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Posthuman Development in the Age of Pancapitalism*

For the first time in history there is one globally dominant political economy, that of capitalism. Under this regime, individuals of various social groups and classes are forced to submit their bodies for reconfiguration so they can function more efficiently under the obsessively rational imperatives of pancapitalism (production, consumption, and order). One means of reconfiguration is the blending of the organic and the electromechanical. Potentially, this process could result in a new living entity distinct from its predecessors. This process, now termed posthuman development, is in its experimental stages, which in turn has led to speculations and theories about what form this new being will take and about its probable functions. The two entities of posthuman

*This article was originally published in *Muae*, No. 2.

existence most commonly postulated by cyber-visionaries, techno-critics, and machine designers over the past twenty years are the cyborg and downloaded virtual consciousness. While robots, androids, and artificially intelligent machines are also generally considered part of the posthuman family, they do not emerge directly out of human organics, and hence constitute a different line of development. Cyborgs and virtual consciousness, on the other hand, are dependent upon human individuals who desire or are condemned to interface with the machine. The cyborg is a being which typically has an organic platform integrated with a complex technological superstructure; virtual consciousness is the transference of being into digitized form so that it can exist in immersive informational landscapes. This latter vision of the posthuman is one in which the Enlightenment principle of increased domination of the mind over the body moves toward full realization of complete organic erasure.

The posthuman condition is still only a potential, since fully integrated, first-order cyborgs (in which the organic platform and technological superstructure are completely interdependent) are still on the cultural horizon, and virtual consciousness is at best an entertaining speculation. Yet, both of these posthuman possibilities are already having a dramatic social impact. While virtual consciousness acts as a mythic validation of the Age of Reason, second-order cyborgs (organic infrastructures with removable, integrated technological systems) are a common actuality. This situation often leads to the conjecture that the cyborg will be the step inbetween organic life and virtual life. However, when posthuman manifestations are taken out of the context of sci-fi speculation, and placed

within the specific social and economic context of pancapitalism, a much different scenario emerges. While cyborg research is moving at top velocity, research into virtual reality (VR) is moving very slowly by comparison, and the research that is being done does not aim to develop a posthuman environment nor to create a posthuman entity; rather, this work is to fortify the pancapitalist dynasty in physical space by serving both spectacular and military apparatuses. The current functions of VR, as well as the limited research into its varied potentials, are indications that virtual consciousness is not a desirable posthuman condition from the perspective of primary power vectors of the current political economy.¹

Imaging Technology Divided

Currently, imaging technology is deeply divided between the photographic and the postphotographic—one which records and one which renders. This division corresponds very well to Althusser's division of the social into the Repressive State Apparatus (RSA) and the Ideological State Apparatus (ISA). When placed in this theoretical matrix, the actual functions of immersive technology become intelligible, and indicate that inserting disembodied consciousness into virtual systems is not a current or future strategy for the development of posthuman entities by investing agencies.²

The ISA is the structure of control maintained through the manipulation of a given culture's symbolic order. Through this structure, ideology is deployed, reinforced, and morphed in order to maintain the integrity of the

given power structure. When enveloped in the ISA, an individual's perceptions, thought structures, and behaviors are molded to varying degrees so as not to conflict with dominant historical and socioeconomic imperatives and conventions. The family, schools, the church, and the media function as the pedagogical institutions through which ideology replicates itself. While family and religion were dominant in precapitalist society, in pancapitalist society, the education system and the media have become the dominant institutions of socialization, causing family and church to fall to a secondary support position. Of particular interest here is that communication technologies have been of tremendous aid in empowering these latter institutions and in causing this pedagogical shift to occur. The ideologically charged and immersive representational environment generated through the use of mass imaging technologies is called spectacle.

The infrastructural counterpart of the ISA is the Repressive State Apparatus (RSA). It is the total structure of control maintained through violent, militarized social intervention. Its functions are to defend the social system from invasion, to protect "investments" in alien social systems, and to maintain internal social order. Institutions participating in this apparatus include armed services, national guards, police, prison systems, and intelligence and security agencies. Like the dominant institutions of the ISA, the RSA depends upon complex technology in order to remain effective; however, unlike the ISA, where imaging technologies are an end in themselves, the RSA requires a full array of weapons technology integrated with vision technology in order to carry out its mandate of repression through violence.

The imaging technology of the RSA is generally superior to that of the ISA, but the functions of the technology for each system are so vastly different that concrete comparisons are very difficult. The unique characteristics of the technology for each system are many and make for highly contrasted systems. The first significant issue of difference is visibility. The imaging engines of the ISA are relatively open to public scrutiny. In fact, for these imaging systems to work, the technology which delivers its message (radios, televisions, cinema, etc.) must be widely deployed and/or made accessible. While the machinery that actually generates the spectacular images is typically kept out of the representational frame, that machinery too can and does become one of the objects of spectacle. Passive media participants are familiar with the existence and function of many components of media systems, including cameras, control rooms, editing suites, communications satellites, film studios, and so on. This is true to the extent that imaging systems are often the object of the jubilant celebrations of technology. For example, who can deny the public excitement generated over a cable system delivering 500 channels, or the public enthusiasm for surfing the World Wide Web? Couple this situation with media stunts engineered to further ingratiate new technology to the public, and the celebration becomes even more intense.

For example, NASA's use of the robotic walker Dante to record events in a volcano was basically a useless endeavor in terms of scientific data collection. NASA has very little use for volcanic data. However, this project did serve two functions: First, it acted as a public relations campaign to demonstrate in very dramatic terms the current state of hi-tech development. (In actuality, Dante was produced with

robotic technology that was developed many years ago, but the data acquired sure seemed impressive, as did its descent into the volcano. The snapping of its retrieval cord at the end of the mission was a little embarrassing, but it was not highlighted). The second and primary reason for the Dante mission was to develop software for autonomous robots, which could then be used for other purposes. In addition to building a greater public appreciation for the technology itself, stunts such as this one also help to construct a heroic image for those who use complex technology. Certainly, this is part of the reason for the current series of multinational space missions. In all, this kind of celebratory spectacularization is great news for cyborg development, as people increasingly desire to be close to complex technology. One certainly cannot help but wonder if new technology is not the most important object of spectacle at this moment.

For the RSA, technology is generally kept hidden, and at least during peacetime, it is no cause for celebration. This is not to say that military technology is not spectacularized, for it most certainly is. The public display of military technology is done primarily for purposes of disinformation. When a new weapon or imaging system is developed, sometimes it is wise to let others know that it exists; however, what must be kept secret are the precise parameters of what it can do. Such incomplete information leakage constructs an inflated sense of security in friendly populations, and a sense of fear in enemy populations. It also entices enemy powers to overestimate the capabilities of the system. For example, during the early years of the cold war, US military officials grossly overestimated the numbers of Soviet nuclear missiles; this caused not only a panic in the military over

an assumed “missile gap,” but also caused a panic in the civilian population. This situation was not corrected until data were retrieved from early spy satellite reconnaissance missions in the early 60s which showed that far fewer missiles existed than US intelligence originally believed. A more contemporary example is the spectacularization of the Patriot Missile System during the Gulf War. As it was presented in the media, this piece of techno-junk required divine intervention for it to function. Even after the system was a proven battlefield failure, it was still presented as the ultimate anti-missile defense system, simply by either constantly replaying the footage of its few successes, or by showing images of it not working accompanied by an authoritative voice-over saying that it was working.

The compelling point here is that spectacular engines employed for this duty are functional, because they use a postphotographic model in which imaging systems are totalizing rendering devices. The images produced under this model, and those presented within the media context, are inherently untrustworthy, and flow within the representational fictions of realistic illusionism. While the engines and methods of production do not call attention to themselves within the screen’s frame, it is common knowledge that media images—from fantasy cinema to nonfictional newscasts—are engineered and designed by a plethora of means too numerous to list in this essay. This skeptical view has become so common that conspiracy theorists can even claim that the moon landing was a US government hoax, and can do so with a modest amount of credibility. Paradoxically, and in a sublime moment of doublethink, the public implicitly understands the rendering hoax of postphotography, yet still often finds spectacular images credible.

Contrary to the spectacular model of rendering is the more traditional model of photographic imaging systems, which focuses on principles of recording. While spectacular images created by the ISA for the public continually slide, dissolve, and recombine, images produced by the RSA *for its own use* are relatively stable, if the imaging systems function as intended. RSA images are produced for the purposes of mapping and/or surveying territories and populations: They have a material referent, which is validated through practical application based on information extracted from the image. The goal is to produce images in which the map is to the greatest extent possible a representational equivalent of the territory. The higher the accuracy of the representation in relation to the designated referent, the higher the value of the image. This strategy is based on the understanding that that which can be visualized and mapped can be controlled, as long as this vision system is integrated with an array of effective weapons systems (both human and electromechanical) that can be deployed in a contested territory or among a resistant population.

The need for accurate images is not just a matter of strategic necessity, but also a matter of cost-effective control. The RSA is an incredible drain on financial resources when left standing, but it costs even more to use its forces (although it must be noted that wartime economy can be profitable). Given that the grand majority of contemporary first-world military conflicts fall into the category of “police action” (which is also the least profitable of military activities, as police actions maintain the empire rather than expand it), military deployment and use must be as precise as possible. The

key distinction between images produced by the RSA and those produced by the ISA that arises out of this instrumental imperative is that RSA images serve a pragmatic military function, while those of the ISA serve an aestheticized sociopolitical function.

To return to the issue of secrecy in regard to RSA activities, the pragmatic structure of its vision can maintain its integrity only as long as the specifics of the vision engines and the images they produce are kept classified. Once the images are recontextualized in the image barrage of the ISA, they fall victim to aestheticization, lose their usefulness, and become obsolete. This obsolescence typically occurs when one generation of vision technology is replaced by a new generation of more accurate technology, and creates the opportunity for technological spin-offs for the realm of spectacle. Computers, the Internet, and communication satellites are all examples of representational engines that lost some or all of their value as RSA systems, and hence no longer had to be kept monopolized. These engines were reconfigured and redeployed for the purpose of producing spectacle, which in turn indicates that there is a vast intersection between processes of aestheticization and obsolescence, which in turn further suggests that the much-celebrated postphotographic principle of rendering is often still in the service of its parent, the photographic model of recording.

This is not to say that all institutions for image production fit neatly into either the RSA or the ISA. The centralization of capital in various multinational industries allows the development of vision engines with double functions

serving both the ISA and the RSA. These engines are often developed independently by institutions that intersect both apparatuses. For example, the institution of medicine plays a pivotal role in both the ISA and the RSA. While on the one hand it participates in the ISA by producing a spectacle that dictates what is physiologically and psychologically “healthy” and “normal,” it also participates in the function of the RSA through its ability to muster forces to support these standards, and through its administration of a system of institutions in which “deviants” may be imprisoned (asylums, hospitals, rehab clinics, halfway houses, etc). At the same time, this industry is still partly dependent on the RSA, since some of its technology comes from obsolete machines released to friendly institutions. For example, telepresent robotic surgery is now being developed by the military for use in the field. One can be fairly certain that before this med-tech begins to trickle down to civilian medicine, it will have become a fully functional military option, and that by that time the military will have moved onto newer and better options for field surgery.

As the border between the ISA and RSA grows increasingly cluttered with relative independents, the technological state-of-the-art starts to drift back and forth between spectacular processes of aesthetic production and militarized processes of pragmatic production. Cutting-edge image production still favors the RSA, but the situation is becoming increasingly hazy because many imaging systems are assuming dual functions. What is certain is that rendering is the foundation for spectacular image production, and that recording is still the foundation for militarized image production.

The Dual Function of Immersive Technology

Given the theoretical matrix explained in the last section, the likelihood of realizing the dream of VR as a liberating future habitat for humanity seems quite remote. In fact, VR seems to be used for every imaging purpose except as a liberating habitat. Its use by the spectacle is minimal, as no investing agency seems able to conceive of a useful (instrumental) application for it. Currently, VR takes a very secondary position to older nonimmersive screen-based systems. While the World Wide Web, the Internet, and cable television seem to be exploding with new possibilities (both compelling and loathsome), VR is beginning to stagnate. Its position is limited to arcade entertainment and to secondary-display technology that helps boost consumption. One example of this latter variety of application is the use of VR in some department and furniture stores in Japan. A shopper can enter a virtual environment and (within the limits of the product line) render a desired domestic environment to see if it meets with he/r expectations before purchasing the needed merchandise. If he/r virtual vision does not meet he/r expectations, s/he can redesign the space until it does. The buyer is thus given extra assurance that s/he will get what s/he wants. Obviously, a system like this functions only when there is a variety of purchasing options, when the object of consumption cannot be physically displayed, and when the purchase is costly. Hence this application has very limited spectacular use. Further, this application is only one small step beyond the use of X-ray machines in shoe stores back in the 30s and 40s. The shopper could X-ray he/r foot to make sure the shoes about to be purchased were a perfect fit. In terms of the spectacle of consumption, the real

problem for VR is that there are very few occasions when the institutions selling the products want to give even the smallest amount of authentic choice to the consumer.

The infinite choice and total control promised by VR are precisely the options that investment institutions want to avoid, and hence, they are not going to pursue VR technology with any vigor until someone is able to negate its liberating logic. This is also why investment capital is flowing overwhelmingly in the direction of screen technology, such as the World Wide Web. (The rocketing prices of shares of companies like Netscape and Yahoo when they went public clearly indicate the flow of capital). On the Web, the producer of the page controls the rendering process. While this element of Web production seems to favor the cyber-individual, and accounts for much of the celebration of the Web, institutions are aware that those with the greatest amount of capital can use the latest software and state-of-the-art trained labor to achieve maximum novelty and aesthetic seduction, overwhelm competitors for visibility through additional advertising in a variety of media, and offer additional incentives (usually chances at prizes or free merchandise) for using the page. (And, if consumers are willing to give personal information for market research to increase their chances of getting these incentives, so much the better). If the lure is carefully constructed, the advertiser can expect to monopolize a Web consumer's time. Interactivity in this case means the ability of the consumer to view a product, purchase it, and/or move onto other purchasing opportunities in the given product line. This is the kind of spectacular technology that pancapitalist ISA will support, not just with investment, but also with legislative and

regulatory support.³ Technologies which truly offer emergent choice and devalue centralized economic control are not worth an investment. Currently, the posthuman has no place in VR, and VR has a very small material place in the ISA.

VR's primary value to the ISA is not as a technology at all, but as a myth. VR functions as a technology that is out on the horizon, promising that one day members of the public will be empowered by rendering capabilities which will allow them to create multisensual experiences to satisfy their own particular desires. The mysterious aura constructed around this technology associates it with the exotic, the erotic, and potentially, with the ethereal. By perpetuating the myth of a wish machine that is always about to arrive, the pancapitalist ISA builds in the population a desire to be close to image technology, to own it. Unfortunately, most technology is being designed for precisely the opposite purpose from that of a wish machine, that is, to make possible better control of the material world and its populations. This combination of myth and hardware sets the foundation for the material posthuman world of the cyborg.

The RSA proceeds along a different route. All the potentials of VR are being used to create more accurate simulators. However, the core of this immersive image is based on recording. Usually, the technological environment which the VR system is designed to simulate has already been built or at the very least is under construction. As to be expected, the virtual image again has a very clear material referent. For example, a fighter jet simulator attempts to replicate the interior technological environment as accu-

ately as possible. The quality of the replication is judged practically by how well a pilot trained in the simulator does in the actual cockpit. The exterior virtual environment in which the simulated technology functions makes use of both recording and rendering. However, recording is still dominant, as the trainers attempt to place trainees in specific rather than in general environments. Returning to the example of the jet fighter simulator, the pilot is placed in an environment closely resembling the one in which s/he will be flying. The ground, anti-aircraft batteries, and enemy planes are rendered as accurately and as specifically as possible based on recorded photographic images and intelligence data, whereas more random variables, such as atmospheric conditions, will be rendered in accordance with generalized configurations.

As with the imaging systems of the ISA, the goal is not to prepare a person for life in the virtual, but to specify, regulate, and habituate he/r role in the material world. Virtuality has no independent primary function in the RSA; rather, it has a dependent secondary support function. What is really odd about this situation is that the mythic gift of VR—complete control of the image—is negated. The virtual images are completely overdetermined by specific configurations in the material world. The limited evidence available to the public indicates that no preparations are being made for immersive virtual information warfare. This possibility seems limited to the screenal economy of cyberspace. However, since RSA activities are classified, plenty of room exists for conspiracy theorists to speculate. At the same time, given current trends in investment, re-

search, and development, combined with the very clear imperatives of pancapitalism, such speculations have only a very modest amount of credibility.

Preparing for Posthumanity

If the habitat of VR and the virtual entity are eliminated as practical categories of the posthuman, the only possibility left is the cyborg. In terms of social perception in technologically saturated economic systems, being a first-order cyborg covers a broad range of possibilities, ranging from a desirable empowering condition to an undesirable, dehumanizing one. However, there is plenty of time for spectacle to sort out differing perceptions of the first-order cyborg. Cyborg development is moving at a pace which allows adequate time for adjustment to the techno-human synthesis. Currently, the process is in very different stages at specific institutions. For example, the military has advanced furthest, and has developed a fully integrated second-order cyborg, while corporate and bureaucratic institutions are meeting with reasonable success in their attempts to convince workers of the need to meld body and technology.

Within many civilian social institutions, cyborg development is progressing cautiously enough that members have a difficult time knowing what a cyborg is, perceiving one, or realizing that they are being transformed into one. Is a cyborg any person who has a technological body part? Does having an artificial limb or even contact lenses place one in the category of cyborg? In a sense, the answer is yes, as these pieces of technology are integrated with the body,

and the individual is relatively dependent upon them. However, in terms of posthuman discourse, the answer is probably no, as there is only a simple engineered interface between the technological and the organic. The posthuman model that seems to be developing is McLuhanesque—that is, the techno-organic interface should extend the body beyond the fluctuating degree zero of everyday normalization. What is spoken about in the case of artificial limbs or contact lenses is the means to make the body, to the greatest extent possible, conform to “accepted” social standards. What is interesting about precyborgian technological additions to the body is that one key ideological imperative having a direct affect on posthuman development begins to show itself—body-tech is valued as means to better integrate oneself into the social.

Another common question is whether radical technological body intervention, such as gender reassignment, makes one a cyborg. Obviously, since such procedures are only organic recombinations devoid of technology, they fail to create a cyborg class being. However, these interventions do play a role in cyborg development, because they continue to prepare specific publics to perceive these operations as normal and often desirable. This is particularly true of interventions done solely for aesthetic purposes. The social “abnormality” of organic decay acts as an ideological sign that channels people toward the consumption of services for body reconfiguration, to enable them to best fulfill the social imperatives of body presentation in pancapitalist society. What is truly important about this development is that technological intervention disconnected from is-

sues of deviance, sickness, and death is being normalized. Extreme body invasion as a socially accepted practice is a key step in cyborg development.

Military and Civilian Cyborgs

There is no need to dwell on the development of a second-order military cyborg. The only surprise here is that it took so long to happen. From the common grunt to the heroic jet fighter pilot, the military conversion of humans to cyborgs has become a necessity. The Hughes Corporation has successfully developed a custom-fitted techno-organic interface for the infantry which offers an integrated system of vision, communication, and firepower. Soldiers are no longer soldiers; as the military says, now they are “weapons systems.” The posthuman has announced itself in a happy moment of military efficiency. However, the infantry “weapons system,” while actual and functioning, is a minor interface when compared to the developing “Pilot’s Associate” (McDonnell-Douglas). In addition to having a state-of-the-art interdependent pilot/machine interface (unless the machine thinks that the organics are failing, and it must take over the mission), the “Pilot’s Associate” offers Artificial Intelligence (AI) support analysis in mission planning, tactics, system status, and situation assessment. Here we find a clear indication of what body “enhancement” is going to mean in the age of the posthuman. Body enhancement will be specific to goal-oriented tasks. These tasks will be dictated by the pancapitalist division of labor, and technology for body modification will only allow for the more efficient service of a particular institution.

Unfortunately for the multinationals, the development of the civilian cyborg has not moved along as quickly. Since the civilian sector does not have the advantage of telling its forces that being-as-cyborg will prolong one's life in the field, corporate power vectors are still deploying ideological campaigns to convince civilians of the bureaucratic and technocratic classes that they should desire to be cyborgs. The spectacle of the civilian cyborg moves in two opposing directions. The first is the utopian spectacle. The usual promises of convenience, access to knowledge and free speech, entertainment, and communication are being trotted out by the usual media systems with varying degrees of success; but anyone who has paid attention to strategies of manufacturing desire for new technologies can read right through the surface of these codes. Convenience is supposed to mean that work becomes easier, and is accomplished faster; in turn, this means that individuals work less and have more free time because they work more efficiently. What this code actually means is that the workload can be intensified because the worker is producing more efficiently. Entertainment and information access are codes of seduction that really mean that individuals will have greater access to consumer markets of manufactured desire. Better communication is supposed to mean greater access to those with whom an individual wants to communicate. The actuality is that agencies of production and consumption have greater surveillance power over the individual.*

*The deployment of utopian promise is commonly used to form future markets. For additional information on the development of utopian promises associated with telecommunication technologies, please see the Appendix.

In contrast to utopian spectacle is the spectacle of anxiety. The gist of this campaign is to threaten individuals with the claim that if a person falls behind in the technological revolution, s/he will be trampled under the feet of those who use the advantages of technology. This campaign recalls the socioeconomic bloodbath of the ideology of Social Darwinism. The consumer must either adapt or die. From the perspective of pancapitalism, this campaign is quite brilliant, because unlike the military (where the soldier is supplied with technology to transform he/rself into a weapon system), the civilian force will buy the technology of their enslavement, thereby underwriting a healthy portion of the cost of cyborg development as well as the cost of its spectacularization.

The current spectacle of technology is having an effect on the civilian population of the appropriate classes, although cyborg development in this sector is a little more subtle than in the military. Most people have seen the first phases of the civilian cyborg, which is typically an information cyborg. They are usually equipped with lap-top computers and cellular phones. Everywhere they go, their technology goes with them. They are always prepared to work, and even in their leisure hours they can be activated for duty. Basically, these beings are intelligent, autonomous workstations that are on call 24 hours a day, 365 days a year, and at the same time can be transformed into electronic consumers, whenever necessary.

In this phase of posthuman development, the will to purity, explicit in the spectacle of anxiety, manifests itself in two significant forms: First is the purification of the pancapitalist cycle of waking everyday life. Cyborgs are

reduced to acting out rational, pragmatic, instrumental behaviors, and in so doing, the cycles of production (work) and consumption (leisure) are purified of those elements deemed nonrational and useless (by the pancapitalist system). It seems reasonable to expect that attempts will be made to reduce or eliminate regenerative, nonproductive processes like sleeping through the use of both technological and biological enhancement. The second is a manifestation of ideological purity which persuades the cyborg to obsessively value that which perpetuates and maintains the system, and to act accordingly. The prime disrupter of this manifestation of purity is the body itself with its endlessly disruptive physical functions, and the libidinal motivations inherent in human psychology. Hence technological advancement alone will not create the best posthuman; it must be supported by developments in rationalized body design.

Final Preparations for Posthumanity

The military has long understood that the body must be trained to meet the demands of its technology. Consequently, it puts its organic units through very rigorous mental and physical training, but in the end, it is clear that this training is not enough. Training can only take a body to the limits of its predisposition. Pancapitalism has realized that the body must be designed for specific, goal-oriented tasks that better complement its interface with technology within the real space of production. Human characteristics must also be rationally designed and engineered in order to eliminate body functions and psychological characteristics that refuse ideological inscription.

The mature appearance of the flesh machine is perhaps the greatest indication that the magical data dump of consciousness into VR is not being seriously considered. If it were, why invest so heavily in body products and services? Conversely, why should capital refuse an opportunity that appears to be the greatest market bonanza since colonization? Digital flesh is significant in the mapping of the body, but its value depends upon the practical applications that are derived from it; these, in turn, can be looped back into the material world. The body is here to stay. Unfortunately, the body of the future will not be the liquid, free-forming body which yields to individual desire; rather, it will be a solid entity whose behaviors are fortified by task-oriented technological armor interfacing with ideologically engineered flesh. Little evidence is available to indicate that liquescence is different in postmodernity from what it was in modernity—the privilege of capital-saturated power vectors.

Notes

¹ Vague terminology, such as CAE's use of the term "power vectors," has unfortunately become a necessary evil in the description of pancapitalist political economy. The dynamics of domination are at present impossible to concretely identify and describe because the flow of power moves and shifts at such an extreme velocity that it cannot be located at a fixed point where it can be empirically studied. Please see *The Electronic Disturbance*, Chapter 2 for an extended discussion of this problem.

² Here, it must be noted that CAE is not attempting to make an apology for either/or structuralism, in which all social phenomena fit neatly into a binary package; rather, CAE is using the division as a liquid continuum along which countless inbetween, hybrid, and recombinant possibilities occur, in a constant state of transformation over time. CAE also believes that the boundaries of a given ISA/RSA are extremely fuzzy. In the age of pancapitalism, no national or cultural borders are rigid enough to allow the establishment of a concrete unit of analysis. We are therefore limited to discussing only first-world political and economic trends and tendencies.

³ Since political agencies do not want to disrupt the WWW marketing bonanza by offending consumers, regulation is proceeding at a slow and cautious pace. For example, the steps being taken to limit Web content (such as legislation to control “obscenity” or to eliminate information on weapons construction) are presented to the public as security measures. These opening attempts to regulate the Web also function as preliminary research to discover or invent the best means to enforce regulation. Like media of the past, such as radio or cinema, totalizing regulation will not appear until the fiscal structure of cyberspace is firmly in place. In addition, regulating agencies must wait until use of the Web and the Internet become a necessary part of everyday life for individuals of higher class rankings, in order to minimize resistance to regulatory acts.