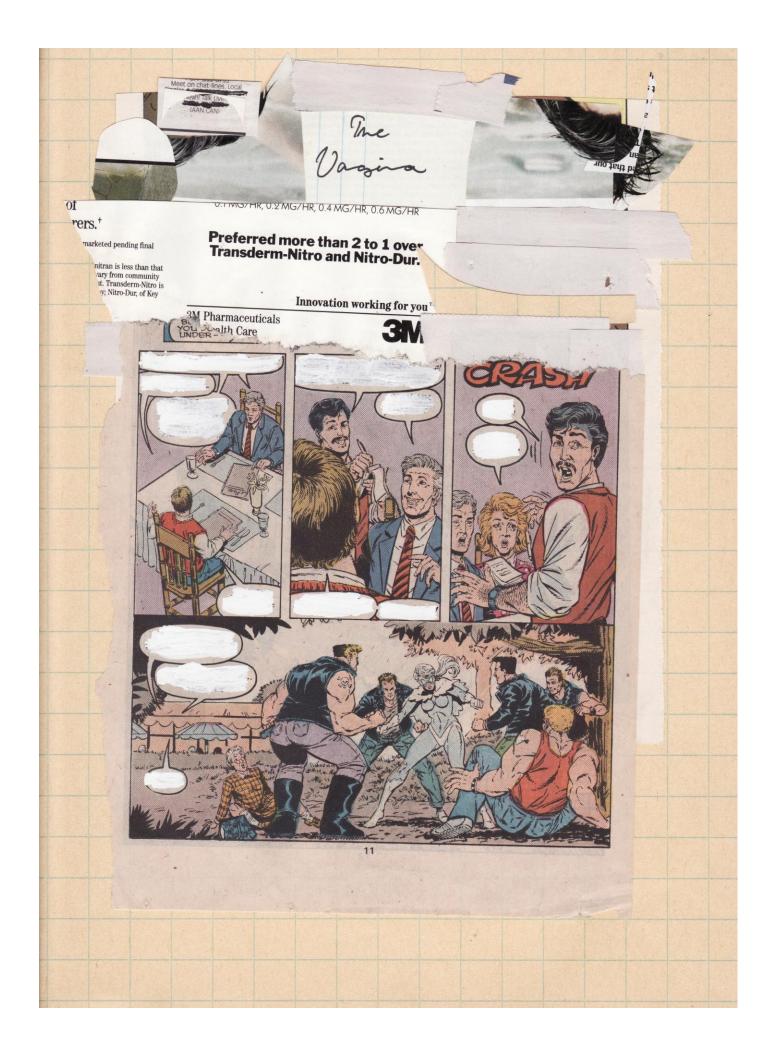


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are no longer in your family"); then the barracks ("you are no longer at school"); then the factory; from time to time the hospital; possibly the prison, the preeminent instance of the enclosed environment. It's the prison that serves as the analogical model: at the sight of some laborers, the heroine of Rossellini's Europa '51 could exclaim, "I thought I was

Foucault has brilliantly analyzed the ideal project of these environments of enclosure, particularly visible within the factory: to concentrate; to distribute in space; to order in time; to compose a productive force within the dimension of space-time whose effect will be greater than the sum of its component forces. But what Foucault recognized as well was the transience of this model: it succeeded that of the societies of sovereignty, the goal and functions of which were something quite different (to tax rather than to organize production, to rule on death rather than to administer life); the transition took place over time, and Napoleon seemed to effect the large-scale conversion from one society to the other. But in their turn the disciplines underwent a crisis to the benefit of new forces that were gradually instituted and which accelerated after World War II: a disciplinary society was what we already no longer were, what we had ceased to be.

We are in a generalized crisis in relation to all the environments of enclosure-prison, hospital, factory, school, family. The family is an "interior," in crisis like all other interiors--scholarly, professional, etc. The administrations in charge never cease mouncing supposedly necessary reforms: to reform schools, to reform industries, hospitals, the armed forces, prisons. But everyone knows that these institutions are finished, whatever the length of their expiration periods. It's only a matter of administering their last rites and of keeping people employed until the installation of the new forces knocking at the door. These are the societies of control, which are in the process of replacing disciplinary societies. "Control" is the name Burroughs proposes as a term for the new monster, one that Foucault recognizes as our immediate future. Paul Virilio also is continually analyzing the ultrarapid forms of free-floating control that replaced the old disciplines operating in the time frame of a closed system. There is no need to invoke the extraordinary pharmaceutical productions, the molecular engineering, the genetic manipulations, although these are slated to enter the new process. There is no need to ask which is the toughest regime, for it's within each of them that liberating and enslaving forces confront one another. For example, in the crisis of the hospital as ensiaving forces common one anomer. For example, in the class of the hospital as environment of enclosure, neighborhood clinics, hospices, and day care could at first express new freedom, but they could participate as well in mechanisms of control that are equal to the harshest of confinements. There is no need to fear or hope, but only to 2. Logic

The different internments of spaces of enclosure through which the individual passes are independent variables: each time one us supposed to start from zero, and although a common language for all these places exists, it is analogical. One the other hand, the different control mechanisms are inseparable variations, forming a system of variable geometry the language of which is numerical (which doesn't necessarily mean binary). Enclosures are molds, distinct castings, but controls are a modulation, like a selfdeforming cast that will continuously change from one moment to the other, or like a sieve whose mesh will transmute from point to point.

This is obvious in the matter of salaries: the factory was a body that contained its internal forces at the level of equilibrium, the highest possible in terms of production, the lowest possible in terms of wages; but in a society of control, the corporation has replaced the factory, and the corporation is a spirit, a gas. Of course the factory was already familiar with the system of bonuses, but the corporation works more deeply to impose a modulation of each salary, in states of perpetual metastability that operate through challenges, contests, and highly comic group sessions. If the most idiotic Inrough chainenges, comess, and many count group states the corporate situation game shows are so successful, it's because they express the corporate situation with great precision. The factory constituted individuals as a single body to the double advantage of the boss who surveyed each element within the mass and the unions who mobilized a mass resistance; but the corporation constantly presents the brashest rivalry as a healthy form of emulation, an excellent motivational force that opposes individuals against one another and runs through each, dividing each within principle of "salary according to merit" has not failed to tempt national education itself. The modulating Indeed, just as the corporation replaces the factory, perpetual training tends to replace the school, and continuous control to replace the examination. Which is the surest way of delivering the school over to the corporation.

In the disciplinary societies one was always starting again (from school to the barracks from the barracks to the factory), while in the societies of control one is never finished with anything-the corporation, the educational system, the armed services being netastable states coexisting in one and the same modulation, like a universal system of eformation. In The Trial, Kafka, who had already placed himself at the pivotal point between two types of social formation, described the most fearsome of judicial forms The apparent acquittal of the disciplinary societies (between two incarcerations); and the limitless postponements of the societies of control (in continuous variation) are two very different modes of juridicial life, and if our law is hesitant, itself in crisis, it's se we are leaving one in order to enter the other. The disciplinary societies have two poles: the signature that designates the individual, and the number or administrative ration that indicates his or her position within a mass. This is because the disciplines never saw any incompatibility between these two, and because at the same time power individualizes and masses together, that is, constitutes those over whom it exercises power into a body and molds the individuality of each member of that body. (Foucault saw the origin of this double charge in the pastoral power of the priest-the flock and each of its animals—but civil power moves in turn and by other means to make itself lay "priest.") In the societies of control, on the other hand, what is important is no longer either a signature or a number, but a code: the code is a password, while on the other hand disciplinary societies are regulated by watchwords (as much from the point of view of integration as from that of resistance). The numerical language of control is made of codes that mark access to information, or reject it. We no longer find ourselves lealing with the mass/individual pair. Individuals have become "dividuals," and masses, amples, data, markets, or "banks." Perhaps it is money that expresses the distinction between the two societies best, since discipline always referred back to minted money that locks gold as numerical standard, while control relates to floating rates of exchange nodulated according to a rate established by a set of standard currencies. The old nonetary mole is the animal of the space of enclosure, but the serpent is that of the ocieties of control. We have passed from one animal to the other, from the mole to the serpent, in the system under which we live, but also in our manner of living and in our ations with others. The disciplinary man was a discontinuous producer of the man of control is undulated

Types of machines are easily matched with each type of society—not under the determining, but because they express those social forms capable of generating them a determining, but because they express those social forms capable of simple machines—level using them. The old societies of sovereignty made use of simple machines—level using them. The old societies of sovereignty made use of simple machines—level using them. determining, but because they express those social forms capable of generating them and using them. The old societies of sovereignty made use of simple machines—leverse pulleys, clocks, but the recent disciplinary societies equipped themselves with machine involving energy with the passive danger of entrony and the active danger of salvage involving energy with the passive danger of entrony and the active danger of salvage. roucault located the disciplinary societies in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, the spaces of enclosure. The individual never ceases passing from one closed technological evolution must be, even more profoundly, a mutation for property in the passive danger of entropy and the active query, whose passive pulleys, clocks; but the recent disciplinary societies of a third type, computers, whose passive involving energy, with the passive danger of entropy and the active query, winses. This pulleys, clocks; but the recent disciplinary societies of a third type, computers, whose passive pulleys, clocks; but the recent disciplinary societies of a third type, computers, whose passive pulleys, clocks; but the recent disciplinary societies of a third type, computers, whose passive pulleys, clocks; but the recent disciplinary societies of a third type, computers, whose passive pulleys, clocks; but the recent disciplinary societies of a third type, computers, whose passive pulleys, clocks; but the recent disciplinary societies of a third type, computers, whose passive pulleys, clocks; but the recent disciplinary societies of a third type, computers, whose passive pulleys, clocks; but the recent disciplinary societies of a third type, computers, whose passive pulleys, clocks; but the recent disciplinary societies of a third type, computers, whose passive pulleys, clocks; but the recent disciplinary societies of a third type, computers, whose passive pulleys, clocks; but the recent disciplinary societies of a third type, computers, whose passive danger of entropy and the active query societies of control operate with machines of a third type, computers, whose passive danger of entropy and the active query societies of control operate with machines of a third type, computers, whose passive danger of entropy and the active query societies of control operate with machines of a third type, computers, whose passive danger of entropy and the active query societies of control operate with machines of a third type, computers, pulleys, closes, with the passive using sorted their height at the outset of the twentieth. They initiate the organization of capitalism and no longer in your family"); then the barracks ("you are no longer in your family"); then the barracks ("you are no longer in your family"). arready well-known or familiar mutation that can be summed up as follows: nineteenth-century capitalism is a capitalism of concentration, for production and for property. It therefore areade a factory get a capaca of anchouse. century capitalism is a capitalism of concentration, for production and for property. It therefore erects a factory as a space of enclosure, the capitalist being the owner of other spaces conceived means of production but also propressively the owner of other spaces conceived. therefore erects a factory as a space of enclosure, the capitalist being the owner of the means of production but also, progressively, the owner of other spaces conceived through analogy (the worker's familial house, the school). As for markets, they are through analogy (the worker's familial house, the school). y (tine worker's taminal nouse, the school). As for markets, they are telimes by specialization, sometimes by colonization, sometimes by colonization, sometimes by colonization and the present citration capitalism is no London and the present citration capitalism is no London. conquered sometimes by specialization, sometimes by colonization, sometimes by colonization, sometimes by colonization, capitalism is no longer lowering the costs of production. But in the present situation, capitalism is no longer lowering which it often releases to the Third World. even for the lowering the costs of production. But in the present situation, capitalism is no longer involved in production, which it often relegates to the Third World, even for the complex forms of textiles, metallurgy, or oil production. It's a capitalism of higher-order production. It no-longer buys raw materials and no longer sells the finished products: it buys the finished products or assembles parts. What it wants to sell is services but what buys the finished products or assembles parts. production. It no-longer buys raw materials and no longer sells the finished products: it buys the finished products or assembles parts. What it wants to sell is services but what it wants to buy is stocks. This is no longer a capitalism for production but for the first and the product, which is to say, for being sold or marketed. Thus is essentially dispersive, the factory has given way to the corporation. The family, the school, the army. conquered some product, which is to say, for being sold or marketed. Thus is essentially dispersive, and the factory has given way to the corporation. The family, the school, the army, the factory are no longer the distinct analogical spaces that converge towards an owner-grade or or or or other condensations. factory are no longer the distinct analogical spaces that converge towards an owner-state or private power-but coded figures-deformable and transformable—of a single corporation that now has only stockholders. Even art has left the spaces of enclosure in order to enter into the onen circuits of the bank. The constitutes of the market are mode corporation that now has only stockholders. Even art has left the spaces of enclosure in order to enter into the open circuits of the bank. The conquests of the market are made to enter into the open circuits of the bank. The conquests of the market are made to enter into the open circuits of the bank. The conquests of the market are made to enter into the open circuits of the bank. The conquests of the market are made to enter into the open circuits of the bank. order to enter into the open circuits of the bank. The conquests of the market are made by grabbing control and no longer by disciplinary training, by fixing the exchange rate by transformation of the product more than by lowering coets. by grabbing control and no longer by disciplinary training, by fixing the exchange rate much more than by lowering costs, by transformation of the product more than by specialization of production. Corruption thereby gains a new power. Marketing have production for production. Corruption thereby we are taught that corporations have become the center or the "soul" of the corporation. We are taught that corporations have a soul, which is the most terrifying news in the world. The oneration of markets is now. become the center or the "soul" of the corporation. We are taught that corporations have a soul, which is the most terrifying news in the world. The operation of markets is now the instrument of social control and forms the impudent breed of our masters. Control is short-term and of rapid rates of turnouser but also continuous and without limit which the instrument of social control and forms the impudent breed of our masters. Control is short-term and of rapid rates of turnover, but also continuous and without limit, while the instrument of rapid rates of turnover, but also continuous. Man is no longer manufacturing the state of long duration infinite and discontinuous. short-term and of rapid rates of turnover, but also continuous and without limit, while discipline was of long duration, infinite and discontinuous. Man is no longer man in the life in the true that canitalism has retained as a constant the extremely actually the properties of the properties of the contract of the co discipline was of long duration, infinite and discontinuous. Man is no longer man enclosed, but man in debt. It is true that capitalism has retained as a constant the extreme property of three-quartees of humanity. Too none for debt troe numerous for confinement. enclosed, but man in debt. It is true that capitalism has retained as a constant the extreme poverty of three-quarters of humanity, too poor for debt, too numerous for confinement control will not only have to deal with erosions of frontiers but with the explosions within chanter toware for whether

3. Program
The conception of a control mechanism, giving the position of any element within an open environment at any given instant (whether animal in a reserve or human in a open environment at any given instant (whether animal in a reserve or human in a open environment at any given instant (whether animal in a reserve or human in a rese corporation, as with an electronic collar), is not necessarily one of science fiction. F lix Guattari has imagined a city where one would be able to leave one's apartment, one's established thanks to one's (dividual) electronic card that raises a civen Guattari has imagined a city where one would be able to leave one's apartment, one's street, one's neighborhood, thanks to one's (dividual) electronic card that raises a given harrier but the eard could just as easily be rejected on a cityon day or between certain. street, one's neighborhood, thanks to one's (dividual) electronic card that raises a given barrier, but the card could just as easily be rejected on a given day or between certain barrier, but the card could just as easily be rejected on a given day or between certain barrier, but the commuter that tracks each region's registrone. ntier, but the card could just as easily be rejected on a given day or between certain, surs; what counts is not the barrier but the computer that tracks each person's position—interest in the literal—and offered a universal modulation.

licit or illicit—and effects a universal modulation.

The socio-technological study of the mechanisms of control, grasped at their inception, which is already in the process of the control of the contr The socio-technological study of the mechanisms of control, grasped at their inception, would have to be categorical and to describe what is already in the process of substitution for the disciplinary sites of enclosure, whose crisis is everywhere proclaimed. It may be that older methods, borrowed from the former societies of sovereignty. What counts is proceed to the force of the societies of licit or illicit—and effects a universal modulation. proclaimed. It may be that older methods, borrowed from the former societies of sovereignty, will return to the fore, but with the necessary modifications. What counts is that we are at the beginning of something. In the prison system: the attempt to find sovereignty, will return to the fore, but with the necessary modifications. What counts is that we are at the beginning of something. In the *prison system*: the attempt to find that we are at the beginning of something. In the *prison system*: the attempt to find that we are at the beginning of something. In the prison system: the attempt to find the use of electronic collars that the prison of "enheritation" at least for netty crimes, and the use of electronic collars that mat we are at the beginning of something. In the prison system: the attempt to find penalties of "substitution," at least for petty crimes, and the use of electronic collars that force the convicted person to stay at home during contain hours. For the substitution, and the prison of the substitution of th penalties of "substitution," at least for petty crimes, and the use of electronic collars that force the convicted person to stay at home during certain hours. For the school system continuous forms of control and the effect on the school of corrected training the force the convicted person to stay at home during certain hours. For the school systematic continuous forms of control, and the effect on the school of perpetual training, the introduction of control of all introduction of corresponding abandonment of all introduction of corresponding abandonment of all introduction of control of the introduction of the intr continuous forms of control, and the effect on the school of perpetual training, the corresponding abandonment of all university research, the introduction of the corresponding abandonment of schooling. For the hospital system: the new medical without doctor or patient the singles out potential sick people and subjects at riwithout doctor or patient the singles out potential sick people and subjects at riwithout doctor or patient the singles out potential sick people and subjects at riwithout doctor or patient the singles out potential sick people and subjects at riwithout doctor or patient the singles of the single size of the size o "without doctor or patient" that singles out potential sick people and subjects at riwhich in no way attests to individuation—as they say—but substitutes for the individor numerical body the code of a "dividual" material to be controlled. In the corpor
or numerical body the code of a "dividual" material to be controlled. In the corpor
or numerical body the code of a "dividual" material to be controlled. or numerical body the code of a "dividual" material to be controlled. In the corpor system: new ways of handling money, profits, and humans that no longer pass three handling money systems are very small examples. but ones that will allow for the handling for the handling money form. These are very small examples. system: new ways of bandling money, profits, and humans that no longer pass they the old factory form. These are very small examples, but ones that will allow for bunderstanding of what is meant by the crisis of the institutions. which is to say the old factory form. These are very small examples, but ones that will allow for bunderstanding of what is meant by the crisis of the institutions, which is to say progressive and dispersed installation of a new exeten of American Change and understanding of what is meant by the crisis of the institutions, which is to say progressive and dispersed installation of a new system of domination. One of the progressive and dispersed installation of a new system of domination. One of the progressive and dispersed installation of a new system of domination. One of the progressive and the progressive and the progressive within the enacest of anchorage with the progressive and the progress portant questions will concern the ineptitude of the unions: tied to the whole of story of struggle against the disciplines or within the spaces of enclosure, will to to adant themselves or will they often way to new firms of opericlance again. history of struggle against the disciplines of within the spaces of enclosure, will it able to adapt themselves or will they give way to new forms of resistance against the total properties of control? Can we already grash the rough outlines of the coming able to adapt themselves or will they give way to new forms of resistance ago societies of control? Can we already grasp the rough outlines of the coming capable of threatening the joys of marketing? Many young people strangely being "multivated", they re-required apprentiseshing and regreated training a property of the property of capable of threatening the joys of marketing? Many young people strangely leading "motivated"; they re-request apprenticeships and permanent training. I them to discover what they're being made to serve, just as their elders discover what they're being made to serve, just as their elders discover what they're being made to serve, just as their elders discover what they're being made to serve, just as their elders discover what they're being made to serve, just as their elders discover what they're being made to serve, just as their elders discover what they're being made to serve, just as their elders discover what they're being made to serve, just as their elders discover what they're being made to serve, just as their elders discover what they're being made to serve, just as their elders discover what they're being made to serve, just as their elders discover what they're being made to serve, just as their elders discover what they're being made to serve, just as their elders discover what they're being made to serve, just as their elders discover what they're being made to serve, just as their elders discover what they're being made to serve, just as their elders discover what they're being made to serve, just as their elders discover when they are the server discover d mem to discover what mey re being made to serve, just as their enters discover without difficulty, the telos of the disciplines. The coils of a serpent are examples that the burrows of a molehill. complex that the burrows of a molehill.





anymore *







