mpg, b7E (white).png", "ingredients MaskMarkers": "None, None", "pantryInstanceID": "6d3bdb81-7501-31d2-9109-dbcf000 00076","pantryDocumentID":"c0f61d9b-20e5-07e6-575f-e14300000049","pantryOrig inalDocumentID":"xmp.did:2d3326c5-f37a-4b7d-9e18-c5b58d2621a4","pantryMetad ataDate":"2016:06:03 12:48:47-04:00","pantryModifyDate":"2016:06:03 12:48:47-04:0 0","pantryHistoryAction":"saved","pantryHistoryInstancelD":"6d3bdb81-7501-31d2-910 9-dbcf00000076", "pantryHistoryWhen": "2016:06:03 12:48:47-04:00", "pantryHistorySo ftwareAgent": "Adobe Premiere Pro CC 2014 (Macintosh)", "pantryHistoryChange d":"/","derivedFromInstanceID":"xmp.iid:84531688-0d7c-4289-b542-12fbbb59f1c6"," derivedFromDocumentID":"xmp.did:84531688-0d7c-4289-b542-12fbbb59f1c6","deri vedFromOriginalDocumentID": "xmp.did:84531688-0d7c-4289-b542-12fbbb59f1c6"," windowsAtomExtension": ".prproj", "windowsAtomInvocationFlags": "/L", "macAtomAppl icationCode":1347449455,"macAtomInvocationAppleEvent":1129468018,"macAtomPo sixProjectPath":"/Volumes/DATA 2/1328241/1328241/313A-BA-S6337966/1D6/13282 41-1D6-002.prproi", "movieDataSize":1776014627, "movieDataOffset":409951, "avgBitrat e":"9.95 Mbps","imageSize":"1920x1080","megapixels":2.1,"rotation":0},"webm":"/var/w ww/oversightmachin.es/html/baltimore/1D6002Part3.webm"}]

3.1 Initial Conditions

On the night of April 12, 2015, Freddie Gray made eye contact with two patrolling police officers near the Gilmore Homes housing project in West Baltimore. Arrested for carrying a knife that Maryland state's attorneys later determined to be legal, Gray was put in a police van where he received injuries to his neck that, after a week of hospitalization, led to his death. Over the days that followed, the community organized protests on the streets of Baltimore. Margaret Rorison's short film One Document for Hope captures a view of the mourning, celebration, rage, and solidarity in those streets. The camera looks over the protesters as members of the Baltimore Police and National Guard gather behind barricades; it also looks up at circling helicopters set to a soundtrack captured from police scanners. This sousveillant perspective (looking up and looking back) is important to occupy and (re)present. But there is also unfinished business up in the air: during the Uprising, the extent and scope of FBI surveillance of Black Lives Matter protests was not yet understood.

At 8:59 p.m. local time on May 2, 2015, a motor attached to an infrared sensor mounted to a Cessna Citation V (twin-jet) airplane failed. The video image it was capturing shook briefly, horizontally,

^{6.} Margaret Rorison, *One Document for Hope*, May 2016, accessed March 2, 2022, https://vimeo.com/166294244.

^{7.} Onscreen metadata lists the time as 2:59 a.m. on May 3rd in European Central Time (UTC+1), which is 8:59 p.m. on May 2nd in local time. Clocks on networked devices tend to be reliable because they synchronize with time servers. It remains unclear to the author if the reported time is correct.



Figure 3.2: A still image at from 10m29s of 1D5001.mp4

then panned up towards the sky before breaking into a pattern of light and noisy dither (visual noise added as part of image compression). It then began a calibration cycle before resuming its surveillance. The airplane bore the FAA registration code N557PG. These details such as the date and time, and the make, model, and tail code of the plane, are drawn from a collection of videos released by the FBI in response to ACLU Freedom of Information Act (FOIA) requests more than a year after the Baltimore Uprising. This information is present in two separate layers of metadata attached to media in this collection of aerial surveillance. The first, burned into each frame of video, contains partially redacted data from the infrared sensor installed beneath

^{8.} I recognize that spatially oriented language is in tension with how metadata is perceived and engaged; this tension is explored in this writing and elsewhere in my work.

N557PG. The second is a collection of XMP metadata produced by Adobe Premiere during a process the FBI used to prepare the videos for public release and (likely) unwittingly included when these materials were published on the FBI's File Vault website. These layers of media illustrate the contradictory valences of legibility and intelligibility in surveillance media: the asymmetries of who and what are accessible to whom.

In this writing I trace a series of positions, technical and conceptual engagements, questions, assumptions, reductions, exaggerations, and collaborations held throughout the process of research and art-making that I have developed under the broader title of Unburning (or sometimes, *Unburning*) that attempt to make (and break) sense this collection of surveillance video. While operating at a distance (if not the 6,000+ feet of altitude these aircrafts often circle at, then the distance of both mediatic and positional abstraction) from the death of Freddie Gray, I'd like to acknowledge the layers of injustice at work here: the police brutality that resulted in Gray's death produced the conditions of the Uprising while also reproducing violent subjugation against protesters.

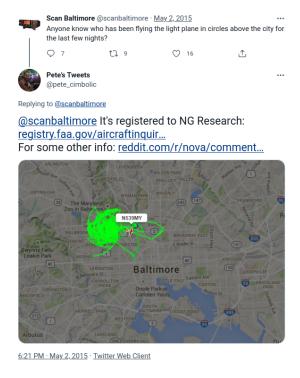


Figure 3.3: Screenshot of tweets from May 2, 2015

3.2 The Tweets, the Fleet, the Collection

The Washington Post first reported the presence of surveillance planes over the protests on May 5.9 This reporting was based on a series of tweets. The first came from Brendan Shayne on an account associated with his website Scan Baltimore, whose stated purpose was to "stream live Baltimore City Police Department (BPD) radio transmissions for

^{9.} Craig Timberg, "Surveillance Planes Spotted in the Sky for Days After West Baltimore Rioting," *Washington Post*, May 2015, chap. Technology, accessed March 2, 2022, https://www.washingtonpost.com/business/technology/surveillance-planes-s potted-in-the-sky-for-days-after-west-baltimore-rioting/2015/05/05/c57c53b6-f 352-11e4-84a6-6d7c67c50dbo_story.html.

all to hear."¹⁰ Shayne's query read, "Anyone know who has been flying the light plane in circles above the city for the last few nights?"¹¹ This tweet was answered seven minutes later by Peter Cimbolic with an image of the plane's flight path (a map of Baltimore overlaid with an intense neon green scribble from the plane circling over roughly the same path) and the message, "It's registered to NG Research" followed by links to the plane's info on the FAA website and a link to a reddit thread from July 2014 in which users identified the same planes circling over northern Virginia. Cimbolic then contacted the ACLU about the likelihood of government surveillance of the Uprising.¹²

The flight map of the plane was produced with the help of Software Defined Radios (SDRs). These small, inexpensive USB sticks convert radio signals into data streams that can be analyzed using software; in this case they were used to monitor Automatic Dependent Surveillance – Broadcast (ADS-B) radio signals emitted by the planes at 1090MHz (and in some cases 978Mhz), signals which are mandated by the FAA. These broadcasts carry the FAA registration code of the plane, its GPS location, altitude, ground speed, and other data, updating each second.

^{10.} The site, now defunct, provided a live unarchived police radio stream. Nothing on the site suggests that the person behind it is critical of the police. "Scan Baltimore," April 28, 2015, https://web.archive.org/web/20150428015406/https://www.scanbaltimore.com/.

^{11.} Pete's Tweets, @scanbaltimore It's registered to NG Research: http://reg-istry.faa.gov/aircraftinquiry/NNum_Results.aspx?NNumbertxt=539MY For some other info: http://reddit.com/r/nova/comments/2bgj1p/plane_circling_over_mcleanlang-ley_area_last_few/ http://t.co/eGXFIKXCgr, Tweet, May 2015, accessed March 2, 2022, https://twitter.com/pete_cimbolic/status/594673137691848704.

^{12.} Timberg, "Surveillance Planes Spotted in the Sky for Days After West Baltimore Rioting."

Hobbyists pick up these signals locally and stream the data to services like Flightradar24, FlightAware (now owned by defense contractor Raytheon), and ADSB-exchange; these sites crowdsource the signals and allow users access to worldwide data about which plane is where in the present, as well as access to historical data (for a price).

Following the initial Washington Post reports, independent researcher John Wiseman and journalist Sam Richards separately revealed a larger fleet of FBI surveillance planes (Wiseman has since developed "Circular Advisory," a set of twitter bots that automatically identify circling airplanes over US cities).¹³ Following these discoveries, the Associated Press published its own report on June 2, 2015, tying at least 50 aircrafts to more than a dozen fake companies with names such as FVX Research, KQM Aviation, NBR Aviation, PXW Services, and NG Research. The ACLU filed FOIA requests for footage and further information about the program. On August 8, 2016, in response to the ACLU request the FBI posted the collection of partially redacted videos to the FBI File Vault, a curated web archive of FBI media that contains mostly scanned paper documents pertaining to famous or infamous figures (e.g. Frank Sinatra and Abbie Hoffman). At the time of its posting, the collection, titled Protests in Baltimore, Maryland 2015, Aerial Surveillance Footage, was only one of three sets of videographic

^{13.} Sam Richards, FOIA documents I obtained for this aircraft show it was upgraded with WAAS (wide area aerial surveillance) and other spy tech. This plane circled Baltimore and other cities. https://t.co/f9cmz9stKK, Tweet, July 2020, accessed July 24, 2021, https://twitter.com/MinneapoliSam/status/1286777731926065156.

media posted to the Vault.14

On October 30, 2016, a week before the U.S. general election, the FBI File Vault twitter bot tweeted the existence of the collection, writing "Protests in Baltimore, Maryland, 2015: Documents and video related to protests in Baltimore, Maryland, beginning ... [sic]".¹⁵ I read the tweet that day and immediately felt interpellated by it addressed as a potential audience for the footage. The work of making this footage publicly accessible, followed by the further step of publicizing it articulates a public (as an audience) and a way of seeing. This call to witness might also be understood as a call towards whiteness, to reinforce a racialized and criminalizing point of view, to engage in oversight. Citizen (or civilian) oversight is often invoked in relation to government transparency to imply access to government materials (such as this footage and its associated documents), but I use the word here to invoke a set of techniques that reorient and reorder land and bodies that Mirzoeff locates spatially within the work of "overseeing" (as in the work of an overseer) during the plantocracy. 16 I am also deploying oversight in its other denotation—the failure to notice,

^{14.} The other two video collections at the time were a set of supermarket surveillance footage of Jared Laughner, the man who shot Rep. Gabrielle Giffords in Tuscon, AZ in 2011 and video of the Rodney King beating in 1991. The vault's curatorial logic is opaque. According to contacts at MuckRock, the FBI has rejected FOIA requests that have sought the decision-making process that determines what material is posted to the Vault.

^{15.} FBI Records Vault [@FBIRecordsVault], Protests in Baltimore, Maryland, 2015: Documents and video related to protests in Baltimore, Maryland, beginning ... https://t.co/HVN8ZzqloZ, Tweet, October 2016, accessed November 13, 2022, https://twitter.com/FBIRecordsVault/status/792637202471591936.

^{16.} Nicholas Mirzoeff, *The Right to Look: A Counterhistory of Visuality* (Duke University Press, 2011), p. 48.

the blunder of not seeing—as a way to draw attention to what these techniques fail to capture. This aerial surveillance video, as is, cannot provide an identification with the acts of social solidarity, mourning, fear, and rage happening on the ground. As a simulacrum, it signifies a world in which those things have already been erased. The Wescam MX-20 forward-looking infrared sensor (FLIR) attached to N557PG captures heat and light, reducing bodies into amorphous shapes. Daniel Grinberg describes the visual work of the sensor: "Through the restrictive optic of this lens, they are both unwillingly registering their precarious humanity and being dehumanized." In his analysis of the Baltimore footage, Grinberg ultimately determines that this footage reproduces a dehumanizing and criminalizing gaze.

Ways of seeing can also function as an induction into force. Tongo Eisen-Martin describes "[the] modern era with hyper militarization of police, mass internment of Brown and Black people, permanent imperialist invasions around the world" as one in which whiteness functions, "not as a privilege, but rather a deputization." Eisen-Martin describes this deputization in terms of a standing army in which not every foot soldier is literally sworn in; it is through more subtle forms

^{17.} Thank you to Andre Brock for this conceptual frame and phrasing.

^{18.} Daniel Grinberg, "Tracking Movements: Black Activism, Aerial Surveillance, and Transparency Optics," *Media, Culture & Society*, November 2018, p. 19, accessed January 15, 2019, https://doi.org/10.1177/0163443718810921, http://journals.sagepub.com/doi/10.1177/0163443718810921.

^{19.} Tongo Eisen-Martin, *Collateral White Skin by Tongo Eisen-Martin*, Archive Location: https://www.poetryfoundation.org/Publisher: Poetry Foundation, November 2021, accessed November 10, 2021, https://www.poetryfoundation.org/harriet-books/2019/06/collateral-white-skin.

of identification that militarized policing is reproduced. Christina Sharpe describes the work of images that depict Black distress and suffering as, "function[ing] as a hail to the non Black person in the Althusserian sense. That is, these images work to confirm the status, location, and already held opinions within dominant ideology about those exhibitions of spectacular Black bodies whose meanings then remain unchanged." After reading the tweet announcing the release of the footage I felt reflexively aware of my whiteness, my positional distance from the scene of the Uprising, and also my complicity in the way that democracy distributes (and dissipates) responsibility for its abuses of (and among) citizens, subjects, and targets.

If these video images are ethically irretrievable, what else remains in this media and how might what remains be repurposed against this apparatus of subjection? In addition to the visual information it captures, the sensor also reports internal diagnostics and settings derived from its LIDAR ranging technologies, as well as data feeds from the plane itself. Sharpe also addresses the role of metadata in relation to the images they extend:

As photographs of Black people circulate [...] they are often accompanied by some sort of note or other metadata, whether that notation is in the photograph itself or as a response to a dehumanizing photograph, in order that the image might travel with supplemental information that marks injury and, then, more than injury.²¹

^{20.} Christina Elizabeth Sharpe, *In the Wake: On Blackness and Being* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2016), p. 83.

^{21.} Sharpe, p. 83.

Sharpe characterizes the annotative effects of metadata as an additional subjectifying inscription. But metadata, on occasion, is less about adding details of the conditions of an image, than about capturing the conditions of documentation. Because metadata accrues (sometimes overwriting itself) at each stage of operation (transcoding, redacting, publishing), it is a technology that can also tell on itself and its contexts: sometimes more of a mirror than a lens.

3.3 Data, Raw or Burned



Figure 3.4: An early *Unburning* prototype

To extend the vertical logic of surveillance to the aesthetic, we might conclude that this video was released to enunciate who is on top. But what's on top of what's on top? In what we might call the 'stacking order' of the relationship between text and image in these videos,

sensor metadata is above the optoelectronic and infrared images. But this aboveness is constructed. Functionally, the data text is burned-in: its pixels have replaced the pixels of what is underneath. Burning-in, like timecode inscribed onto a working film print, or watermarks into stock photos, describes the destructive superimposition of one image onto another. This process is destructive in two senses: in the first sense that the video file has been rendered flat, by the imposition of an image that erases another; and in the second sense that data have been transformed into an image. Burning-in produces an inseparability, indelibly joining the action on the ground with the full suite of measurements above: coordinates, camera settings, LIDAR targeting information, and slant range. The redaction zones, which inexplicably pulse to match the color of the center pixel of the underlying video, are also locked into time in this way.

An image of data is not data. Geoffrey Bowker warns us that "raw data is an oxymoron and a bad idea; to the contrary, data should be cooked with care." But what is burned data? Like the transformation of a searchable document into an image of text, this is not an act of redaction (although it occurs alongside redactions) so much as a reduction: the data text is legible to a viewer, but not sortable or queryable in the way that computable data is. While reduction (of resolution, affordance, and access) is built into many technical workflows as both feature and accident, it is sometimes unclear whether these opacities

^{22.} Geoffrey C. Bowker, *Memory Practices in the Sciences*, Inside technology, OCLC: ocm60776866 (Cambridge, Mass: MIT Press, 2005), p. 185.

are accidental or malicious.

When confronted by this gap of computability presented by burned-in data, my first response was to attempt to close it: to find a way to read the data from the screen; to reconstruct a layer of information that had become an image. I had already developed a project that uses optical character recognition (OCR) as a driving technology in the work (see Abram Stern, "Operational Character Rendition" or *Two Questions for Gina Cheri Haspel*), and that code was at hand when confronted with this footage.²³

The first implementation of *Unburning* used OCR to read the burned-in textual portions of the video; if "burning" meant the process of data becoming an image, I conceptualized unburning as a way of reconstructing the data, first by reading it as text. I identified the portions of the video image with onscreen text by hand, noting the pixel coordinates and dimensions. The project loads the surveillance footage in an offscreen HTML5 video element, copying only the portions where text has been found into a visible canvas element, a special kind of image in which pixel data can be read and written programmatically using JavaScript. In turn, the canvas image data can be passed to Tesseract, an open source OCR tool. Having been unable to find documentation for the sensors, apart from instructions for installing one into a specially modified Cessna, I was left to guess at property names for the different

^{23.} Abram Stern, "Operational Character Rendition," 2014, https://oversight-machin.es/ocr/; Two Questions for Gina Cheri Haspel, 2020, http://archive.org/details/two-questions-for-gina-cheri-haspel.

data positions. The mode, exposure, and time were straightforward. Others are still not obvious. I repurposed the areas of the screen that had been marked for redaction as a space or display of what was read. This process of reading each video frame (1/30th of a second) as a real-time loop multiplied the 18½ hours into a challengingly durational 600 hour project. I had imagined this as something that could run during an exhibition over the course of a month, at which point I could publish the findings.

This initial prototype was dissatisfying and I ultimately set it aside. It did not work very well. It read only the portions of the screen I told it to read. Different sensor modes seem to operate at different resolutions, which reorders and repositions these data elements on the screen. There are at least four different sensor models used across the multiple aircraft involved in collecting this footage. The fixed data-text locations I'd carefully mapped out were not universal across the collection, and sometimes not even consistent within a single video file. Some of the overlays are so faint they could not be read with OCR.

In undertaking this work, I was following a logic of actionability: that the information produced by the sensors, but illegibly withheld, was useful.²⁴ The office of the Director of National Intelligence's definition of "actionable" is

1. Information that is directly useful to customers for immediate exploitation without requiring the full intelligence production process; actionable information may address

^{24.} Obtaining or discovering something actionable is the goal of surveillance and other intelligence work.

strategic or tactical needs, support of U.S. negotiating teams, or actions dealing with such matters as international terrorism or narcotics.

2. Intelligence and information with sufficient specificity and detail that explicit responses based on that information can be implemented. 25

I had worked under the assumption that there was something of value to be found and extracted: a needle in this haystack of sensor data points. Mols Sauter has proposed that secret information, once made public (whether by leaks, hacks, FOIA work, or other forms of information activism), carries an illicit aura. ²⁶ This aura imbues information with a sense of importance rooted in the "assumption that the database in question was purposefully concealed from the public and required liberating." ²⁷ The illicit aura repels expert interpretation and contextualization, and encourages a hermeneutics rooted in direct public engagement with ostensibly raw information that is "cast as a resource to be mined for proof of the violations the illicit aura assumes are already there." ²⁸ The hermeneutics encouraged by illicit auras posit correct reading as a smoking gun, a heroic researcher slowly connecting the dots—the stuff of police procedurals.

This initial approach also felt uncomfortably solutionist. Technological solutionism reduces and abstracts structural problems into

^{25.} Corin Stone, ed., *U.S. National Intelligence: An Overview* 2013, 2013, accessed August 5, 2022, https://www.dni.gov/files/documents/USNI%202013%20Overview _web.pdf.

^{26.} Mols Sauter, "The Illicit Aura of Information," *Limn*, no. 8 (April 2017), accessed July 30, 2020, https://limn.it/articles/the-illicit-aura-of-information/.

^{27.} Sauter.

^{28.} Sauter.

containable puzzles to be solved with the technician's favorite tools; quantification and abstraction can enclose a problem from its many contexts and associations. But abstraction can serve other purposes: as part of a gesture, it can resurface and enunciate historical and institutional resonances, and open interpretation to other possibilities.

Caren Kaplan notes that aerial photography is rooted in instrumental realism, writing that "the reconnaissance image is purely military, intended only for technical or 'instrumental' purposes."29 Instrumental suggests two things here: the ways that technological instruments determine mediatic conditions, and also that media itself is instrumentalized and put to work. Kaplan finishes her thought by explaining that the "hermeneutic loop of the aerial reconnaissance photograph can only be 'opened' through a critical historization of the emergence of the components of the image; its many elements of production as well as interpretation."30 Kaplan is proposing a project where accounting for historical specificity is insufficient; these images' power of signification must also be accounted for to resist the instruments' disposition to be decoded as authoritative facts. At their moment of capture, the images were instrumental; the FBI stated that their aerial surveillance was "used to assist in providing high-altitude observation of potential criminal activity to enable rapid response by

^{29.} Caren Kaplan, "Bomb Sight: The Visual Realism Of Aerial Reconnaissance," *Society and Space*, September 2012, accessed March 3, 2022, https://www.societyandspace.org/articles/bomb-sight-the-visual-realism-of-aerial-reconnaissance.

30. Kaplan.

police officers on the ground."³¹ I read the FBI's decision to post the videos publicly as consistent with instrumentality. Publishing them opens up the likelihood of reactionary mediatization (operationally providing material for news media to rebroadcast, reproducing that gaze from above). This public availability also provides opportunities for critical historicization, which necessarily precedes the work of defamiliarization and rupture I am attempting here. Absent this important step of "breaking the hermeneutic loop," art that addresses historical trauma at best falls flat, and at worst reproduces the systems it means to critique, inflicting harm in the process.³²

3.4 Metadata: Adding Intelligence to Media

When media is produced, whether with consumer devices like smart-phones or specialized surveillance gear, metadata is often produced as well. When videos are uploaded to Vimeo, YouTube or other large media hosting sites, those sites strip metadata as part of their media preparation process. But because the video files from the FBI collection were hosted directly on the Records Vault server, metadata from the redaction process was, perhaps unwittingly, made publicly accessible as well. Adobe Premiere uses a metadata standard developed by Adobe

^{31.} Ian Duncan, Fbi Admits Providing Air Support to Baltimore Police During Freddie Gray Unrest, accessed November 9, 2022, https://www.baltimoresun.com/news/crime/bal-fbi-admits-providing-air-support-to-baltimore-police-during-freddie-gray-unrest-20150506-story.html.

^{32.} For example, the grotesque case of Kenneth Goldsmith's "remixed" reading of Michael Brown's autopsy at Brown University in 2015.

called XMP (eXtensible Metadata Platform), which is now governed as a specification by the International Organization for Standardization (ISO 16684-1:2019).

Adobe programs embed XMP in the files they create partly for interoperability, storing application and document settings alongside media. Some, but not all the Baltimore Uprising videos contain significant quantities of XMP embedded in the MP4 file container. Unlike the burned-in data, this functions as data that is mostly beyond visual representation; its presence is not announced, you must look for it with specialized tools.³³ This metadata makes clear that it is not data from the act of surveillance, but rather from the redaction of that material. Time stamps indicate, with minute granularity, that these files were created more than a year after the Uprising in June and July of 2016. Temporal metadata is detailed, but perplexing. According to its file metadata (non-XMP data embedded by most filesystems), the file containing the video of the gimbal motor failure was last modified on July 25, 2016 at 4:47:52pm with no time zone included (although burned-in data indicated UTC+1). The file's MediaCreateDate and MediaModifyDate (non-XMP media metadata defined by Apple's MP4 container format) are identical: June 3, 2016 at 4:25:46pm with no time zone. XMP stores even more timestamps, with a creation date that matches the MP4 creation and modification dates (while including a UTC-4 time zone), while XMP's media modification date is twelve

^{33.} Metadata extracted for use in Unburning and this writing was produced using ExifTool, an open-source toolkit for reading and writing metadata by Phil Harvey.

seconds later. XMP metadata also stores a set of actions taken in the project, tracked here as "saved, created, saved, saved", each of which is given a long instanceID of hexadecimal code. Each of these actions also has a timestamp, ranging from June 3, 2016 at 12:15:22pm to 12:25:58. Even more dates and times accrue, placing project pantry creation, modification, and metadata at different times on May 18, 2016. Some of these dates align, others do not. They are claims made from different layers of software abstraction.

Beyond dates and times, the metadata also indicates that this project was produced using Premiere Pro CC 2014 for Macintosh. Despite being created on a Macintosh, the file contains a property called WindowsAtomUncProjectPath whose value is "\\\?\\C:\\Users\\User\\Desktop\\Tim Project\\Baltimore Riots fix\\1D5-001.prproj"].34 It is unlikely that Tim is the name of the project because another file in the collection, created on Premiere Pro CC 2015 for Windows, has "\\\?\\C:\\Users \\rmduser\\Desktop\\Meredith Project\\Baltimore\\1D3\\1328241 -1D3-001_2.prproj" in the same property. The difference in operating system, versions of Premiere, and file paths reveal banal details of the conditions in which these redactions were performed. Like any semiotic system, difference is a key site of meaning. Different versions of the same program will include different properties. Some properties are determined by the operating system, others by the program. Others are set in the document. The presence or absence

^{34.} This internal filename is at odds with public FBI communications about the Baltimore Uprising refer to it as "protests".

of a property, regardless of its value, can also be meaningful.

The file's metadata includes a property for "pantryIngredients-FilePath", which stores the path of the two files imported into the Premiere project: "b7E (white).png, N557PG-2015-04-30-015826.ts".³⁵ Starting with the latter: this filename—and procedurally generated filenames function as a form of metadata—includes the FAA registration number for the plane and a timestamp that corresponds to the original recording in local time (approximately 1:58am). In addition to the video file marked with the plane's identifier, this first file is an image of text burned-in to the screen; b7E refers to the Freedom of Information Act, providing exemptions for information that "would disclose techniques and procedures for law enforcement investigations or prosecutions, or would disclose guidelines for law enforcement investigations or prosecutions if such disclosure could reasonably be expected to risk circumvention of the law."³⁶

It is hard to imagine that an agency with such an extensive record of malicious noncompliance with FOIA would wittingly include such depth of information about and beyond the process of redaction as part of that redaction.³⁷ Lawrence Abu Hamdan has suggested that sound

^{35.} The .ts file extension suggests the sensor encodes video using MPEG transport streams

^{36. 5} U.s. Code § 552 - Public Information; Agency Rules, Opinions, Orders, Records, and Proceedings, accessed March 7, 2022, https://www.law.cornell.edu/uscode/text/5/552.

^{37.} A particularly egregious example of FBI noncompliance: Information activist Ryan Shapiro once requested a set of files from the FBI and was sent a black and white image of a floppy disk in response. Ryan Shapiro [@_rshapiro], "Thanks for This Super Helpful #FOIA Release, FBI. #animalrights Https://T.Co/CgJhEHW6Pz," Tweet, Twitter, March 19, 2018, https://twitter.com/_rshapiro/status/975537711082741760.

can be leaky, and that "[t]he relational, leaky qualities of the sounds under scrutiny threaten their objectivity." Metadata, too, is prone to leakiness; it is often appended to files without announcement and one has to look for it to know that it is there. Metadata's relationality is more associational: its values and parameters point to specifications and standards and into other databases. The value of an XMP property leads to a document that defines its spec. An FAA registration code found in a filename leads to registration data, like N557PG's ownership by National Aircraft Leasing Corp, a company used as a front for the FBI and other agencies. It also leads to flight plans on ADSB exchange: among its many other flights, N557PG flew again on June 1, 2020, circling over the uprising in Washington, D.C. a week after the murder of George Floyd. 40

Other artists have tracked airplanes as well. In *Torture Taxi: on the Trail of the CIA's Rendition Flights* artist Trevor Paglen and his co-author investigative journalist A.C. Thompson meticulously track a series of commercial planes used by the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) as part of its extraordinary rendition program using a mixture of public records requests, document analysis, and investigation. These

^{38.} Lawrence Abu Hamdan, "AURAL CONTRACT Investigations at the Threshold of Audibility" (PhD diss., Goldsmiths University of London, September 2017), p. 28, accessed August 29, 2022, https://research.gold.ac.uk/id/eprint/23293/1/VIS_thesis_AbuHamdenL_2018.pdf.

^{39.} Janus Rose, Feds Don't Fly Their Secret Surveillance Planes on Weekends, April 2016, accessed March 8, 2022, https://www.vice.com/en/article/yp3p5x/feds-dont-fly-their-secret-surveillance-planes-on-weekends.

^{40.} Peter Aldhous, *The FBI Is Selling A Surveillance Plane It Used On Black Lives Matter Protests*, Section: Science, accessed September 6, 2022, https://www.buzzfeednews.com/article/peteraldhous/fbi-surveillance-plane-auction-sale.

planes flew prisoners to secret prisons in Afghanistan and elsewhere. Because they were non-military, planes like N313P left extensive (or shallow enough to be suspicious) paper trails that, through the team's investigation, revealed a series of front companies and fictitious figures. ⁴¹ In her film *In Free Fall*, Hito Steyerl follows the biography of a single plane. The plane, identified as 4X–JYI, was a Boeing aircraft first obtained by Howard Hughes for TWA Airlines, then later sold to the Israeli military for use as a support aircraft, later blown up as part of filming the final scene in the 1994 film Speed, and finally fold as aluminum scrap. ⁴²

Planes have an enormous paper trail and data footprint. A 456-page collection of FAA documents traces the story of this aircraft, beginning with a 2002 application by Cessna for an Experimental Certificate of Airworthiness for the plane with serial number 560-0557, which was then known as N221CE and copies of the approved certificate. In 2003, the plane was reregistered as N557PG. Documents record, in minute detail, the replacements and upgrades of sensor apparatuses, no fewer than three times between 2006 and 2012. The FAA document accounts for and records the model number of every part number of each upgraded, repaired, or replaced part including hoses, cords, bolts, and sensors.39 On September 1, 2021, the plane—still equipped with its

^{41.} Trevor Paglen and A. C. Thompson, *Torture Taxi: On the Trail of the CIA's Rendition Flights*, 1st ed, OCLC: ocm71814928 (Hoboken, N.J: Melville House, 2006).

^{42.} David Riff, ""Is this for real?" A Close Reading of In Free Fall by Hito Steyerl | transversal texts," *Transversal Texts*, no. art/knowledge: overlaps and neighboring zones (February 2011), accessed December 6, 2022, https://transversal.at/transversal/0311/riff/en.

Mx20 HD sensor—was listed for auction by the U.S. General Services Administration. The winning bid was \$1,249,000.40 As of this writing, the plane was last flown in Colorado in July 2022, its new owner's registration still pending, its status "in question." As I followed the lines of associations found in the metadata, material accrued. Properties, values, and associated media piled up. Guided by their illicit aura and a pleasure of noticing, I noticed patterns, repetitions, and absences in what felt like a concrete set of facts about the world. But this mode of reading masks the complex orchestration of software, hardware, and the human work of administration that is necessarily involved in producing metadata and its truth claims.

3.5 Poor Image Buffers and Bad Algorithms

The above is among the image findings from the next phase of *Un-burning* I developed. Rather than attempting to extract images of data from predetermined portions of the screen and reconstitute them as temporal metadata, this version utilizes a computationally crude frame buffer to locate and separate burned-in text from frames of video captured by the sensor. Frame buffers store a series of discrete images in memory and are integral to screen-based display systems. Writing about earlier implementations that made some of the first screen-based moving graphics possible, Jacob Gaboury describes

^{43.} N557PG Airworthiness - DocumentCloud, accessed February 20, 2022, https://www.documentcloud.org/documents/6952040-N557PG-Airworthiness.html#document/p400/a568648.

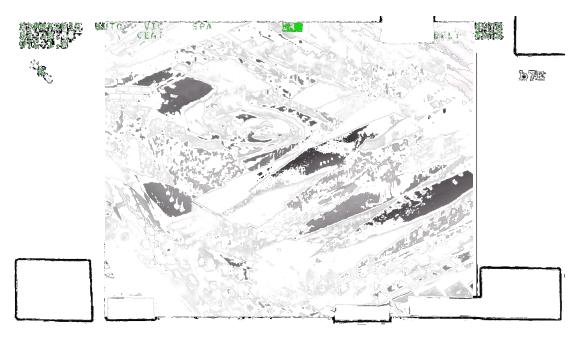


Figure 3.5: Early *Unburning* finding

frame buffers as "reveal[ing] a material connection between image and memory in digital systems, offering new insights into the temporality of computation as a visually mediated practice."44

Buffering images allows for comparison between and among what is held in the buffer; Unburning subtracts the encoded values of red, blue, and green brightness (each expressed as an 8-bit "word" or octet, a number between 0 and 255) of one frame from the next to determine the difference between them.⁴⁵ The algorithm measures, at a pixel level, how much has changed over time. But it has a short memory.

^{44.} Jacob Gaboury, *Image Objects: An Archaeology of Computer Graphics* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: The MIT Press, 2021), p. 57.

^{45.} This is a weighted implementation of the W3C Compositing and Blending specification for "difference" blending modes, described as: "Subtracts the darker of the two constituent colors from the lighter color." Rik Cabanier and Chris Harrelson, eds., *Compositing and Blending Level* 2, Editor's Draft, January 2022, accessed August 11, 2022, https://drafts.fxtf.org/compositing/#blendingdifference

With footage produced by a circling plane, the video is in constant motion. The burned-in text is largely static, with text changing at the scale of individual symbols, but occupying the same space in each frame. Within the formal aesthetics of these surveillance videos, pixels that do not change over time are likely to be burned-in; the pixels that move are likely to be the underlying video and this subtractive "differencing" process provides a map of change over time. This differencing process is commonly used in image-based motion detection, such as in home surveillance systems where difference is a signifier of movement and presence.⁴⁶



Figure 3.6: DISARM DISARM, Unburning finding

Unburning operates in a browser window, loading a video from the FBI collection off screen. When loaded, it determines some in-

^{46.} See also: Lisa Jevbratt's EVIDENCE: Days after Difference

ternal settings to use for its analysis (how many frames to use in its buffer, the time interval that sets the duration between frames, and the brightness threshold that determines what constitutes stillness and motion). These settings are relational; the longer the duration, the higher the likelihood that visual changes occurred within that time span. *Unburning* sets the alpha (transparency) value of pixels that have changed over a threshold value to transparent, those that are sufficiently static (ostensibly text) remain opaque, with those in between becoming translucent based on their proximity to the threshold. There is also code that takes into account that the brightest pixels on the screen—in most cases the whitest pixels—are generally data text (although some sensors use green text overlays, such as in Fig. 1). The result of these operations (differencing and thresholding) is not a perfect separation between overlay and video; the video image is more "masked up" than erased; abstracted to the point where figures blend together, and—given the temporal compression of higher interval durations—the circular flight plans of the planes inscribe themselves into the media as large whorls (as in DISARM DISARM, above). As these images are produced, they are transferred back to the server where they are embedded with new metadata. This metadata reflects settings and conditions of their creation (source files, the threshold values), as well as some additional poetic gestures: a release to the public domain, white balance set as Unknown (b7e);⁴⁷ image

^{47.} b7e refers to an aformentioned FOIA exemption code

region role identifier set to "abstraction against deputization"; GPS coordinates set to the FBI Records Management Division headquarters in Winchester, Virginia; and GPS altitude set to 1,312 meters above sea level. The generated images appear in a publicly accessible directory. ⁴⁸

This work operates in the spirit of, even if not following to the letter, what Matthew Fuller calls critical software. For Fuller, this functions either as "an arrangement of objects, protocols, statements, dynamics, and sequences of interaction that allow its condition of truth to be self-evident," or "software that runs just like a normal application ... twisted to reveal the underlying construction of the user, the way the program treats data, and the transduction of coding processes of the interface." ⁴⁹ This is a process of obscuring the images below, not by covering them up (as in redaction) but by making them transparent, while enunciating (but not isolating) the onscreen data by maintaining its opacity (as visibility).

In this sense, Unburning also operates in terms of what Rebecca Uliasz has dubbed "bad algorithms." A bad algorithm "(1) subverts the original intention, and (2) improperly uses the system to its own unexpected results." Uliasz coined the term to describe her DOT Cam project in 2017. DOT Cam is an algorithm that runs on the NY Department of Transportation live surveillance video feeds, identifying

^{48.} Found at https://oversightmachin.es/findings/unburn/

^{49.} Matthew Fuller, Behind the Blip: Essays on the Culture of Software, OCLC: 249015781 (Brooklyn, NY: Autonomedia, 2003), p. 23.

^{50.} Rebecca Uliasz, *DOTCam* — *rebeccauliasz*, accessed March 7, 2022, https://rebeccauliasz.com/DOTCam.

cars and erasing them from the footage. In both DOT Cam and Unburning, interface and user interaction are absent, favoring redaction (or perhaps reduction) over revelation. Unburning is inefficient, working visibly over duration in the networked space of a browser rather than invisibly on a command line (it performs in terms of enacting a process, but is not performant). By highlighting their own limitations, bad algorithms resist the tendency of critical software to engage in what Federica Frabetti has referred to as "the mystification of immediacy, or the mystification of demystification." These mystifications occur when critical software's attempts to "make the social apparent" by subjecting the software in question to a kind of transparency (i.e., to show its inner workings) that the critical intervention itself is not subject to. 52

3.6 Unburning

Since 2019, performing artist Margaret Laurena Kemp and I have been working on a collaboration and dialogue in media that combines video documentation from Kemp's durational performance at the Montalvo Art Center in 2016 with the work I have described above. Kemp's performance, which spanned five hours split between an outdoor and interior space, the latter of which contained a large pile of soil with which she worked. The work was conceptualized as an

^{51.} Federica Frabetti, *Software theory: a cultural and philosophical study*, Media philosophy (London; New York: Rowman & Littlefield International, 2015), p. 96. 52. Frabetti.

adaptation of W. E. B. Du Bois's *The Souls of Black Folk*. In Kemp's words, this performance

[scrutinizes] the physical and psychic safety of African American women from both a historical and a contemporary perspective. This performance, captured in long, quiet and often slow-moving frames, teases out the idea of repetition and endurance and the joy that is needed to not only survive but thrive against seemingly insurmountable odds.⁵³

Kemp's movements incorporate elements of African American vernacular dance and plantation labor, "negotiating with and shifting the soil within a confined space." The video footage was reclaimed from audience members who captured the performance on their own phones and cameras.

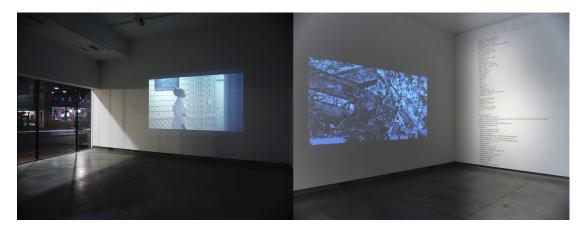


Figure 3.7: Installation view, ICA at MECA&D, 2021 Photograph by Luc Demers, courtesy of Institute of Contemporary Art at Maine College of Art & Design

Our most recent iteration of this work, *Unburning* is a durational video installation with a decoupled score and printed metadata in-

^{53.} Margaret Laurena Kemp, *This Land Is*, 2019, accessed March 8, 2022, http://www.mlkemp.space/this-land-is.

^{54.} Margaret Laurena Kemp and Abram Stern, unpublished dialogue, Feb 6, 2020.

cluded in Monitor: Surveillance, Data, and the New Panoptic, an exhibition at the Institute of Contemporary Art (ICA) at Maine College of Art and Design in Portland, Maine in 2021. In this version, video documentation of Kemp's performance is intercut with image sequences from the "unburned" FBI aerial surveillance. This silent four hour video was projected on a wall in the exhibition space that was also visible from the street through a large window perpendicular to the projection. On the wall opposite the window, a fragment of video metadata from the FBI collection was printed extending from the ceiling to the floor. A pedestal, extending from that wall, held a stack of approximately six hundred pages of combined metadata from Kemp's performance and the FBI collection that viewers were invited to page through. Wall text offered the URL and QR code link to a score made in collaboration with composer Richard Chowenhill for visitors to listen to on their own devices. The score is the same duration as the video, but decoupled in time; viewing and hearing are intentionally left out of sync, determined by when a viewer begins playing the sound. The "script" of combined metadata from the FBI collection and performance documentation videos was printed as a 600-page stack of large paper displayed in the space. We conceived the work as bringing together surveillance and witnessing, being overheard and overlooked, hypervisibility and concealment, quantification and abstraction.

During the early stages of our collaboration on this project, I attempted to use temporal metadata from both collections of ma-

terial (the FBI surveillance and the performance documentation) to automatically arrange the media synchronously to provide us with a rough linear reconstruction of both events for us to work from. This ultimately did not work. There were inexplicable seventeen-hour gaps between clips that should have overlapped. As noted earlier in this writing, sometimes metadata provides multiple timestamps for the same file. Sometimes the time-zone is configured incorrectly. Codification of time is subject to complex regional, national, and international law, mixed specifications, and technology that does not always do what it is supposed to. Put another way: sometimes digital time is not as hegemonic as it seems. That is something to celebrate, even if it is inconvenient in the moment of failure. Since the metadata was uncooperative as a functional element of this collaborative work, we decided to use it as a script instead. As one element of the score, both Kemp and I recorded ourselves reading from the six hundred page script of combined metadata for five hours each.53 I recorded my portion of the score over the course of five sessions spanning three days; I imagined that my voice would need to rest, but my eyes were even more uncooperative. When I listen to it, there's a sense of immersion, a strangeness to hearing something I associate with a structured visuality shifted to such a different sensory register, but also a familiarity that the audience may not have shared.

The project of expanding this material to operate at duration and scale has caused some important details to blur together in the

interest of surfacing something that feels even more urgent to address. A recording of metadata is, in some ways, like an image of it: it is out of its element and unqueriable. The transduction brings a loss of some affordance. While the reading reduces the text in some ways, it opens it up in others. In both its vocalization and its reception, it has a very different sensibility from the six hundred pages of metadata printed for the exhibition. The patterns and correspondences change scale and its duration calls for a different kind of noticing. The metadata for the collection can be exported to a file in microseconds, but reading it out loud takes an enormous amount of time, as does listening to it. The time zone is set to "Los Angeles" in several of the files, and this repetition is fairly apparent when paging through the printed stack of the script, but because it occurs many minutes apart in the recording, any recognition of this repetition would require a very patient and attentive listener. The seemingly random strings of letters and numbers that make up a property like IdentifierID, such as "c144e197-8995-6b17-241b-e8b00000008e," become rhythmic and poetic when spoken. When reaching a field like the one that contains the FAA registration code, I found myself wanting to enunciate it differently, to try to call attention to why "N557PG" (a plane's identifier) is more significant than "e8boooooo8e" (a seemingly random string of hexadecimal characters in the IdentifierID).

We decoupled the score from the video intentionally to allow this durational mode to work differently, in one sense allowing it to be heard in familiar earbuds or headphones, but also in a way that it would continue to play until they turned it off; potentially extending to their experience of other work in the show or even beyond the gallery itself. We imagined, as a side effect of this design decision, the possibility that the drone-like sounds and spoken metadata of the score would leak into and annotate the rest of some visitor's day, drawing their attention to the other surveillant apparatuses that now saturate daily life.

3.7 Conclusions

The FBI did not publicly release the collection of surveillance footage until two months after cases against the officers who had been charged in the death of Freddie Gray had led to acquittal or dropped charges. If the footage is released after a moment in which a public might use it to find justice, what is it for? Until that moment, it makes sense to foreground urgent forensic analysis invested in producing something actionable, the kind of material that can change a judge's or jury's mind. That moment of urgency has passed, but the broader crisis continues. Anti-Black policing persists, members of the National Guard will still be called to respond to uprisings, some of the same same planes will circle overhead. The project of dismantling this system requires technical, historical, and interpretative work, as well

^{55.} Eliott C. McLaughlin Cooper Aaron, Freddie Gray verdict: Officer Edward Nero not guilty, May 2016, accessed March 8, 2022, https://www.cnn.com/2016/05/23/us/freddie-gray-trial-officer-edward-nero/index.html.

as collective and public acts of solidarity. As Felix Stalder has written, "Repressive orders crumble when people start to lose their fear and act in large numbers, despite being monitored[,] not because they found ways to evade it. Security, in this case, comes from social solidarity and collective action, not from technology." May this continue to be true.

^{56.} Felix Stalder, *Re:* < nettime > notes from the DIEM25 launch, February 2016, accessed March 8, 2022, https://nettime.org/Lists-Archives/nettime-l-1602/msg00018.html.

Figure 3.8: Image and Metadata Findings from "Protests in Baltimore, Maryland 2015, Aerial Surveillance Footage" collection



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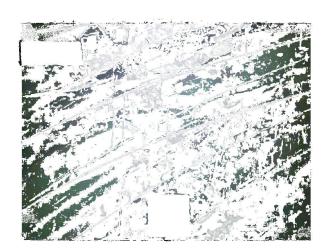
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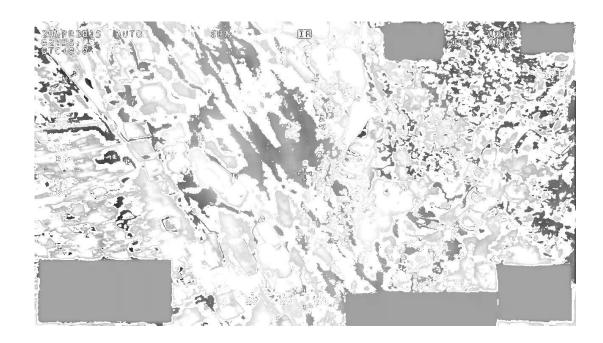


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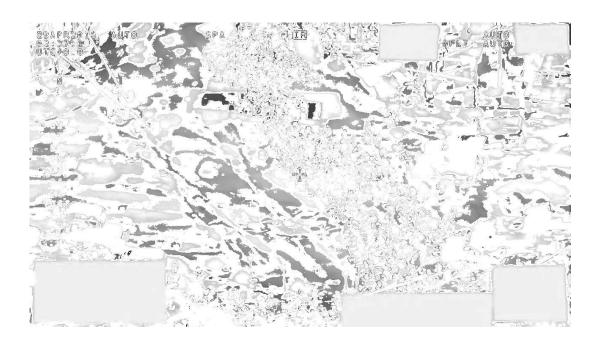
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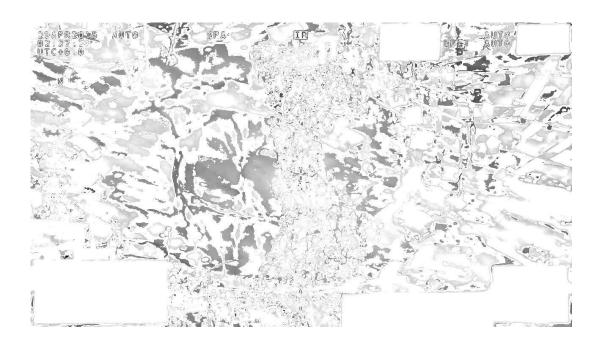
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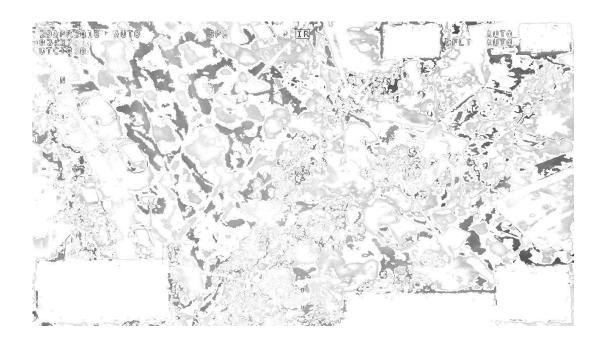
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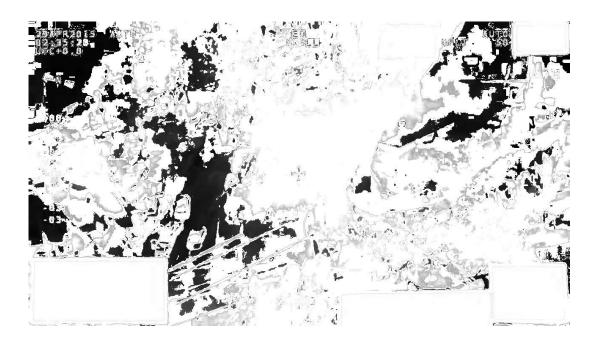
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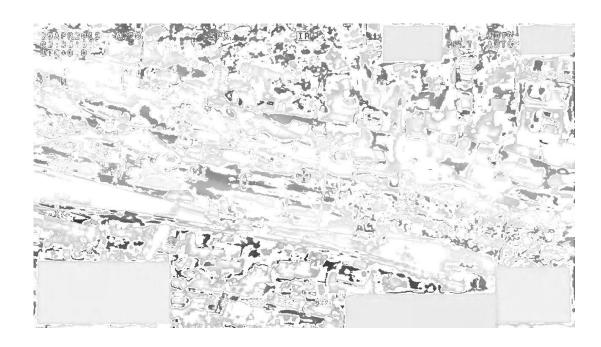
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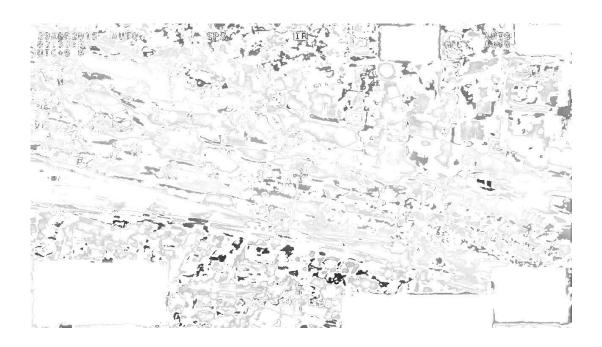
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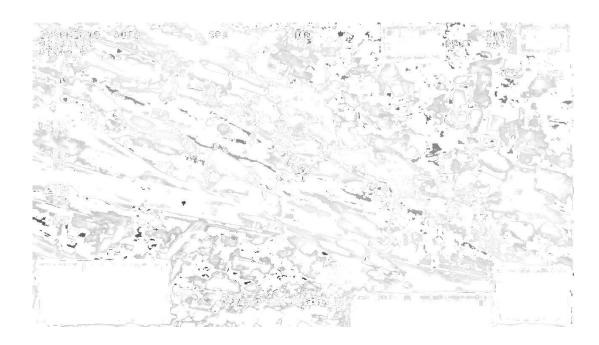
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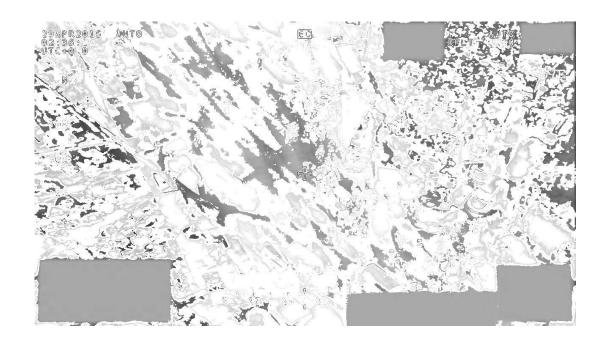
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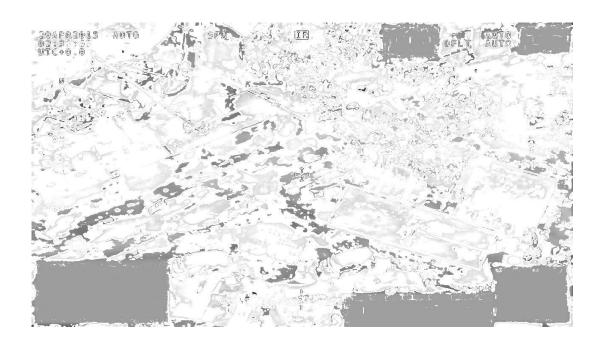
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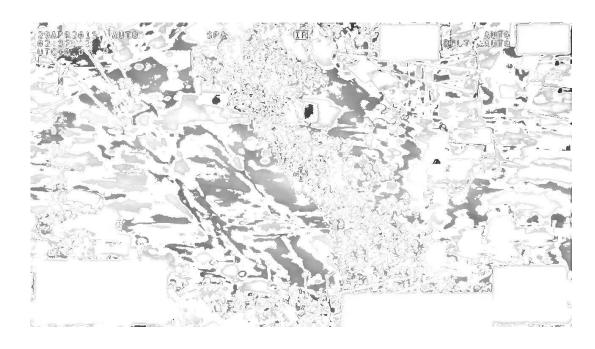
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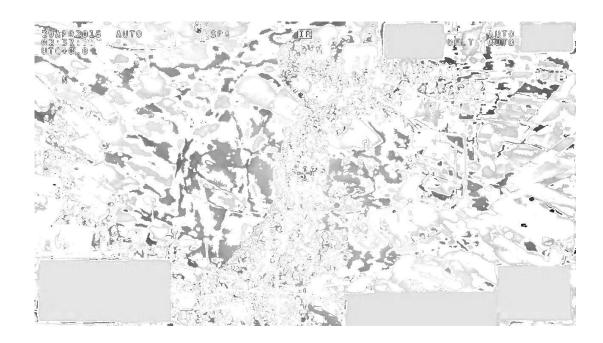
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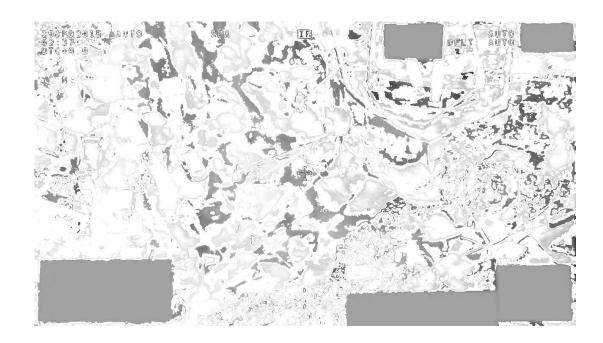
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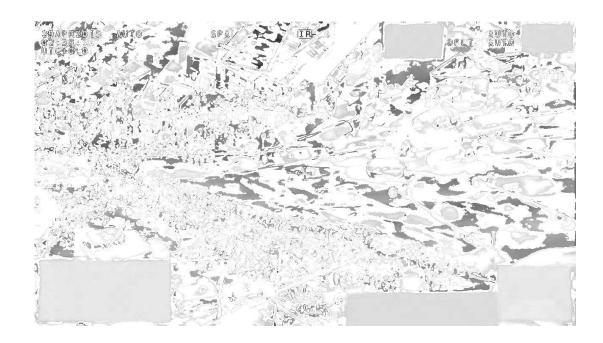
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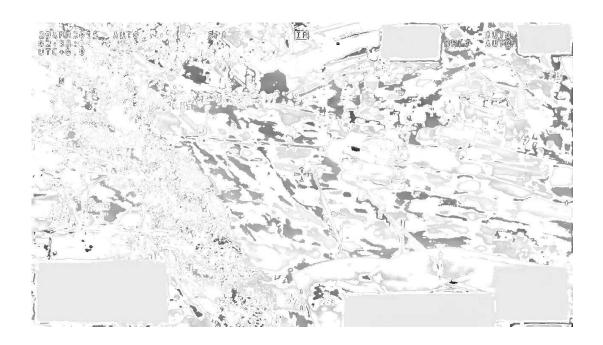
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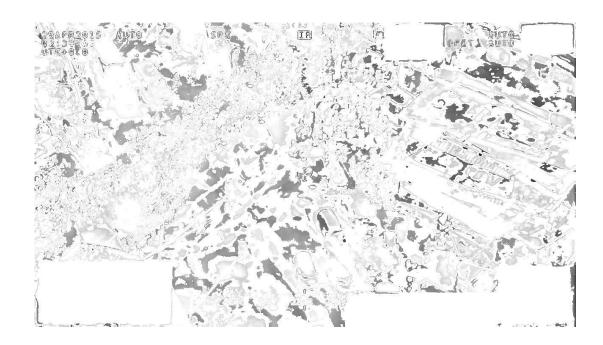
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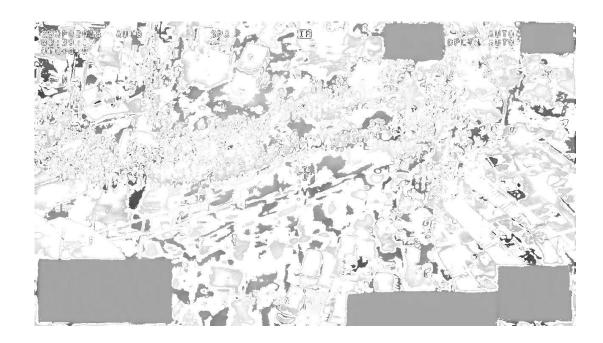
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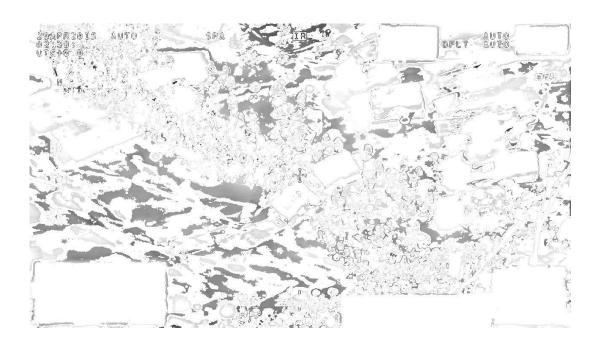
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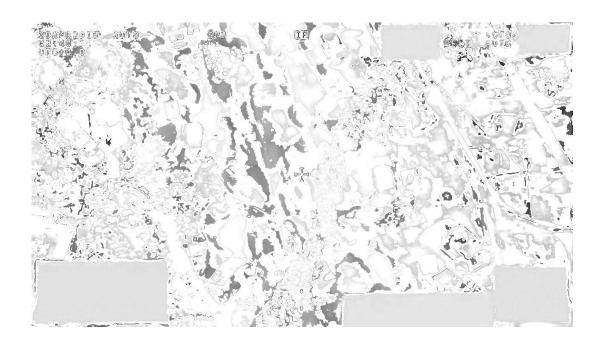
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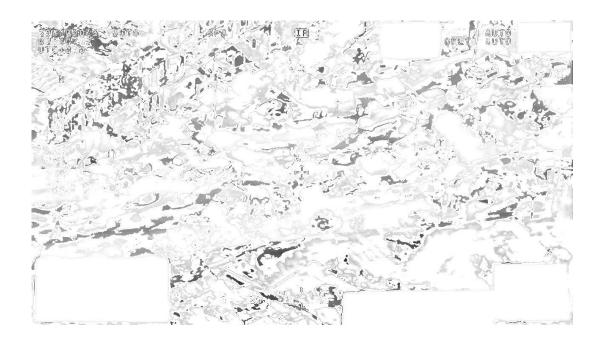
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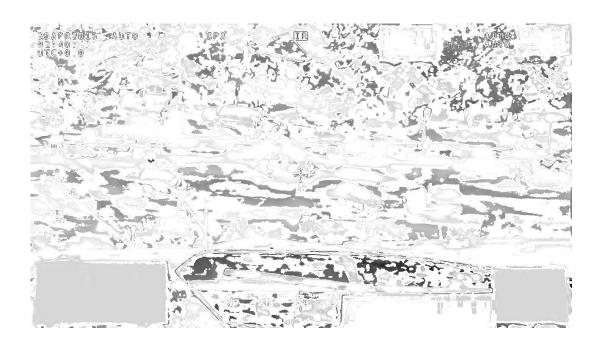
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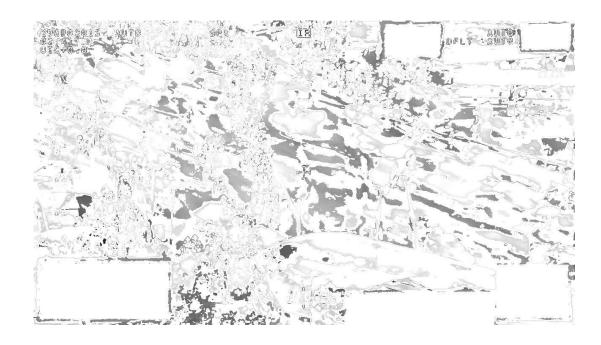
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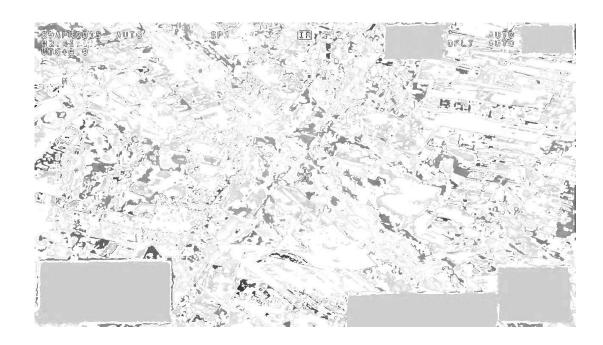
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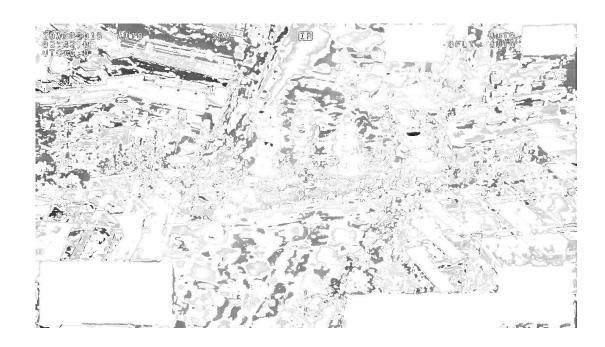
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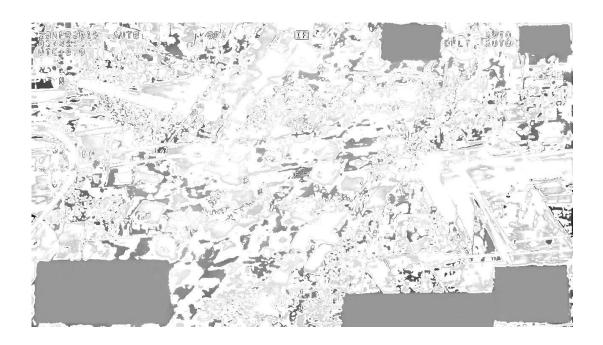
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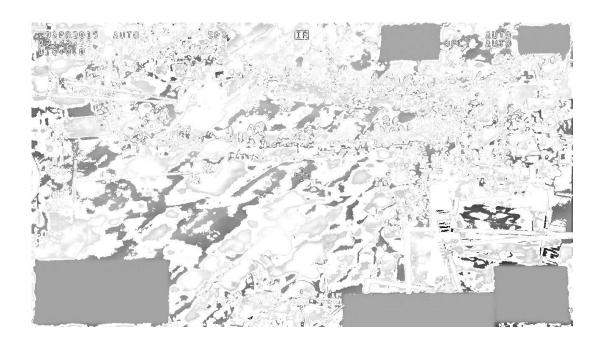
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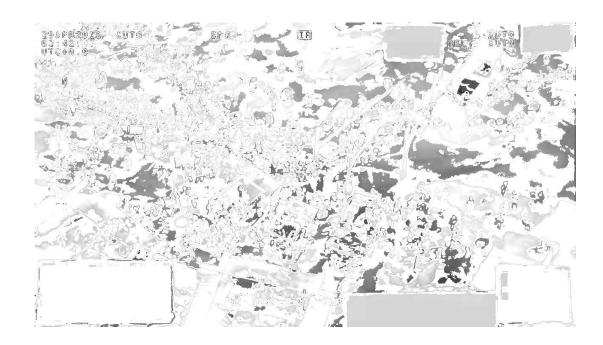
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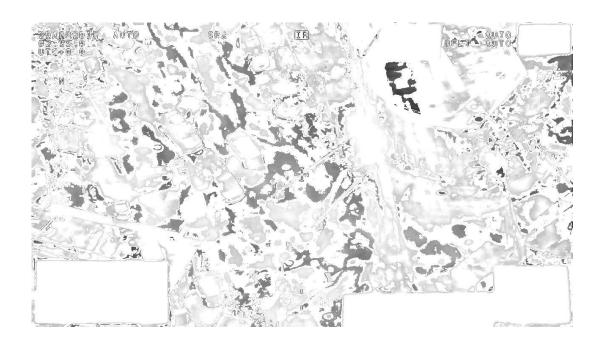
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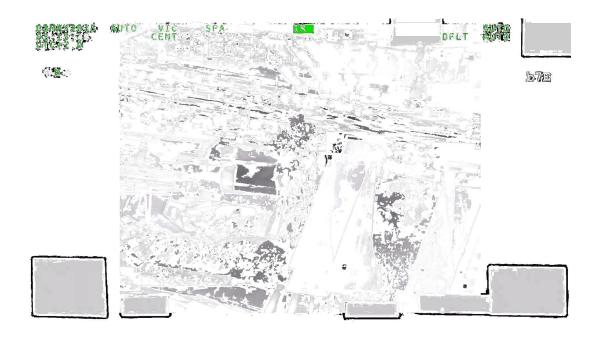
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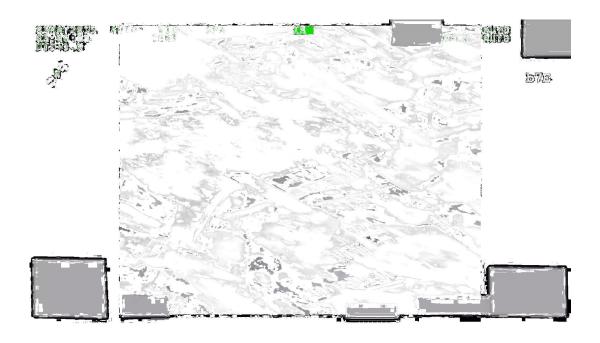
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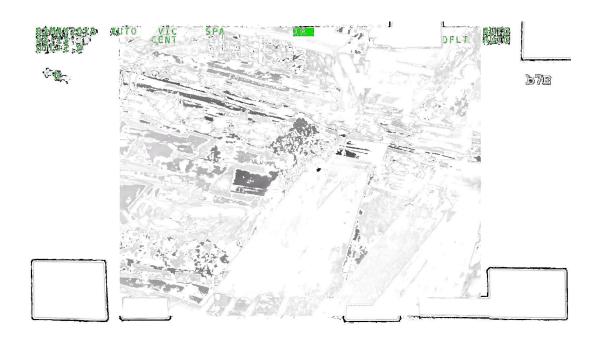
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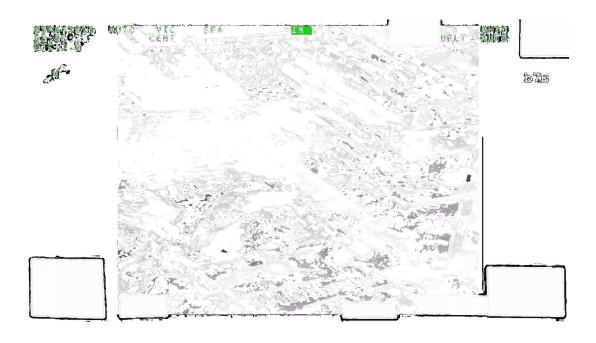
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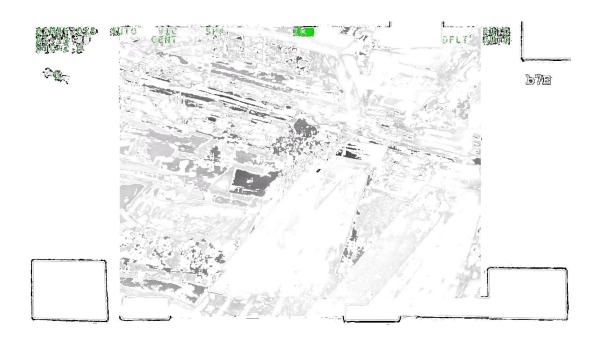
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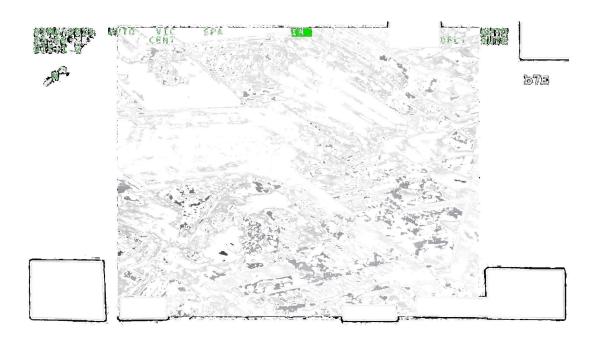
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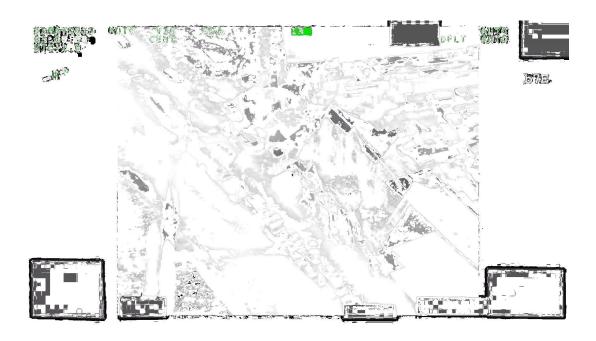
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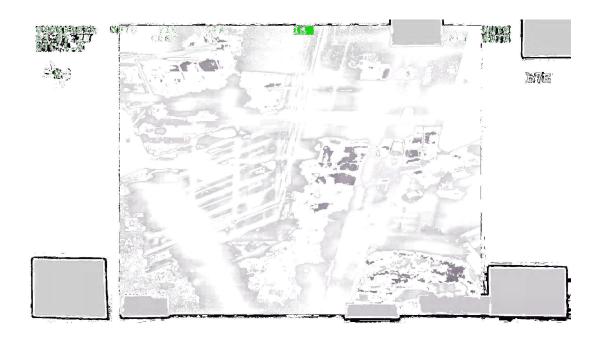
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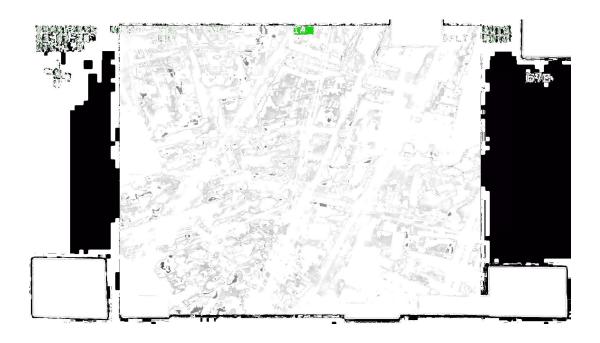
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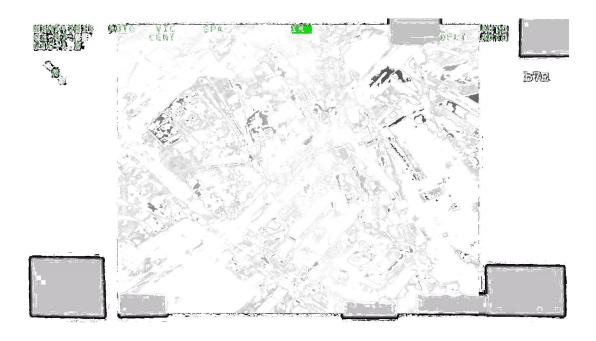
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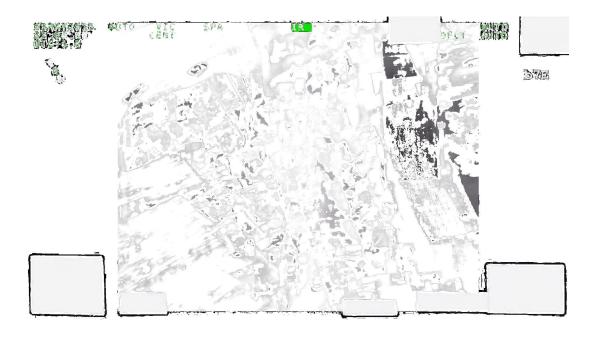
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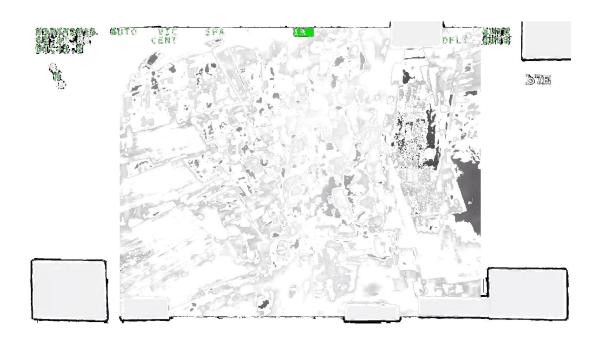
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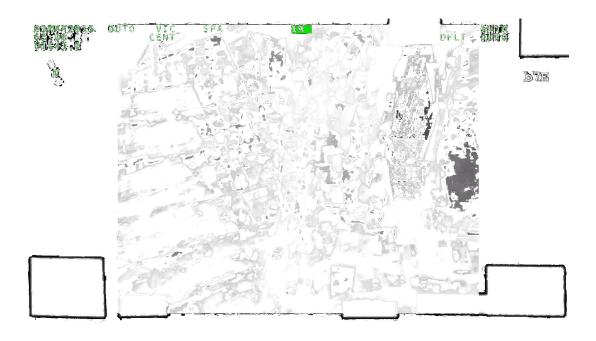
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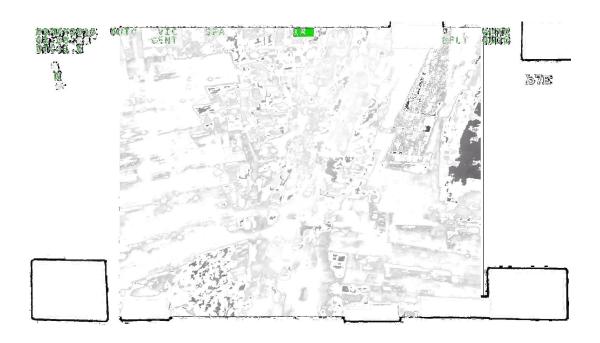
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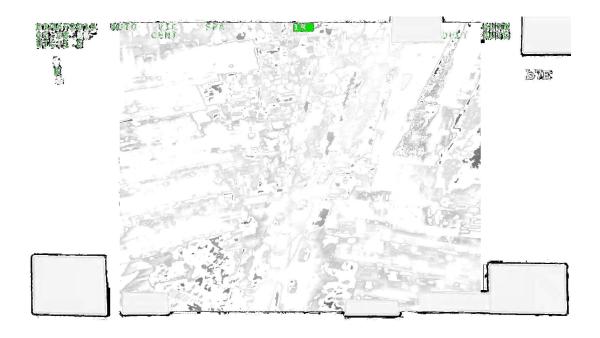
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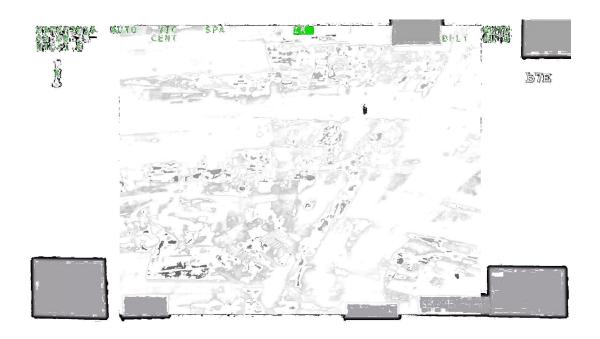
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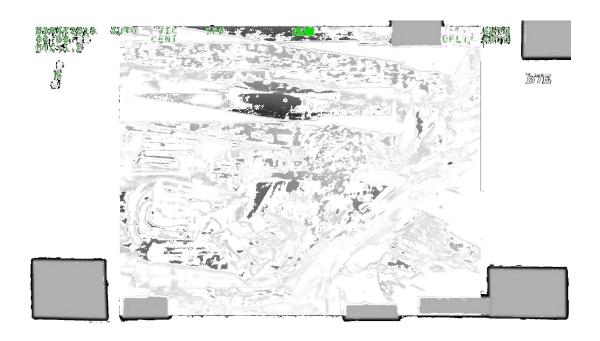
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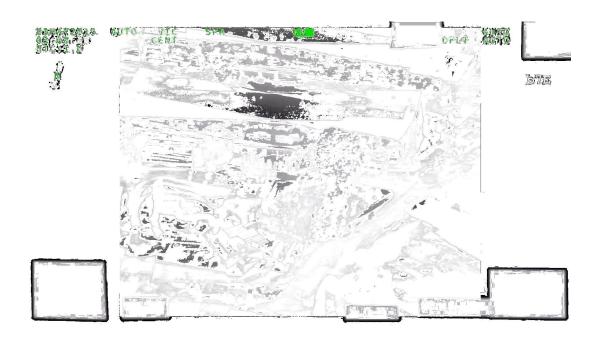
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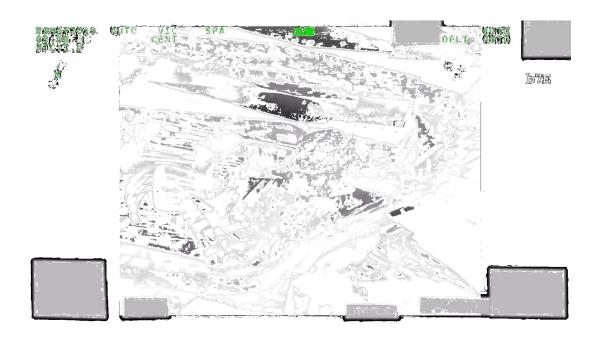
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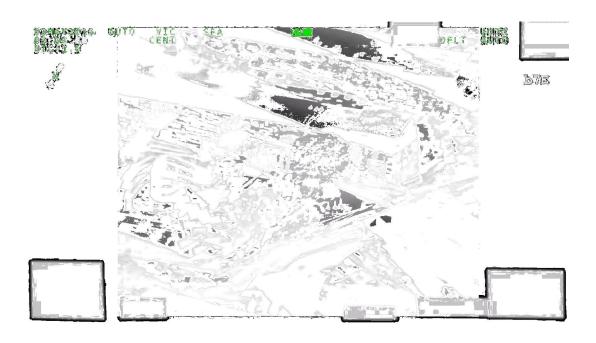
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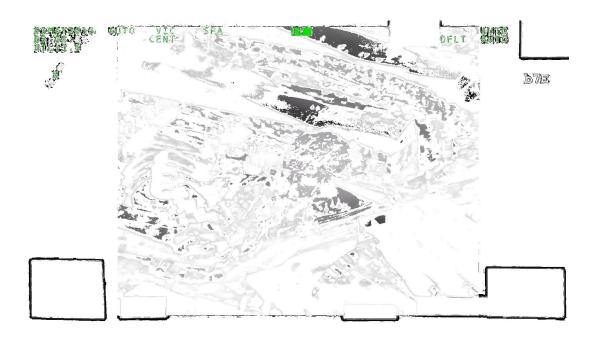
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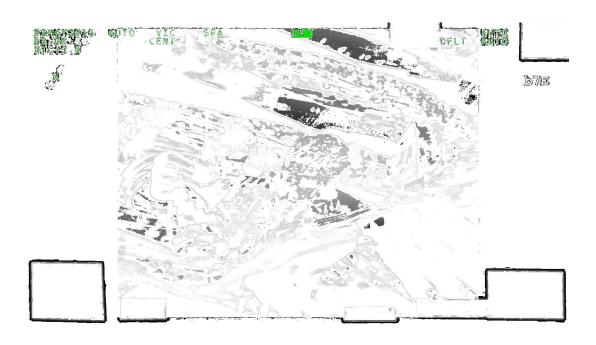
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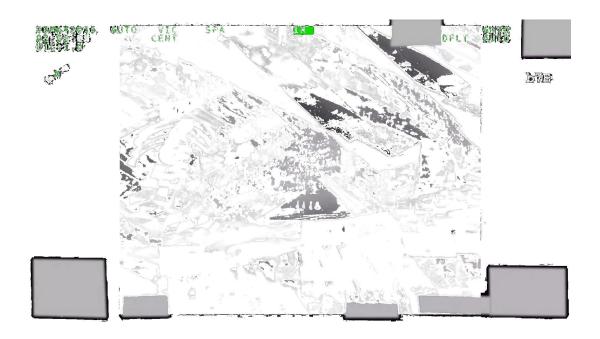
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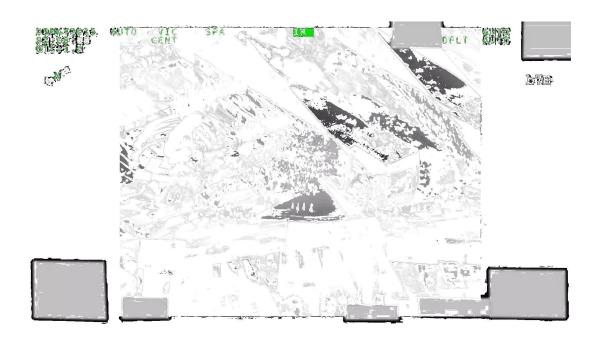
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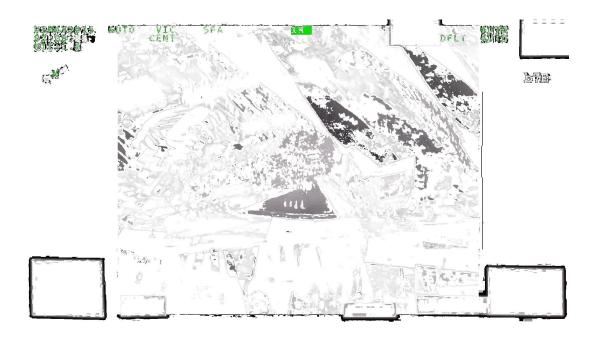
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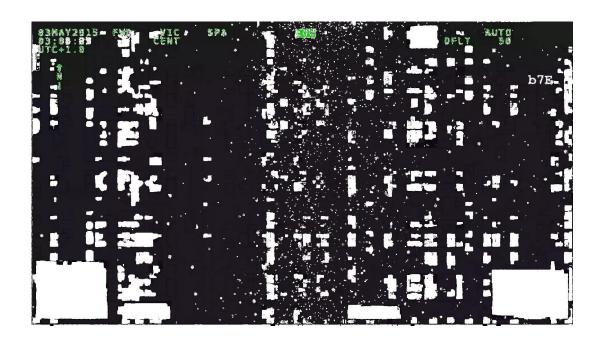
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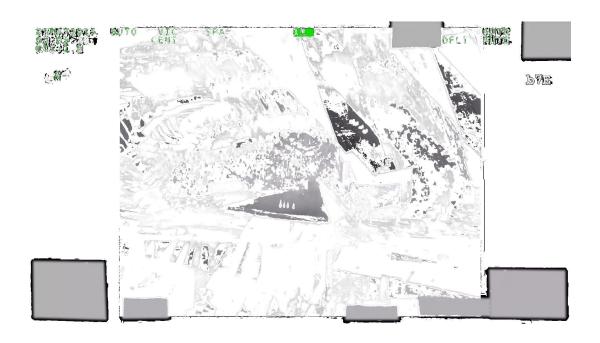
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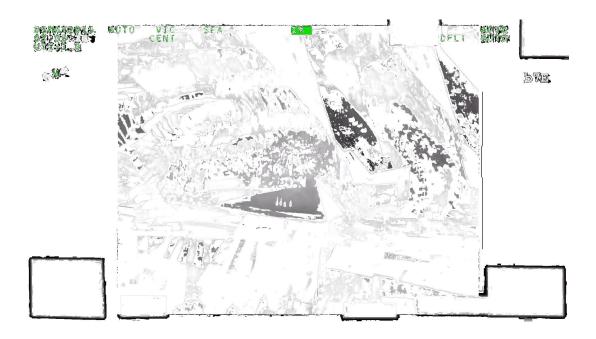
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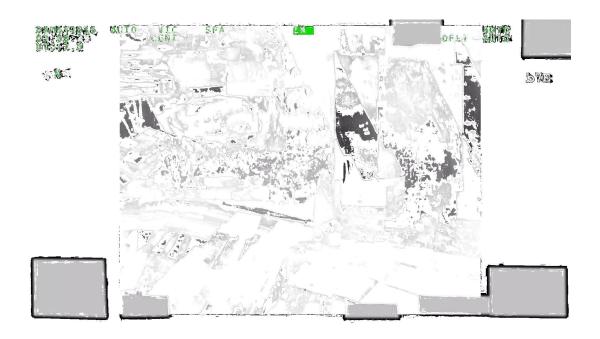
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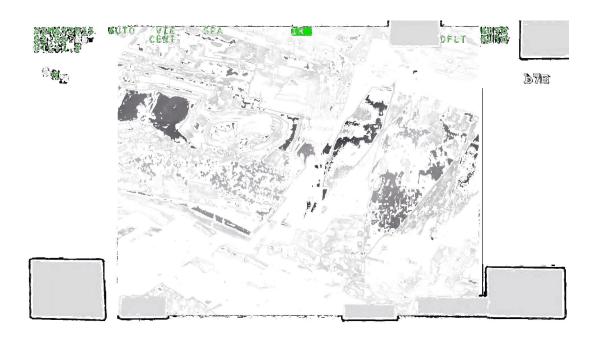
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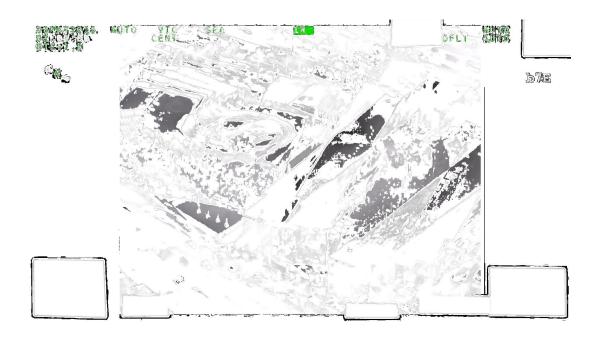
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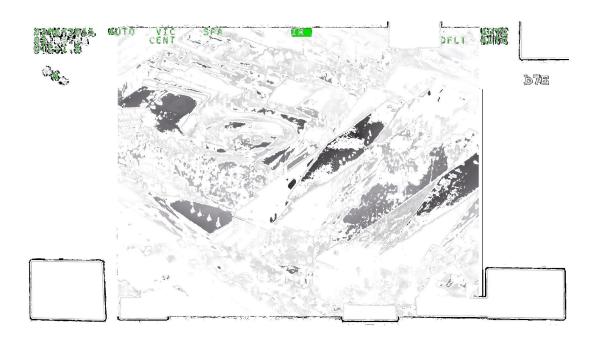
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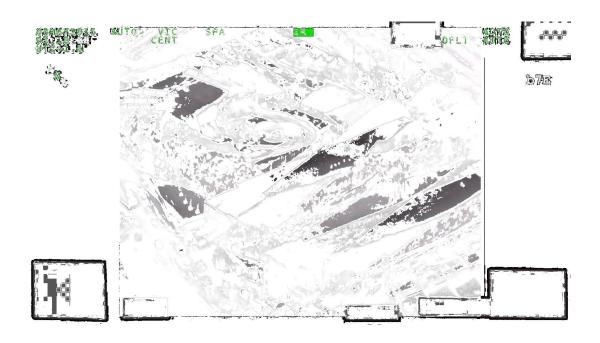
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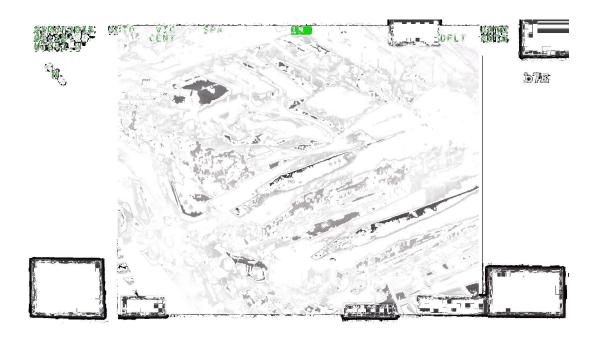
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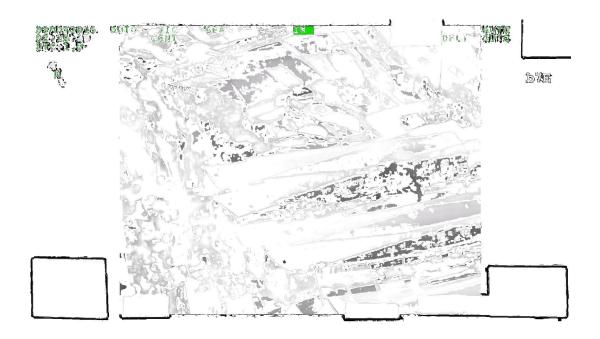
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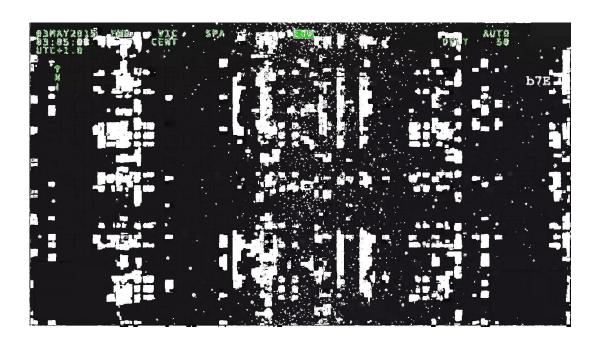
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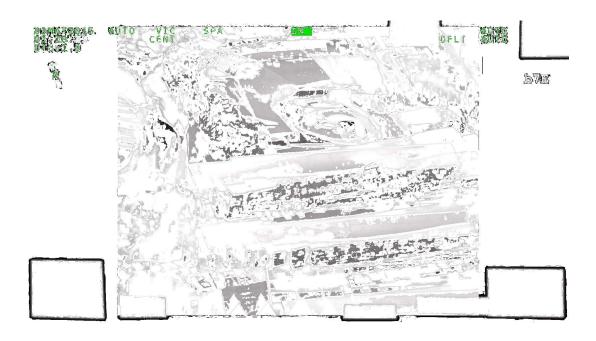
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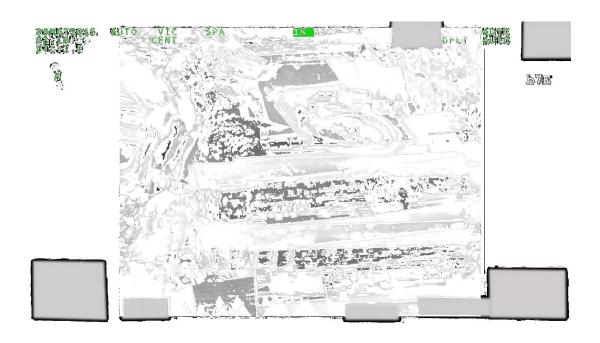
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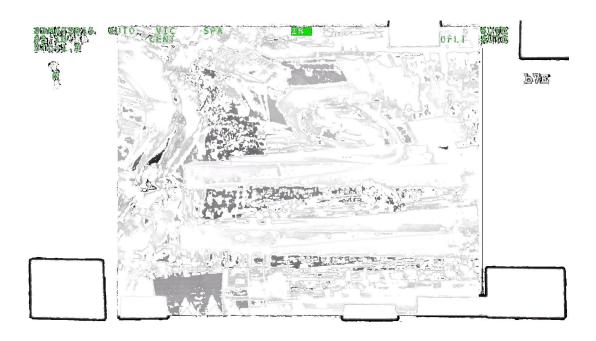
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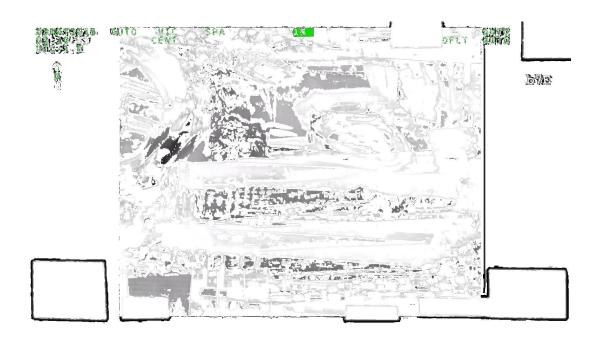
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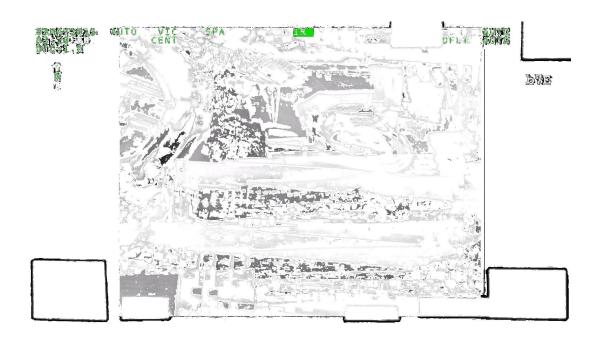
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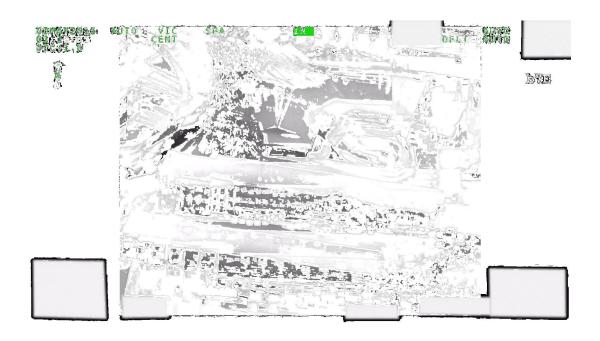
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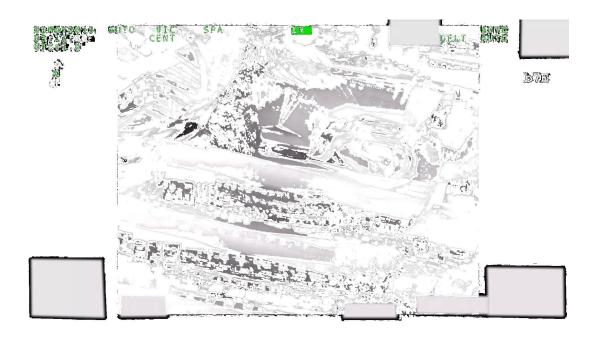
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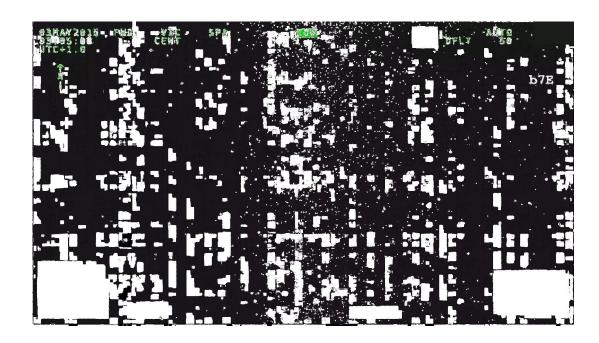
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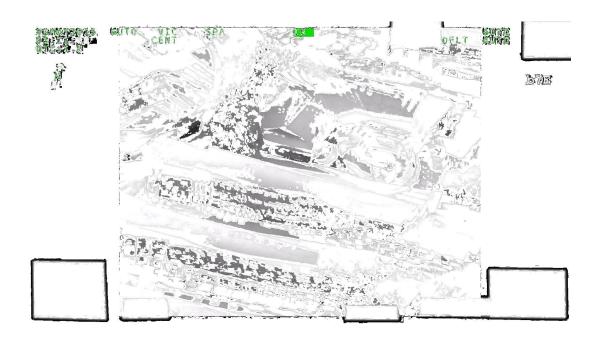
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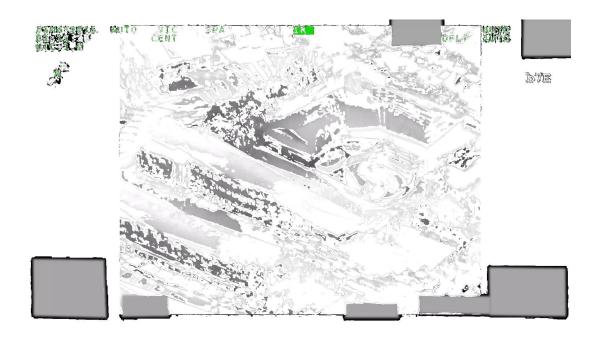
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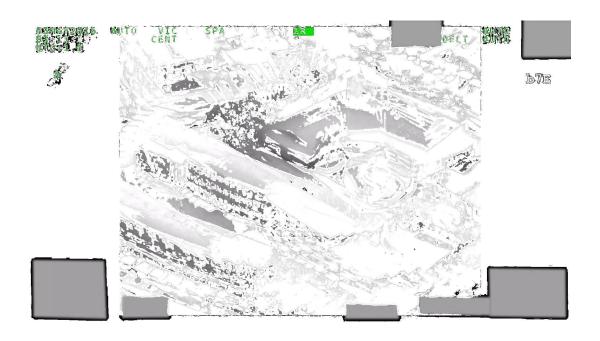
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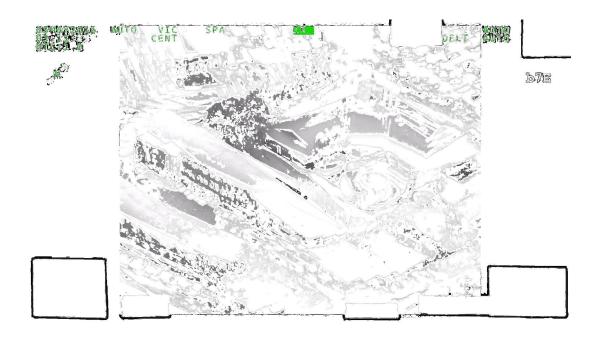
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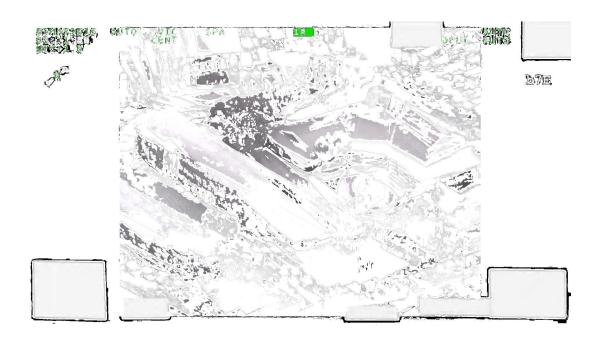
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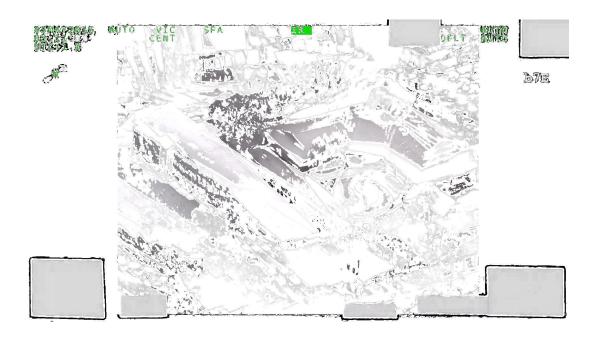
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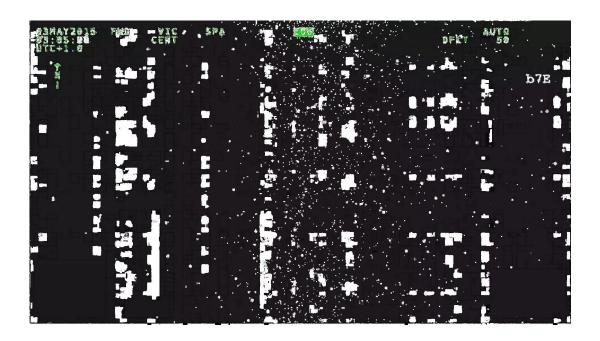
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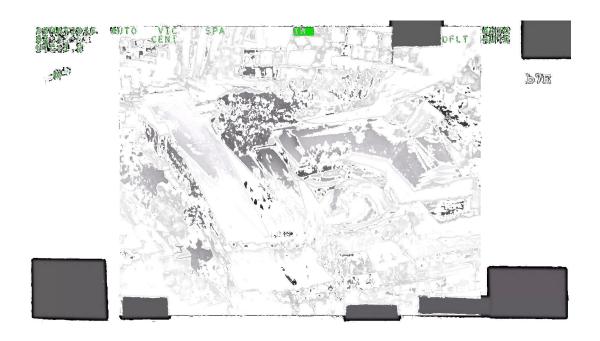
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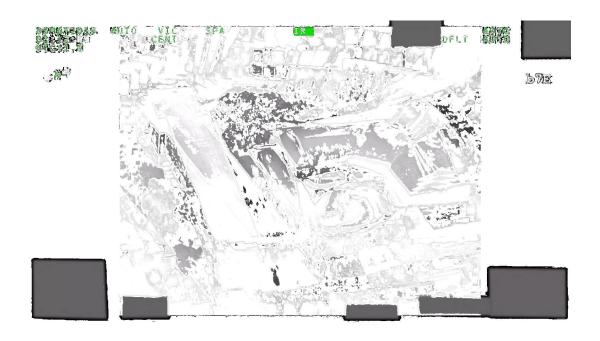
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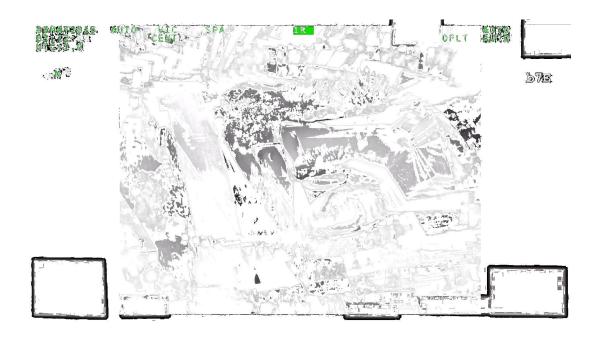
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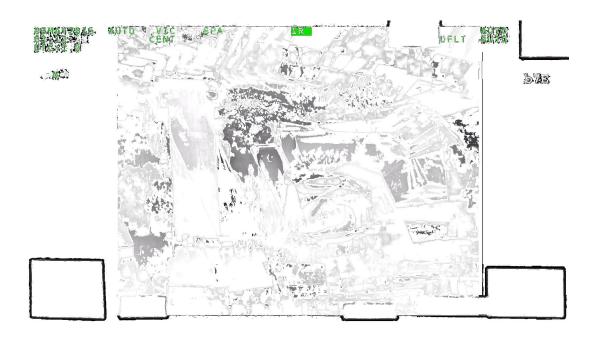
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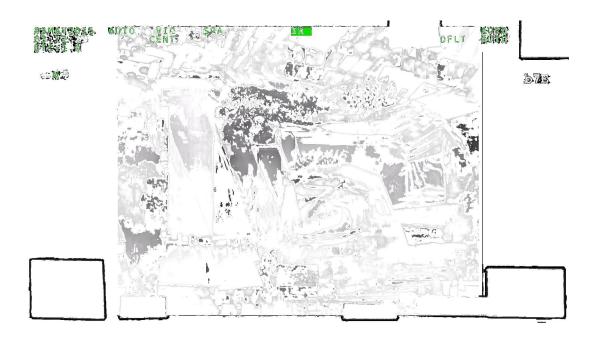
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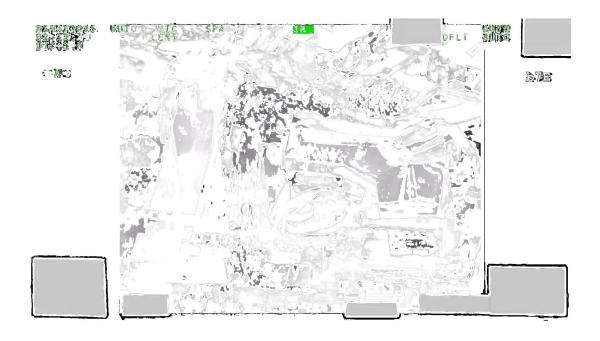
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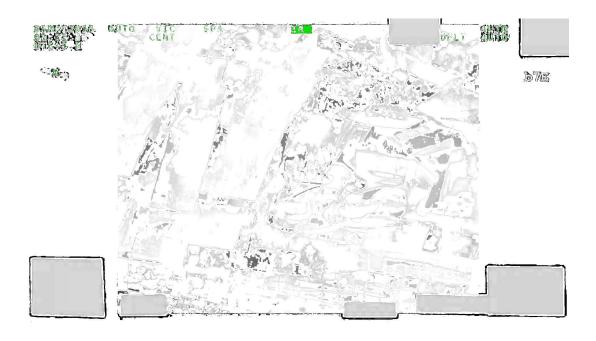
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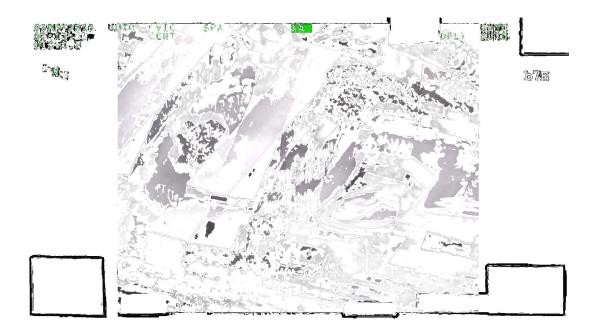
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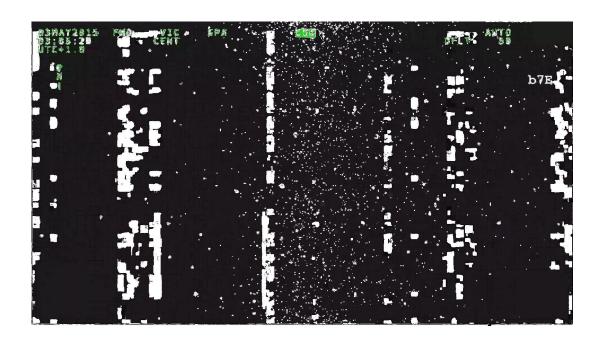
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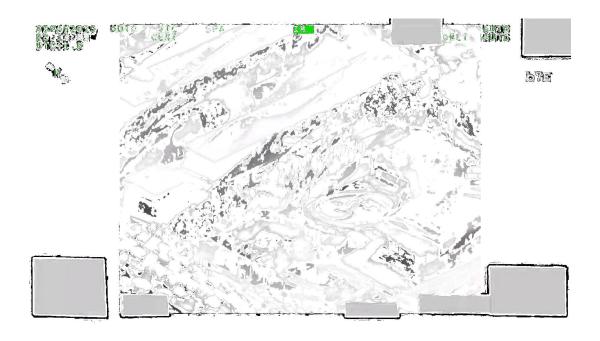
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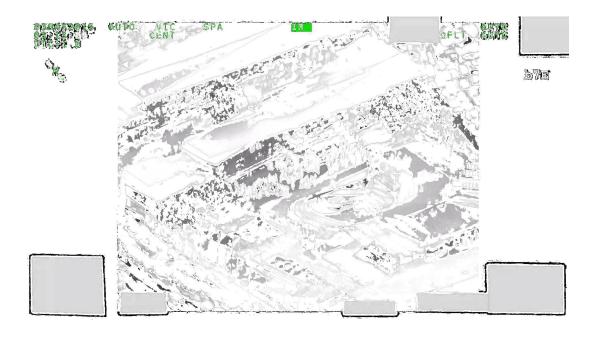
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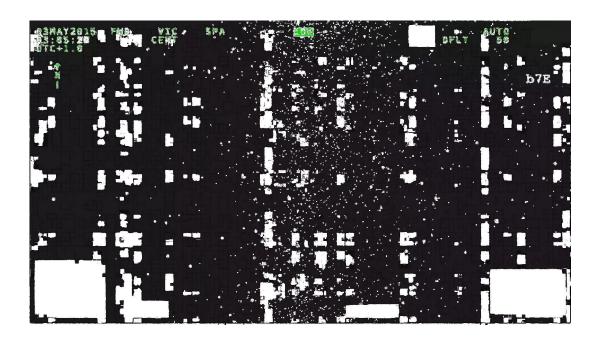
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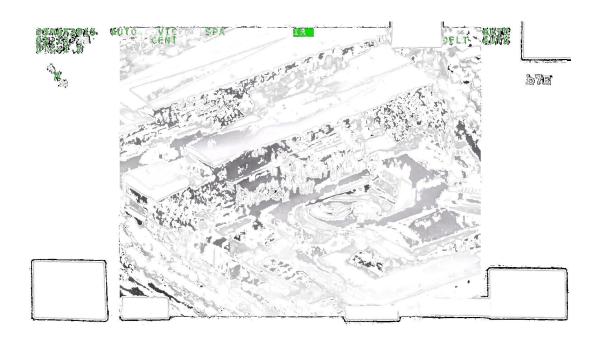
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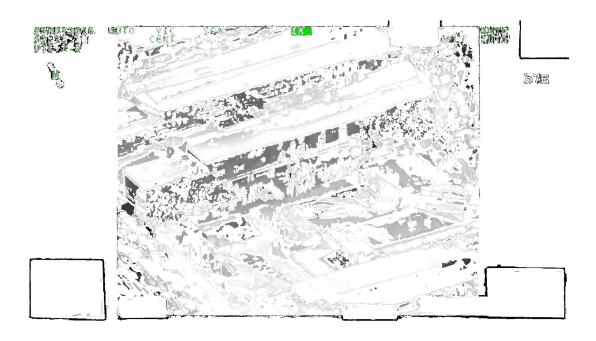
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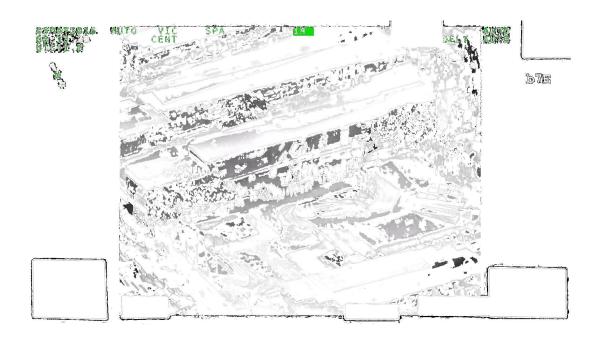
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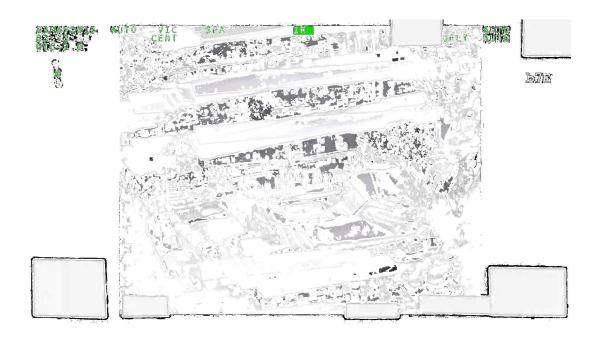
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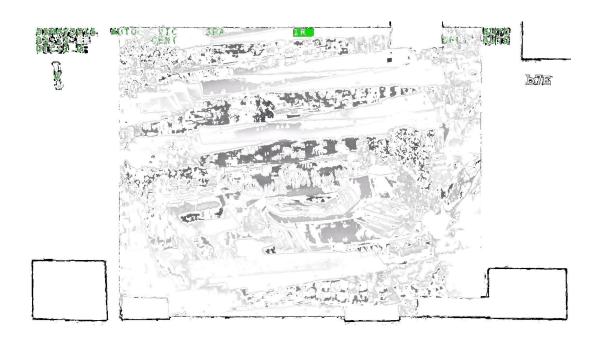
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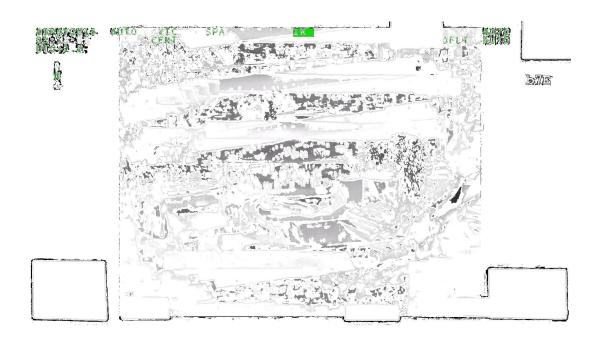
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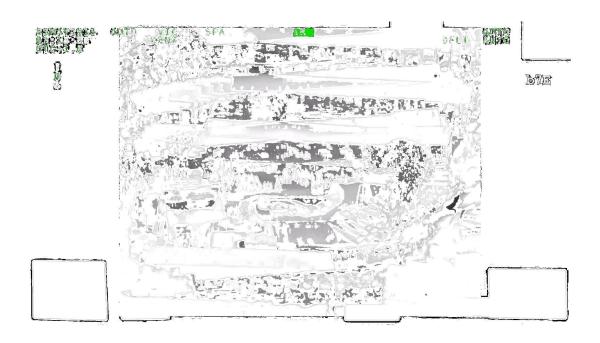
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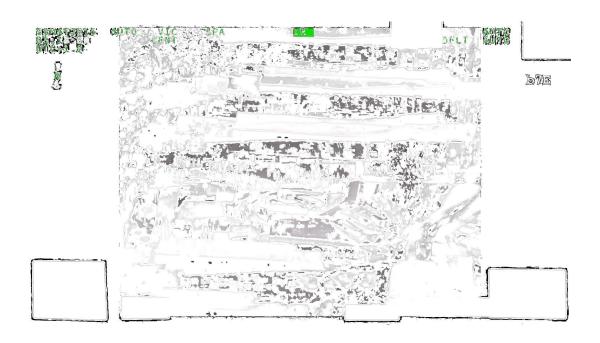
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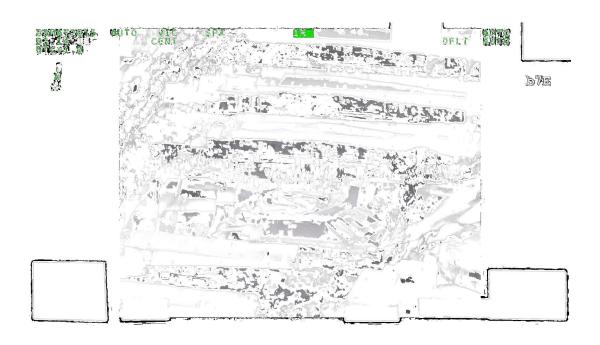
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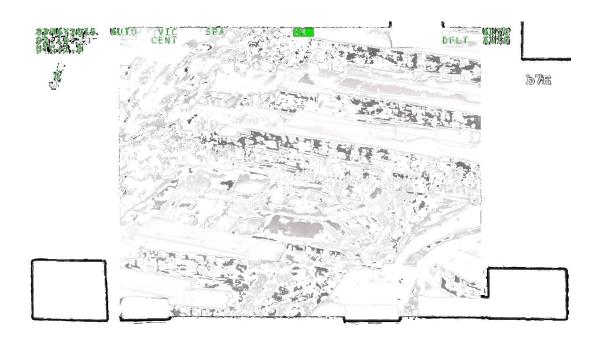
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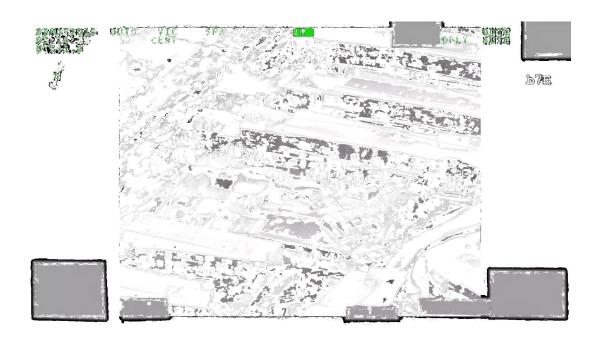
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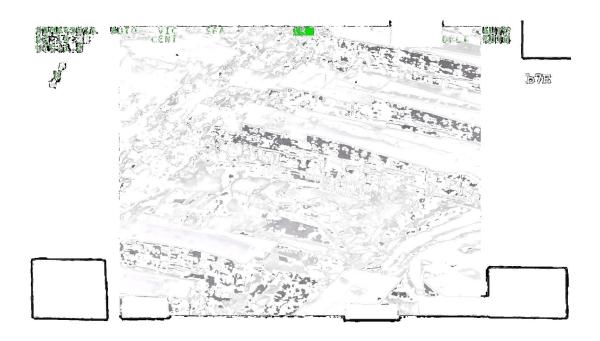
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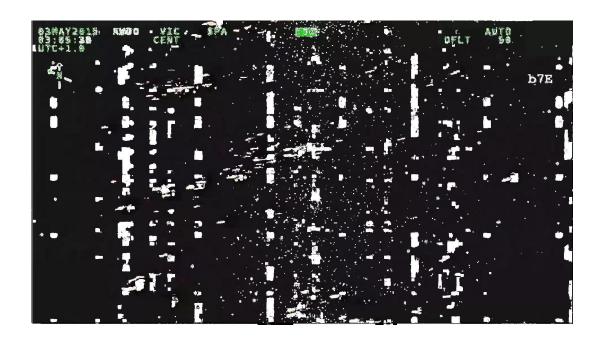
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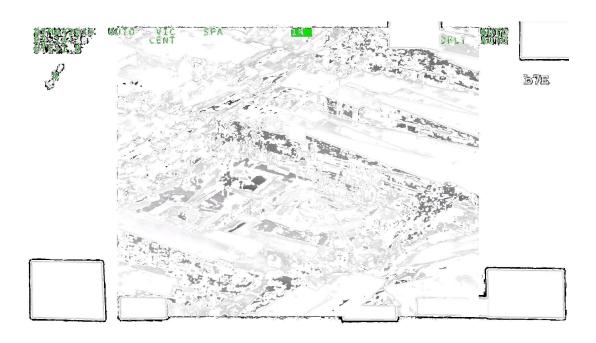
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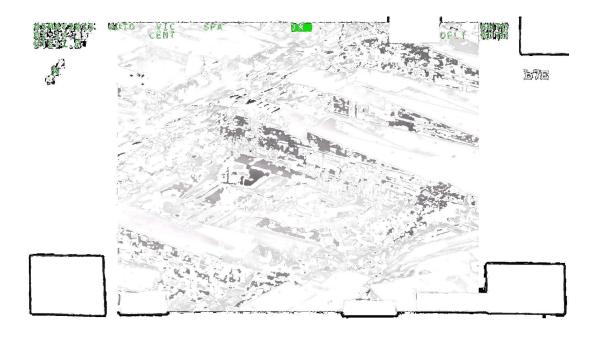
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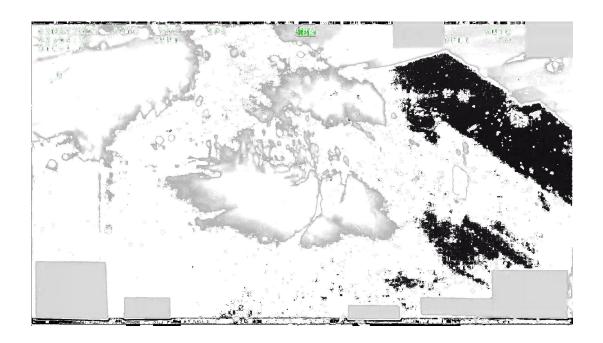
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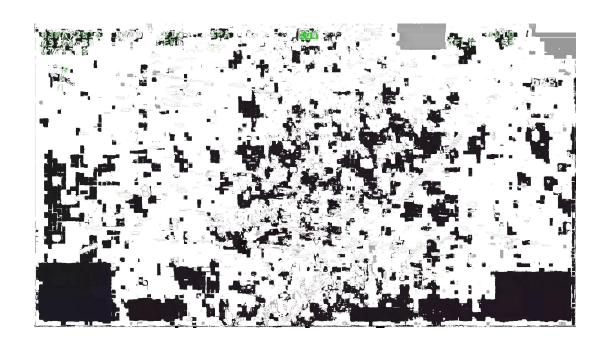
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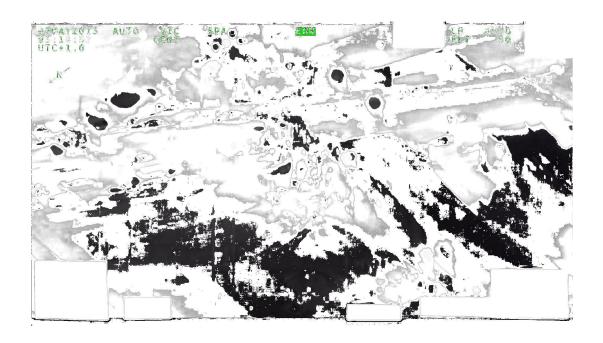
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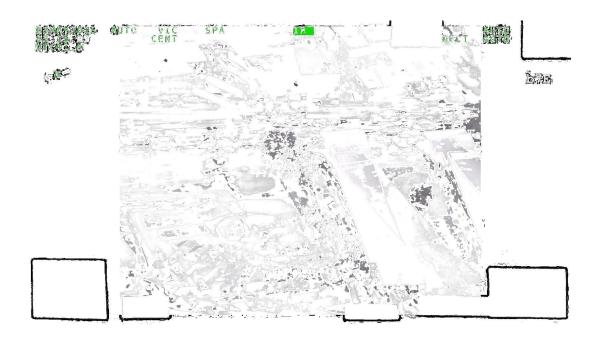
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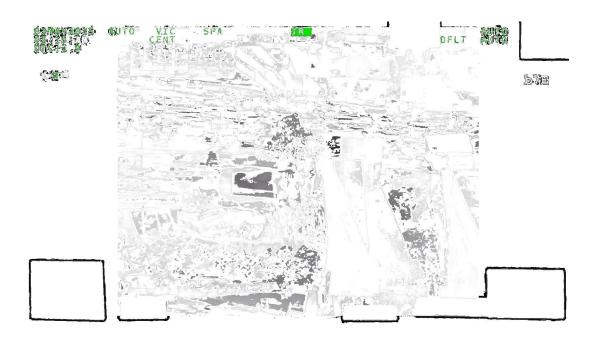
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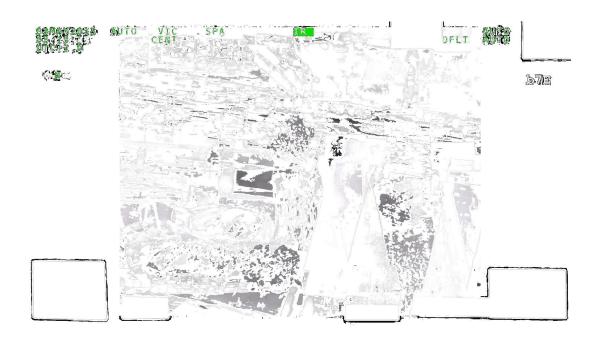
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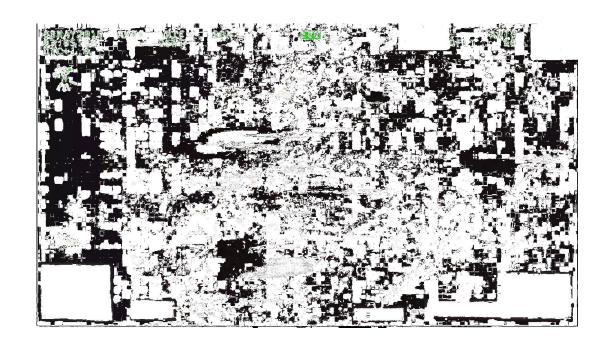
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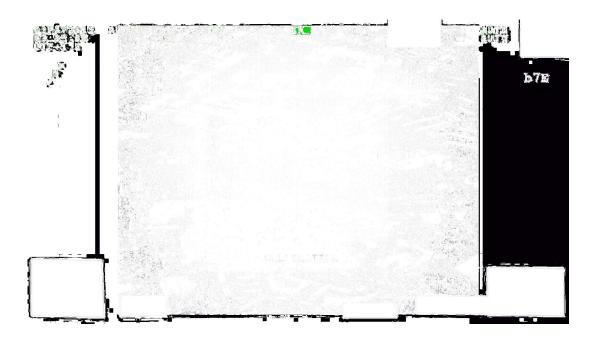
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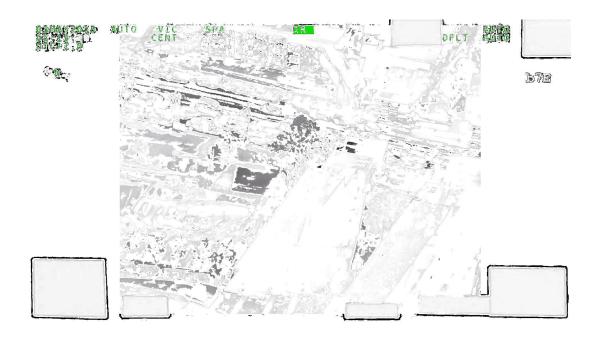
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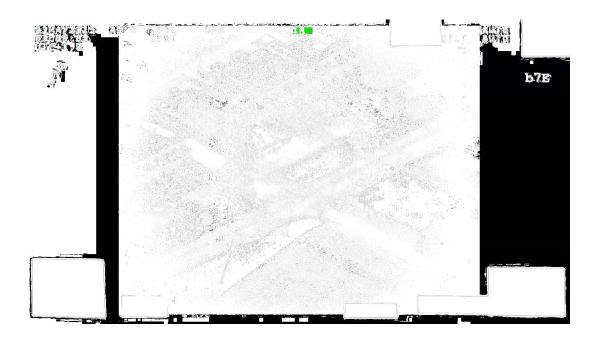
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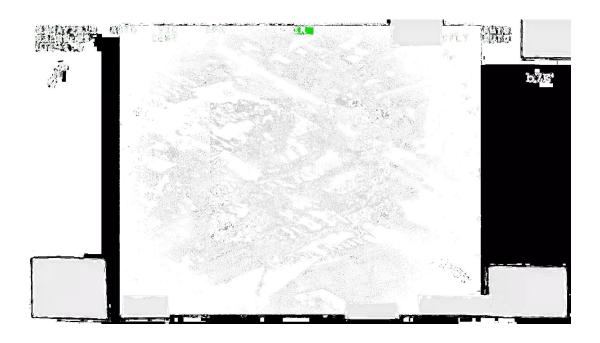
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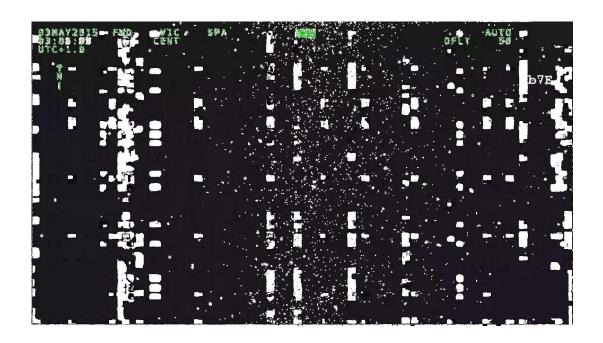
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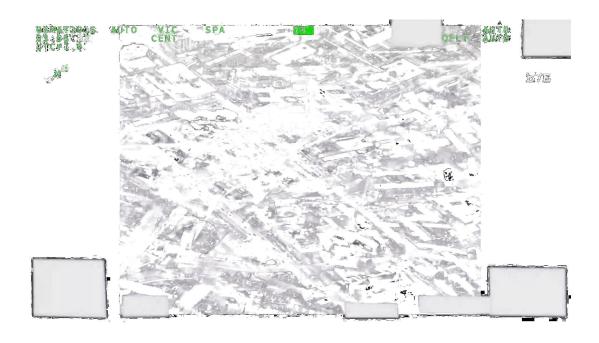
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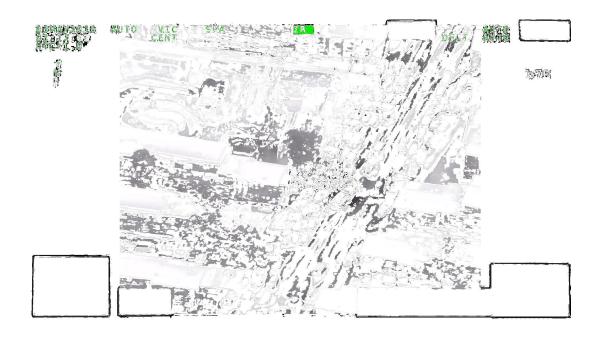
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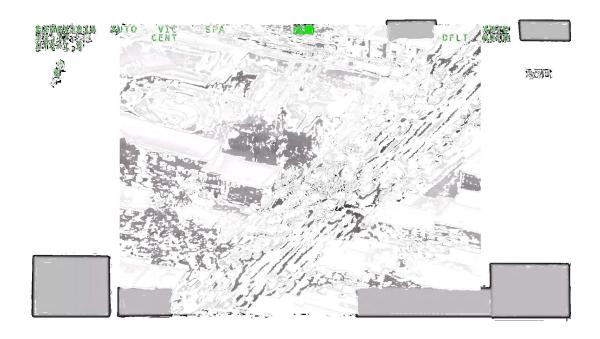
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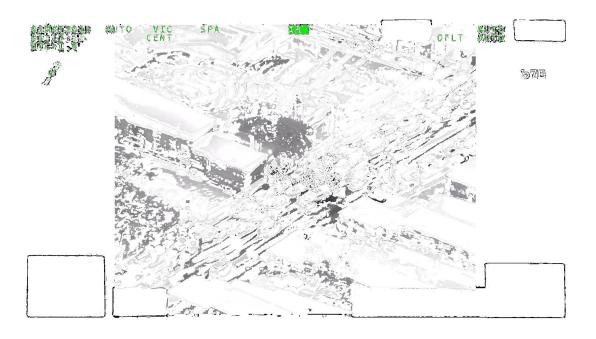
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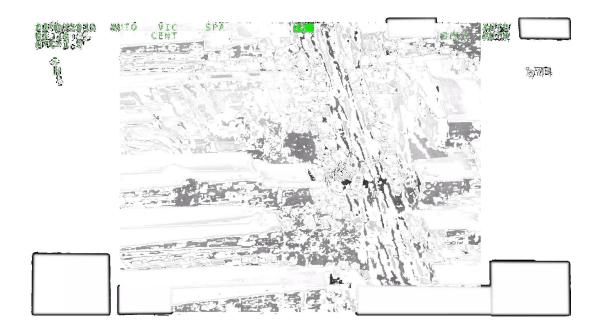
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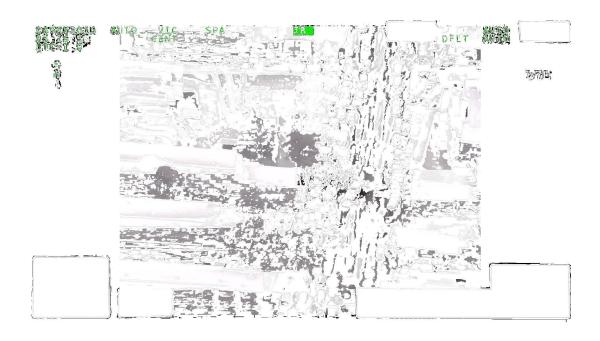
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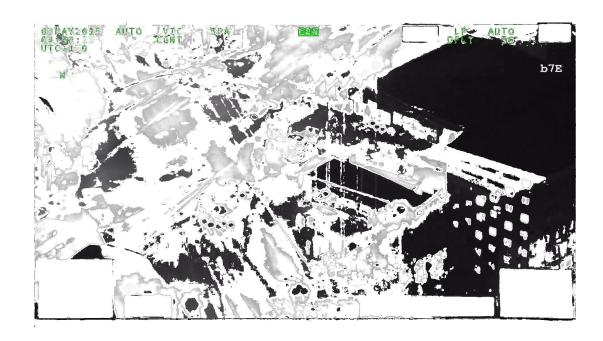
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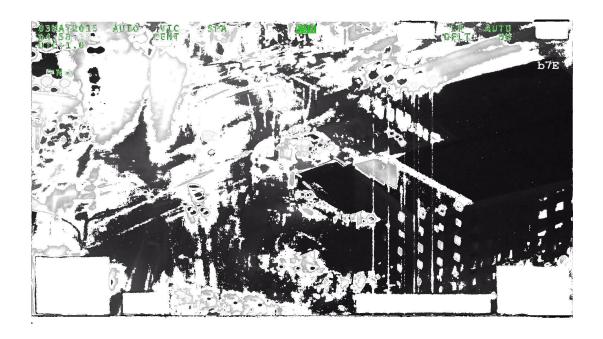
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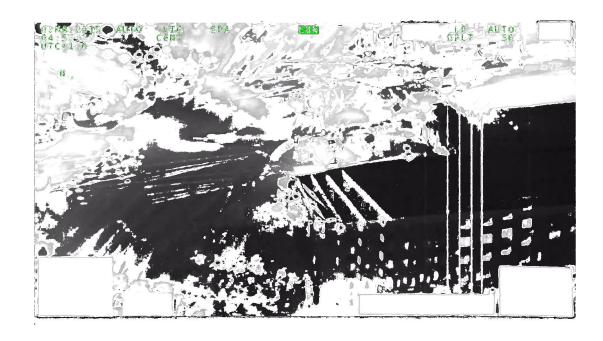
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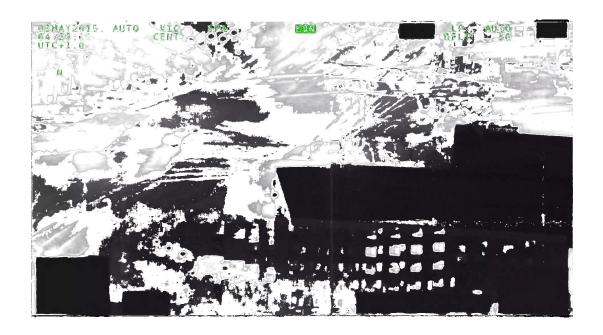
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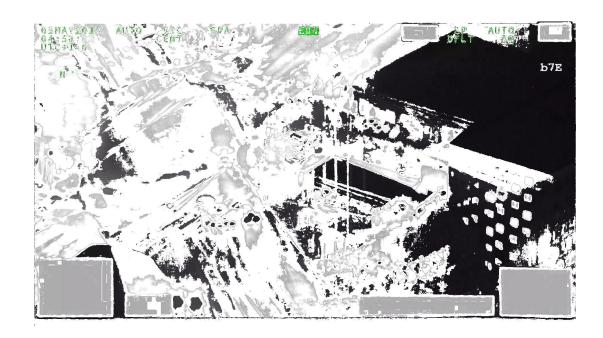
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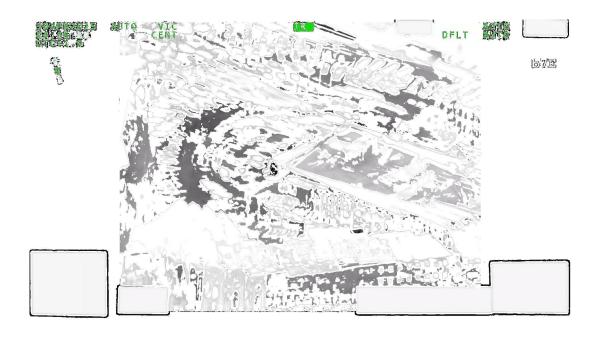


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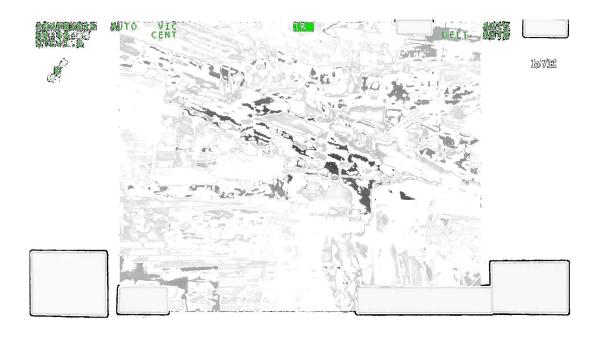


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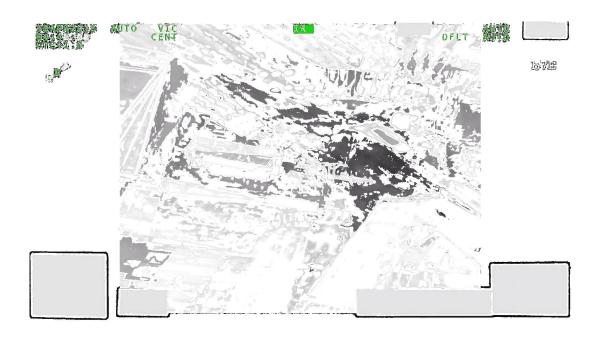
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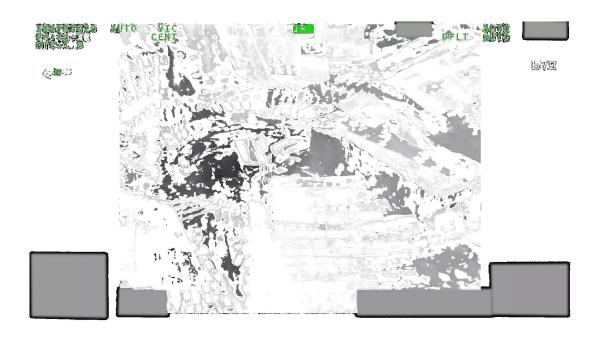
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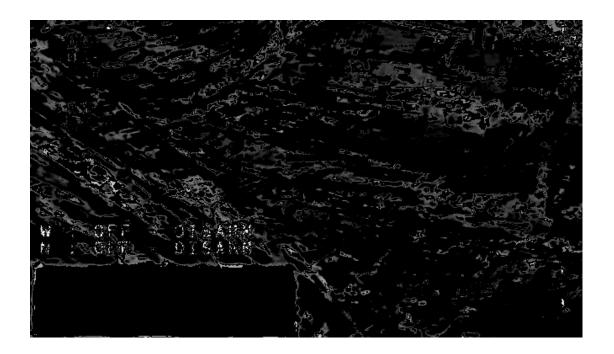


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Figure 3.9: Disarm Disarm, text by Dorothy R. Santos

Disarm Disarm, text by Dorothy R. Santos. In this first work of a series, Santos responds in writing to an image produced by Unburning.

DISARM DISARM



Some nights, I'm fortunate enough to catch you. I found the best way to reach you is to whisper into the darkest parts of the night sky. Or the fleeting moments in your lucid dreams that you soon realize are merely your overactive subconscious. I traverse the ripples of the gentle terrain of your latent memories, but I fail to be beside you. While I'm an otherworldly entity you are the one that is faster than light and sound. Perhaps, it is you that eludes me. You knew better. You ran even before I could chase you.

Your movement was stealthy and indecipherable. Every time you appeared perfectly in the middle of the crosshair, my vision blurred. Blinking to regain my aim. You spent your life learning the tricks I

thought you never knew. As long as I remained impenetrable, I felt safety. The layers of armor have diminished.

You have remained a mystery even though I should have been the enigmatic one. The depths of my suffering plagued you. I have been cursed with visions of the past, present, and future simultaneously playing and time has ceased to exist.

A shadow appears in rippling murky streams of your subconscious. It emerges as a sinewy creature with slow, purposeful gait out of the water. It reaches to embrace you, envelope you. How do you know it is there? How do you know exactly when to escape me?

You will never know the eternal damnation I have faced since I left you. Your dreams of me are the truest forms that have existed. The rivers and deltas amass to create striations you figured out swiftly upon my departure. You knew me better than I knew myself. Please beware, however. If you gaze into the darkest parts of where you stand, you might lose yourself stricken with an inability to return. Head first, your feet flailing in the air as you will not only be submerged but silenced within seconds and for eternity. The only thing that will loosen the grip of the underworld is to wake yourself from the slumber. You must disarm yourself in order to free yourself out of the tendrils.

Coda

In the introduction, I write about a story of a celebratory dinner I attended after a friend's successful dissertation defense. They voiced some anxiousness over the remaining work of tying up loose ends as part of the revision process. A mutual friend said something like, "No. You are not accountable to that. You're an artist, and when an artist wants to, they can leave threads hanging off the canvas." I do not think she (the defender) was convinced, but I was. This coda will not conclude in a way that draws together those threads I left hanging to be tied in a neat bow. I will work to articulate some as-yet unanswered questions and some thoughts of what may spill beyond these pages.

One thing I find myself thinking about as I reflect on the material I engage within this work has to do with the temporality of crisis and action as they relate to public records. The FBI published their collection of aerial surveillance only after the decision was made to not charge the officers who arrested Freddie Gray. The documents from the nominations of Pompeo and Haspel preceded their hearings and eventual confirmations, but nominees for such positions are rarely named before the votes have already been assembled. There is a way that these records codify and fix conditions and mark the foreclosure of certain kinds of action. Prior to this moment, I see the work of journalism, information activism, forensic analysis, and direct action as more urgent. But what happens after that urgent moment of opportunity has passed? There is still work to do. A slower pace of labor, perhaps, that works reflexively at the intersections of law,

mediality, aesthetics, counter-forensics, and trauma.⁵⁷



Figure 3.10: One large opacity

This is an image of the uprising that occurred in Minneapolis in late May of 2020 following the murder of George Floyd by Minneapolis Police Officer Derek Chauvin on May 25, 2020. The image was produced by an unmanned MQ-9B SkyGuardian drone with the tail code CBP104 on May 29. The MQ-9B is a larger, heavier upgrade to the MQ-1 Predator drone that was used extensively in the so-called Global War on Terror in Afghanistan, Pakistan, and elsewhere. This drone was deployed and operated by U.S. Customs and Border Protection (CBP).

^{57.} I am using the term 'counter-forensics' as articulated by Pooja Rangan. See: Pooja Rangan, "Inaudible Evidence: Counterforensic Listening in Contemporary Documentary Art," in *Deep Mediations: Thinking Space in Cinema and Digital Cultures*, ed. Karen Redrobe and Jeff Scheible (University of Minnesota Press, March 2021), accessed January 1, 2022, https://doi.org/10.5749/j.ctv1gn3t58, http://www.jstor.org/stable/10.5749/j.ctv1gn3t58

Like the manned FBI aircraft I wrote about in Chapter 3, the drone was discovered when its ADS-B signal was detected.⁵⁸

On July 9, 2020, CBP uploaded the video Air and Marine Operations, Unmanned Aircraft System flight over Minneapolis, MN, May 29, 2020 to YouTube. It was flagged as "unlisted", 59 The video has no apparent metadata and whatever might have been embedded in the video's container file would was removed by YouTube (they do this for all uploaded videos). No on-screen heads up display (HUD) data appears throughout the video. For the most part, the camera looks down upon the thick cloud layer that blankets the city. There are a few moments where it is able to penetrate through holes in the clouds, but these are brief exceptions. More of the video is spent taking "drone selfies", in which the camera pans in a way that the drone's body takes up most of the frame, than capturing footage of the ground.

CBP deleted the video from YouTube some time between April 25 and May 3, 2021.⁶⁰ A mirrored version persists at the Internet Archive.

The video consists almost entirely of clouds. Clouds from a distance. Clouds through a magnified lens. One large opacity over the skies of Minneapolis. Sky as interference. The cloud's interference obfuscated the city, but not the ADS-B signal. Electromagnetic waves

^{58.} Jason Koebler, Joseph Cox, and Jordan Pearson, *Customs and Border Protection Is Flying a Predator Drone Over Minneapolis*, May 2020, accessed December 8, 2022, https://www.vice.com/en/article/5dzbe3/customs-and-border-protection-predator-drone-minneapolis-george-floyd.

^{59.} This designation means one needs to have the link to find the video, it is listed on the agency's channel or in searches.

^{60.} based on Internet Archive Wayback Machine comparisons

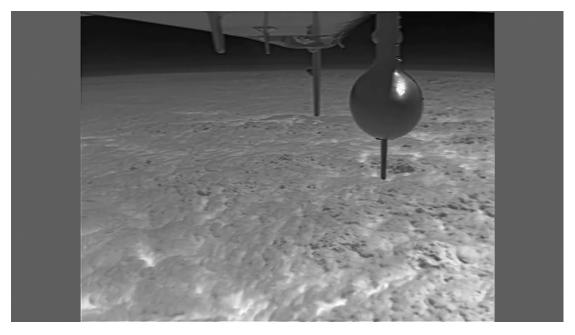


Figure 3.11: A still from "Air and Marine Operations, Unmanned Aircraft System flight over Minneapolis, MN, May 29, 2020"

follow different rules.

While they would not have been detectable from CBP104's 20,000 foot altitude, the radio signals emitted by protesters' mobile phones can be intercepted by devices known as "IMSI catchers". Even when such signals are encrypted, identifying metadata unique to an individual SIM card can be exposed. While there is not much evidence of current use by policing agencies, drones with these capabilities exist and are being marketed to policing agencies; their use at protests seems inevitable. Like the infrared sensors flown over Baltimore, IMSI catchers are also used in search and rescue; locating a smartphone

^{61.} Cooper Quintin, A Quick and Dirty Guide to Cell Phone Surveillance at Protests, Section: Technology & Science, June 2020, accessed December 8, 2022, https://www.seattlestar.net/2020/06/a-quick-and-dirty-guide-to-cell-phone-surveillance-at-protests/.

radio can save the life of someone trapped in rubble or under snow. There are deep institutional and infrastructural overlaps between emergency response and policing that present work to be done at the interfaces of software studies, surveillance studies, STS, and abolition studies to both understand our present predicament and forge better futures where the work of aid and care are disentangled from policing and carceral forms of justice.

Wireless technologies such as Software Defined Radio (SDR) are increasingly used as tools of surveillance and counter-surveillance. In Chapter 3, on plane tracking, I show how this mode of "listening" to signals involves a much deeper inquiry into the contested space of wirelessness surveillance, signal-based "citizen listening" (a problematic term worthy of dismantling), and experimental art practice. As I look to expand this research, I intend to begin a series of fields-recordings to capture this particularly leaky form of media in what feels like a brief window before much of it becomes encrypted, with a focus on the public airwaves around jails and prisons. I will consider techniques of interference and interception used in the streets by state agents and activists, as well as in art spaces.

There is further work to do related to images of text and how they are coded. While *Operational Character Rendition (OCR)* is, for all intents and purposes, finished (although it still performs ongoing work, it still produces findings), in the course of finishing Chapter 2, I uncovered material I want to incorporate into a related project. While OCR operates primarily in process of Levenshtein distance based word-matching (intelligence → negligence: Levenshtein 3), this new work would work primarily at the level of encoding and decoding images of text. With most of its active patents having exceeded their 20 year lifespan, I want to write a JBIG2 encoder from scratch. It will work slowly and unsurely, it will misrecognize fly specks. It will allow for an over-tuned or undertuned tolerances, overwriting letters, punctuation, and perhaps other symbolic systems (asemic writing, musical scores).

There is a task that is still unfinished at the time of this writing, yet ought to be complete by the time you are reading this. At this moment, I have not yet recorded a reading of this text. I've committed to providing an audio version of the written portion of this work for accessibility reasons and to decenter text as the primary medium. Reading what I have written out loud feels like a straightforward affair. But what will I do with the metadata? I have already read metadata for five hours (as described in Chapter 3). Reading aloud the extent of all the metadata included in this work is prohibitive. I could train a vocal model of myself (Coqui AI offers an open source framework for doing this) to produce a text-to-speech version, but this would be far more mechanical of an endeavor than I would actually perform. It would be inconsistent in reading "oh" or "zero." For users who rely on screen readers, it would not necessarily add anything over such a user's favored voice, set in the preferences, with control over pacing, pitch, and so on. And what of the image findings? Some afford fairly obvious

'alt text'-like descriptions, but the bulk of them do not.

I imagine (thanks, Xiaowei!) a collection of the findings as images printed on transparent material. They would be clipped to a light board (or wall or table), while friends and colleagues hover over them with different magnifying technologies and pointers, similar to the military imaging experts that Harun Farocki depicts in *Images of the World and the Inscription of War* decoding satellite photographs of an airfield:

```
00:07:32,485 --> 00:07:38,048
See here the type of tank:
the round one, the air filter.
17
00:07:38,724 --> 00:07:41,955
I mean, that M60.
- Spot on!
18
00:09:25,665 --> 00:09:28,998
That's the thermal shadows.
There was one there just now.
19
00:09:29,368 --> 00:09:31,165
Shadows
show varying intensities.
20
00:09:31,470 --> 00:09:33,665
That one is weak
and that one very strong.
21
00:09:34,006 --> 00:09:36,839
```

```
You also see from these exhaust fumes,

22

00:09:37,143 --> 00:09:42,308 from previous warming up, that this one has been here longer.

23

00:09:43,683 --> 00:09:46,413 And how long? - You can't calculate the time exactly.

24

00:09:46,719 --> 00:09:49,153 You can only say this one was there longer than that one.
```

But in my imagined exercise, viewers are speculating what lies behind redaction They layer two or three or five together to make note of where the images line up and don't; they roll them into tubes and gaze at one another. Their notes are recorded for use as descriptions of the images.

In Chapter 1, I write about technologies that read readers reading, in particular, as it applies to scholarly work and suggest that this record itself, subject to contract with the University of California and ProQuest/Clarivate, would be captured within that apparatus and offered through ProQuest's user-surveillant reader. These companies are engineering the underlying infrastructure for a scholarly system in which every act of knowledge-work: reading, writing, revising, citation, review, editing, and annotation are captured, measured, quantified, ranked, and sold back to us. When it became clear to me

that my writing would potentially be read in such a context (even if alongside UC's own open-access repository), I began investigating how to make the PDF I uploaded in some way adversarial to ProQuest's PDF reading interface. At the very least, I wanted to vandalize the copyright page or some aspect of the document (like a version of the sandpaper cover to Asger Jorn and Guy Debord's Mémoires, designed to erode the books it rubbed against or any surface it touched). However, I have been notified that my request for a waiver to the requirement to upload to ProQuest has been granted. There were doubts the library infrastructure would support uploading directly to the UC's open access repository, escholarship.org without first passing through ProQuest. It is among the fundamental assumptions of my work that even banal workflows and infrastructures matter. To some extent, it feels like this project has already made a mark (even if only a small dent or perforation) in an institution, and that feels like success regardless of the result of the defense.

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A. Operational Character Rendition (OCR)

Operational Character Rendition (OCR) attempts to read from a collection of documents published by the Senate Select Committee on Intelligence using two optical character recognition (OCR) engines: gocr and tesseract.

These documents are published as images of text. Images of text are not searchable. You can't copy words from them; only pixels. Screen readers that assist sight-impaired people cannot read them.

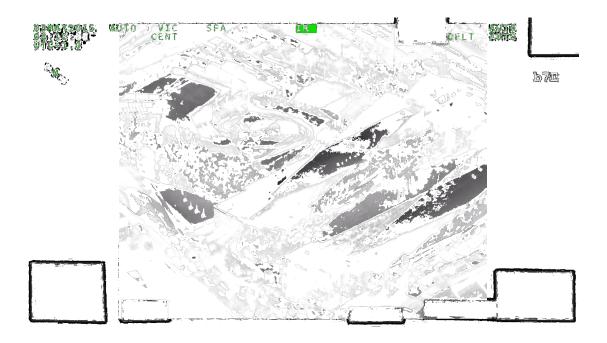
In document analysis and reconstruction, recognized phrases are compared to an authoritative dictionary so that partial word matches can be corrected. This comparison models the distance between words based on how many characters must be changed, added, or removed to reach one from another. The software is tuned so that intelligence and negligence (Levenshtein distance: 3) fall within the same threshold.

It matters which dictionary is used. OCR uses a standard linux spellcheck dictionary (aspell) in addition to a list of watchwords used by Department of Homeland Security analysts on collected social media posts.

Exhibited as part of *Writ Large* at the University of California, Santa Cruz curated by Timothy Furstnau in 2016, *Nothing to Hide* at Real Art Ways in Hartford, Connecticut curated by Ed Shanken and Jessica Hodin in 2017, and at the Tang Teaching Museum at Skidmore College as part of the *Surveil/Surveilled* symposium organized by Sarah Friedland in 2018.

- Project: https://oversightmachin.es/ocr/
- Findings: https://oversightmachin.es/findings/ocr/
- Source Code: https://gitlab.com/aphid/operational-character-rendition

B. Unburning

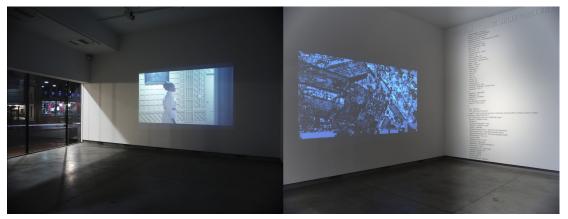


Unburning makes use of an image buffer and differencing operations (an implementation of the W3C Compositing and Blending specification for "difference" blending mode) to differentiate between pixels that move and pixels that are fixed over time. This process identifies and partially isolates a "burned in" layer of data that has been made part of aerial surveillance video images published by the FBI as part of a collection documenting the Baltimore Uprising in 2015, which followed the murder of Freddie Gray by police. This imaging process, albeit imprecise, seeks to surface the surveillant apparatus while abstracting (and making translucent) the underlying visual record of those subjected to this gaze without their consent.

• Project: https://oversightmachin.es/unburn/id=1d5003

- Findings: https://oversightmachin.es/findings/ocr/
- Source Code: https://gitlab.com/aphid/unburn
- Artist-Made Tools Resist Algorithmic Racism and Empower Communities by Theadora Walsh for KQED Arts.

C. Unburning



Video (4 hours), detached score, metadata (598 pages)

Unburning is the third in a series of mediatic dialogues between Margaret Laurena Kemp and Abram Stern. This project brings together media and metadata, surveillance and witnessing, being overheard and overlooked, hypervisibility and concealment, quantification and abstraction.

Anchoring this work is a collection of footage that documents Kemp's durational performance at Montalvo Arts Center in 2016, which was recorded and submitted by attendees. Scrutinizing the physical and psychic safety of African American women from both a historical and a contemporary perspective. This performance, captured in long, quiet and often slow-moving frames, teases out the idea of repetition and endurance and the joy that is needed to not only survive but thrive against seemingly insurmountable odds.

The inclusion of Stern's "unburnt" FBI aerial surveillance footage from the Baltimore Uprising in 2015 together poses questions about the role of digital media in reproducing a criminalizing and deeply racialized gaze. It calls into question the impact on humanity when ghostly traces of injustice remain even when video evidence is removed, redacted, or even forgotten. The overlays represent the reality that these images, "burned into" the video by the FBI's infrared sensors, have also been burned into the psyche of the viewing participant and society at large and suggests unburning as a process that is neither resolved nor finished.

Exhibited in *Monitor: Surveillance*, *Data*, *and the New Panoptic* at the Institute for Contemporary Art at Maine College of Art and Design, curated by Julie Poitras Santos in 2021. An earlier incarnation of this collaborative work was shown in *This Land Is*, curated by Jennifer Belair Sakarian at the Elaine L. Jacob Gallery at Wayne State University in Detroit, MI in 2019.

Monitor Exhibition Catalog https://issuu.com/meca/docs/icaatmeca_d-monitor

Colophon

This document was typeset in \LaTeX using the LuaTeX typesetting system. The typeface Merriweather (developed by Sorkin Fonts) is used for body text and Public Sans (developed by the U.S. Web Design System) is used for headings, both of which are open source and royalty-free.