was a discontinuous producer of energy, but the man of control is undifferentiated, in orbit, in a continuous network. Everywhere novelty has already replaced the older spots.

Types of machines are easily matched with each type of society—not that machines are 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—levers, pulleys, clocks, but the recent disciplinary societies equipped themselves with machines involving energy, with the passive danger of energy, and the active danger of sabotage: the societies of control operate with machines of a third type, computers, whose passive danger is). computing and whose active one is piracy and the introduction of viruses. This technological evolution must be, even more profoundly, a mutation of capitalism, an already 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 erects the factory as a space of enclosure, the capitalist as 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 conquered simultaneously by specialization, sometimes by colonization, sometimes by lowering the cost of production. But, in the present situation, capitalism is no longer involved in production, which is often relegated to the Third World, even for the complex forms of textiles, metalurgy, or oil production. It’s a capitalism of production. It no longer buys raw materials and no longer sells the finished products: it buys the finished products or assembly parts. What it wants to sell is services and what it wants to buy is stocks. This is no longer a capitalism for production but for the product, which is so far, being sold or marketed. Thus it 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, analogous 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 open circuits of the bank. The conquest of the city, once the center of 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. Corporation thereby gains a new power. Marketing has become the center of the “social” of the corporation. We are taught that corporations have a soul, which is 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 turnover, but also continuous and without limits, while discipline was of long duration, infinite and discontinuous. Man is no longer man encloased, but man in debts. 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 eras of fences but with the exploitations within slum towns or ghettos.

3. Program

The conception of a control mechanism, giving the position of any element within an open environment at any given instant (as in a reservoir or human in a corporation, as with an electronic collar), is not necessarily one of science fiction. Felix 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 exists a given barrier; but the card could just as easily be rejected on a given day or between certain hours; what counts is not the barrier but the computer that tracks each person’s position—lack or illicit—and effects a universal modulation.

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, will return to the fore, but with the necessary modifications. What counts is that we are at the beginning of a new series of tricks: the attempt to find penalties of “substitution,” at least for petty crimes, and the use of electronic fences. It’s a capitalism of higher-order production. It’s a capitalism of production. It no longer buys raw materials and no longer sells the finished products: it buys the finished products or assembly parts. What it wants to sell is services and what it wants to buy is stocks. This is no longer a capitalism for production but for the product, which is so far, being sold or marketed. Thus it 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, analogous 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 open circuits of the bank. The conquest of the city, once the center of 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. Corporation thereby gains a new power. Marketing has become the center of the “social” of the corporation. We are taught that corporations have a soul, which is 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 turnover, but also continuous and without limits, while discipline was of long duration, infinite and discontinuous. Man is no longer man encloased, but man in debts. 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: