



(Trans)humanism & Biopolitics

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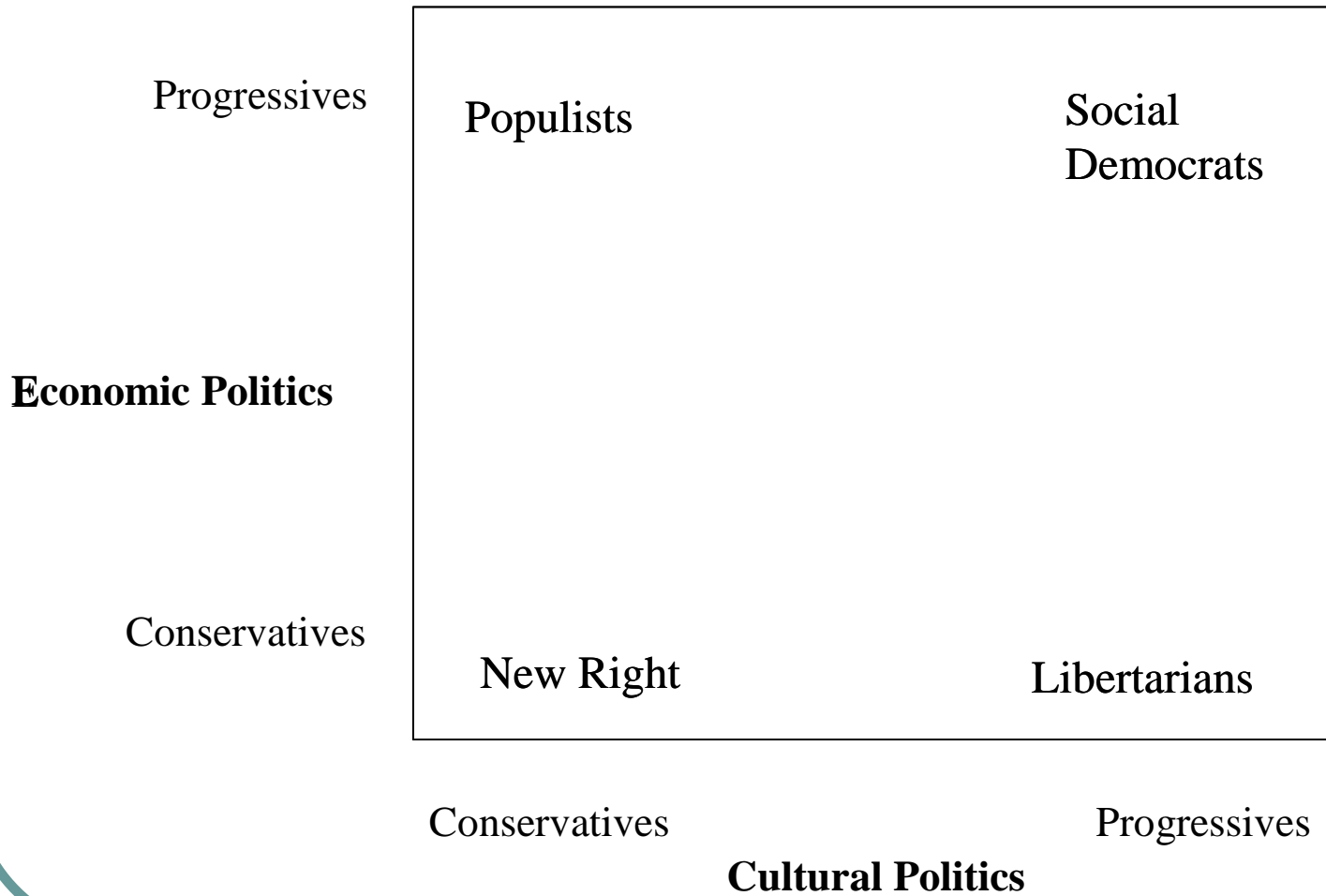
Public Policy Studies, Trinity College, Hartford CT

Signs of Biopolitics

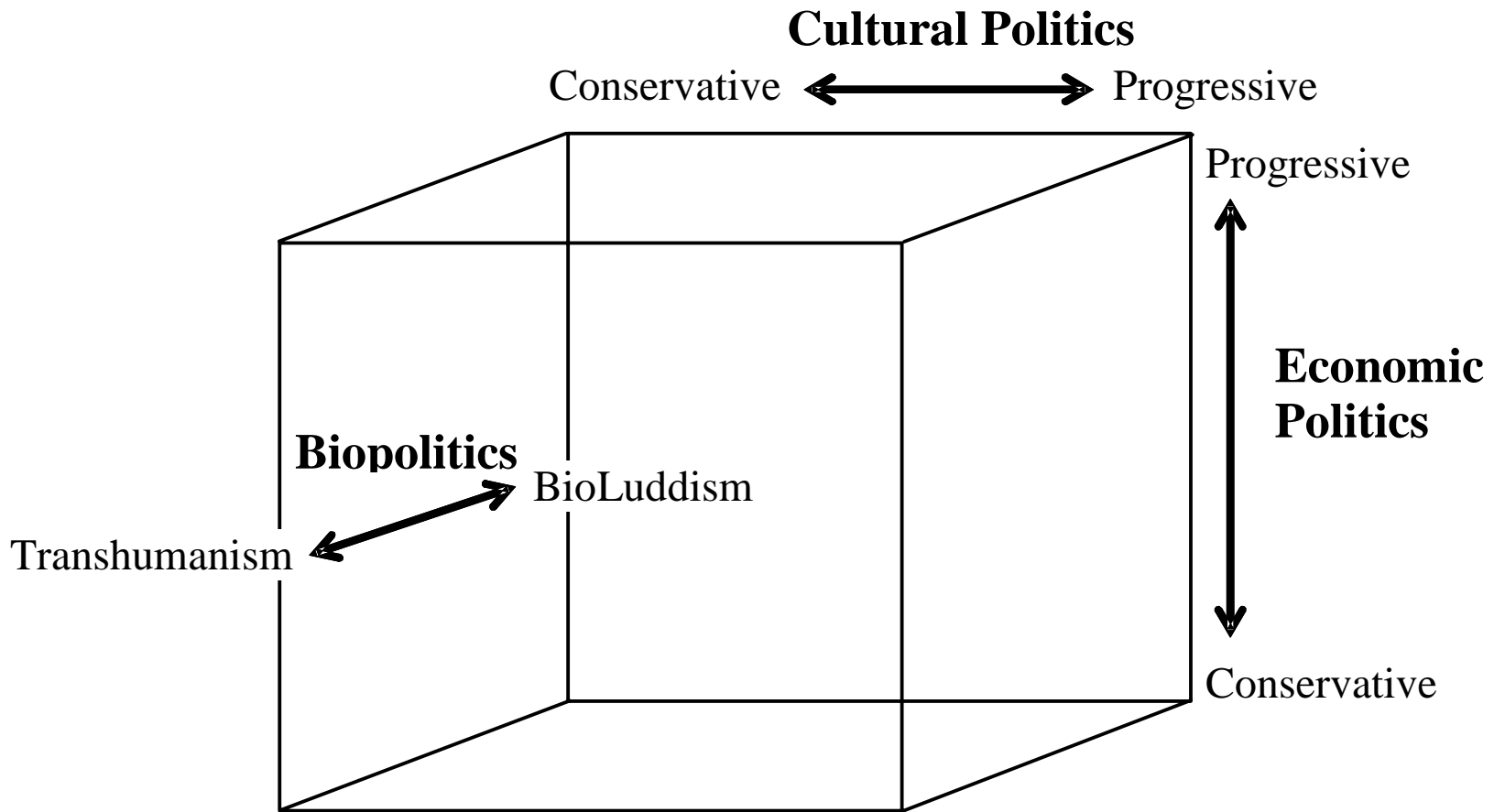
- Schiavo, stem cells, reprotecth
- Christian Right vs. libertarians
- Progressives and Secularists divided
- Why?
- Biopolitics is new, and it cuts across existing political ideologies



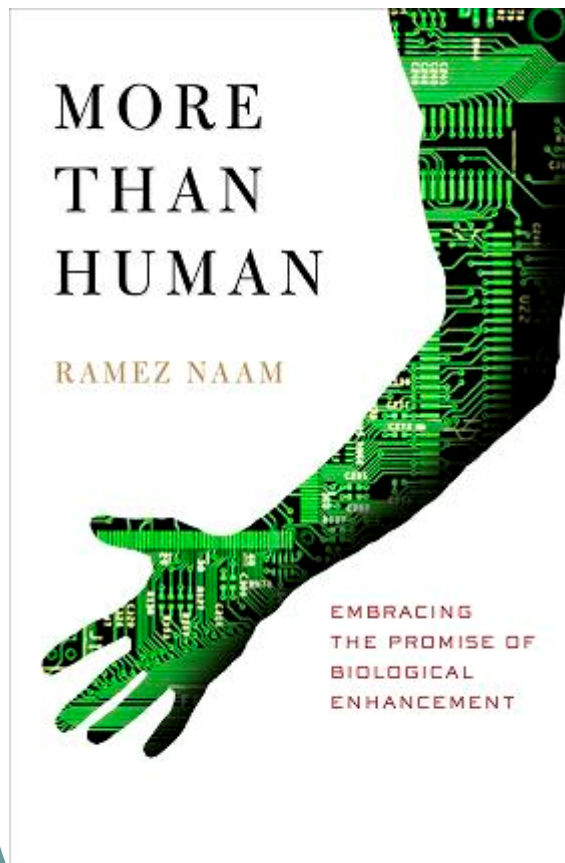
20th Century Politics



21st Century Politics



Biopolitical Battlefronts



- **Who is a citizen with a right to life?:** abortion, stem cells, great ape rights, brain death, chimeras
- **Control of Reproduction:** contraception, abortion, fertility treatments, genetic testing, germline gene therapies, cloning
- **Fixing Disabilities to “Human Enhancement”:** cochlear implants, prosthetics, eye and brain chips, gene therapies, cosmetic procedures
- **Extending Life:** from treatments for aging-related diseases, to anti-aging drugs and therapies
- **Control of the Brain:** Ritalin and Prozac, psychoactive drugs, brain chips

Drivers: Emerging Technologies

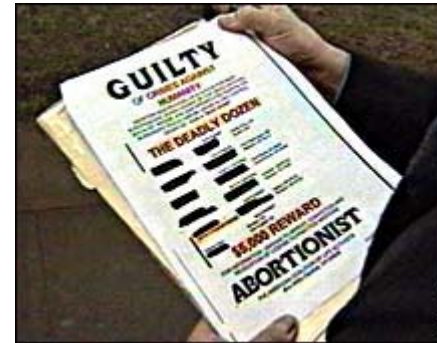
Tech that will radically change human life:

- Psychopharmacology
- Genetic engineering
- Nanotechnology
- Artificial intelligence
- Cognitive science
- The accelerating convergence of all these



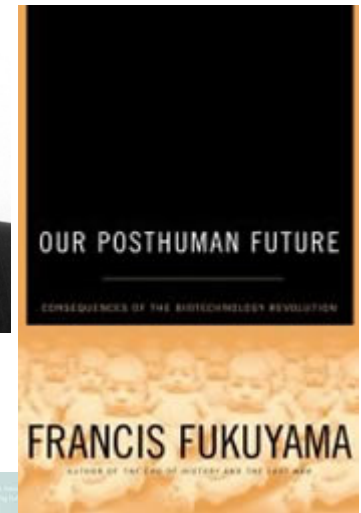
BioConservatives/BioLuddites

- Religious Right
 - CS Lewis *The Abolition of Man*
- Deep Ecologists, Romantic Luddites
 - Aldous Huxley *Brave New World*
- Left-wing/Feminist Critics of Biotech
 - Jeremy Rifkin *Algeny*
 - Gena Corea *The Mother Machine*
- Pro-Disability Extremists



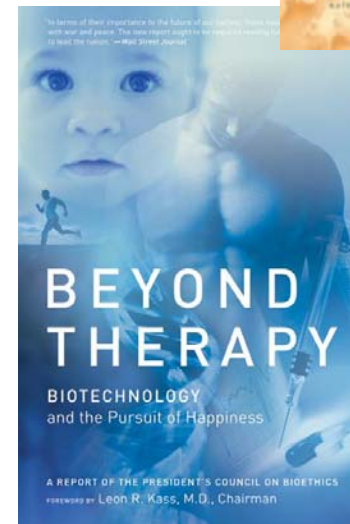
2002 BioPolitical Landmark

- Francis Fukuyama 2002 *Our Posthuman Future*
- Leon Kass 2002 *Life, Liberty and the Defense of Dignity*
- Bill McKibben 2003 *Enough*
- PCB 2003 *Beyond Therapy*



Leon Kass

Chair, President's
Council on
Bioethics



Christian Right Biocon Network



THE CENTER FOR BIOETHICS AND CULTURE NETWORK BRINGING PEOPLE TOGETHER FOR A HUMAN FUTURE

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CBC: RESOURCES

- Medicine
- Cloning & Stem Cell Research
- Reproductive Technology
- Genetics & Eugenics
- End of Life
- Theology & Human Nature
- Biotech & Public Policy

CBC: PROFILES



Hindsight on the Slippery Slope by D. Joy Riley, TN CBC Director

It is said that hindsight is 20/20. Whether or not that is precisely true, it is appropriate to take stock of where one has been before embarking on the exploration of new territory. This is certainly true in scientific endeavor, and especially important in the case of cloning. Ian Wilmut and team introduced 'Dolly' the cloned sheep in February 1997. Now Wilmut is the latest recipient of a cloning licence from the Human Fertilisation and Embryology Authority in the United Kingdom. A look in the rear-view mirror is in order.

Donald M. Bruce, Director of the Church of Scotland's Society, Religion and Technology Project described 'gradualism' the same year Dolly's birth was announced. In an essay called 'A View from Edinburgh', he wrote:

[Read](#) | [Cloning and Stem Cell Research](#) | [Discuss](#)



Book Review: Human Dignity in the Biotech Century by Charles Colson and Nigel Cameron

reviewed by CBC staff writer, Sandra Davis,
In every era, men and women have been given the responsibility to be stewards of the world and its affairs. In our

MEMBERSHIP



Become a CBC member at any giving level and receive a copy of the book *Women's Health After Abortion: The Medical and Psychological Evidence*.

NEWSLETTER

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CBC HIGHLIGHTS



Techno Sapiens
See how the discussion began and where it is going!
read about Techno Sapiens

Biotech Film Clin

Trinity International University

THE CENTER FOR BIOETHICS & HUMAN DIGNITY ENVISIONING A TRULY HUMAN FUTURE

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Doctors Take Issue With Bextra Withdrawal ([HealthDay](#))

Articles

Bioethics



[Losing and Using our Children ?](#)

Duke Assistant

Professor of Theological Ethics Amy Laura Hall asks readers to consider the larger ramifications of societal attitudes toward children. [GO](#)

Healthcare

[An Honest Approach to Healthcare Financing ?](#)

Retired anesthesiologist and pain management physician Warren E. Anderson examines health insurance, medical IRAs, and the high cost of medical care. [GO](#)

Terri Schiavo



[Reflecting on the Death and Life of Terri Schiavo ?](#)

Center President John Kilner

discusses the death of Terri Shiavo and the ethical issues raised by the tragic case underscores the importance of advance directives. [GO](#)

Nader and the Culture of Life

Wednesday 04, 13:05

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> CASCADIA

> BIOETHICS

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> LAW & JUSTICE

> OTHER PROGRAMS



Making a Positive Vision of the Future Practical

DISCOVERY INSTITUTE

Discovery Institute News

1511 3rd Ave Suite 808 - Seattle, WA 98101 - (206) 292-0401

Ralph Nader and Wesley J. Smith Say "Let Terri Live"

By: Ralph Nader and Wesley J. Smith

Ralph Nader and Wesley J. Smith

March 24, 2005

Consumer Advocate Ralph Nader and Discovery Institute Senior Fellow Wesley J. Smith, author of the award winning book Culture of Death: The Assault on Medical Ethics in America call upon the Florida Courts and Governor Jeb Bush to take any

BAD: Kass' Thinktank

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Biotechnology and American Democracy

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The Biotechnology & American Democracy program seeks to encourage moral reflection and thoughtful political deliberation on emerging biotechnologies and their impact on the character of American life. [\[Read More\]](#)

Latest News & Publications

How Liberalism Failed Terri Schiavo
The question is not only what she would have wanted, but what we owe her
By Eric Cohen
Friday, March 25, 2005
For all the attention we have paid to the Schiavo



New Cloning Controversy
New Atlantis Editor discusses South Korean Experiment



In an appearance on PBS's NewsHour to discuss the recent cloning of human embryos in South Korea, *New Atlantis* editor Eric Cohen asked whether cloning research will "coarsen us in a profound way and perhaps weaken our dignity and respect for human life."
[»](#)

The New Atlantis
A Journal of Technology and Society



Opposition to “TechnoSapiens”

CBC organizes *Technosapiens* Confs

- September 2003
- October 2004

Alerting Christians to transhumanist threat



Speakers:

Christian Right

Chris Hook, CBC

William Hurlbut, President's
Council on Bioethics

C. Ben Mitchell, CBHD

Secular Conservative Biocons

Leon Kass, President's Council
on Bioethics

Transhumanists

Christine Peterson (nano-policy)

Nick Bostrom, WTA

Wrye Sententia (cognitive liberty)

Left BioLuddites

Lori Andrews, IBHF

IBHF: Building Biocon Alliances



topics
genetic discrimination
germline intervention
gene patents
reproductive technology
nanotechnology

fellows

- **Left-wing**
- **Christian Right**

- Lori Andrews
- Brent Blackwelder
- Paige Comstock Cunningham
- Kevin FitzGerald
- Amy Laura Hall
- Christopher Hook
- William Hurbut
- C. Ben Mitchell
- Stuart Newman
- George Annas
- Nigel M. de S. Cameron
- Jean Bethke Elshtain
- Debra Greenfield
- Jaydee Hanson
- Douglas Hunt
- Andrew Kimbrell
- M. Elen Mitchell
- Judy Norsigian

● Stuart Newman ● Judy Norsigian

Leftist Opponents of Biotech

CENTER FOR GENETICS AND SOCIETY



OVERVIEW **TECHNOLOGIES** **POLICIES** **ANALYSIS** **PERSPECTIVES** **RESOURCES**

NEWS

"The Other Stem-Cell Debate"
The New York Times | Apr. 10

"Stem cell panel adopts interim financial rules"
San Diego Union Tribune | Apr. 8

"Stem cell panel facing allegations of conflict"
San Diego Union Tribune | Apr. 7

"Editorial: Unmask the reviewers"
Sacramento Bee | Apr. 6

and more ...

FEATURE



CGS reveals 7 of 29 on stem cell board may have personal conflicts of interest

Highlights need for effective conflicts policy, public interest group says

Seven members of the governing board of California's new stem cell research program have been found to have substantial equity investments and financial conflicts of interest in companies connected to the program, a report released today by the Center for Genetics and Society.

"Managing \$3 billion in taxpayer money should not be done by those who have a personal financial interest," said Marcy Darnovsky, associate executive director of CGS. "The program needs enforceable provisions to protect the public interest."

EVENT REPORTS

Dec. 9 | New York
"The Next Four Years, the Biotech Agenda, and the Human Future: What Direction for Liberals and Progressives?"

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THE NEXT FOUR YEARS, THE BIOTECH AGENDA, THE HUMAN FUTURE

WHAT DIRECTION FOR LIBERALS AND PROGRESSIVES? A POST-ELECTION SYMPOSIUM

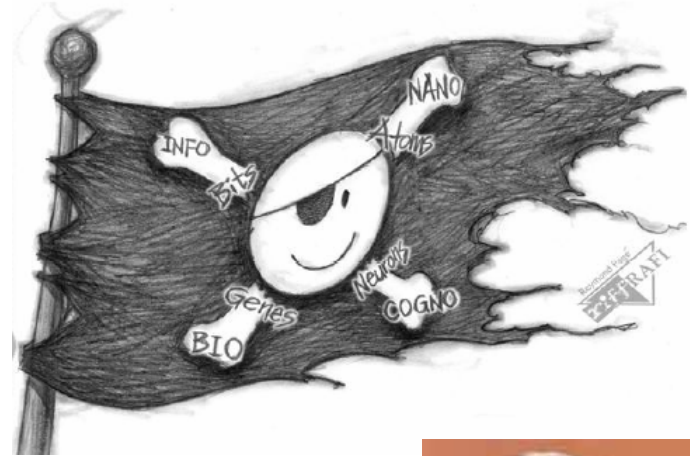
CO-SPONSORED BY
Center for Genetics and Society
Graduate Center, CUNY
New York Open Center
The Nation Institute
Demos

Thursday | December 9, 2004 | 7:00 - 9:30 PM
The Graduate Center, CUNY | 365 Fifth Ave. at 34th St.

- Leftist, feminist and anti-racist opponents of "technoeugenics"

Deep Ecologists and Luddites

- Jeremy Rifkin's FOET
- Andrew Kimbrell
- ETC
- Foundation on Deep Ecology
- Anti-GM food groups



Brent Blackwelder,
President, Friends
of the Earth



CRG

COUNCIL FOR RESPONSIBLE GENETICS
Advancing the public interest in biotechnology since 1983

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GENEWATCH

Pro-Disability Extremists

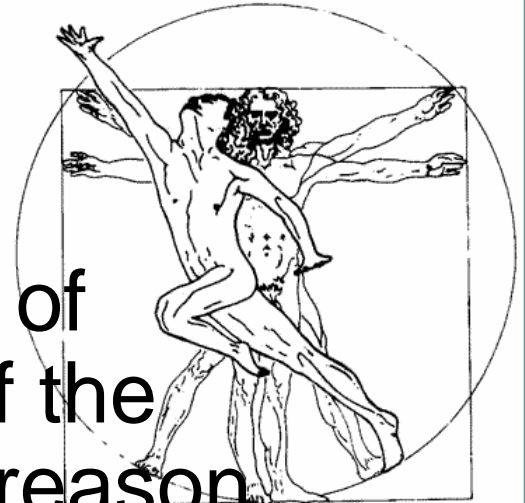
- E.g. *Not Dead Yet*
- Opposed to:
 - Efforts to “cure” or “fix” disabilities
 - Christopher Reeve
 - Cochlear implants
 - Parent’s right to terminate disabled fetuses
 - The right of sick and disabled to refuse life-sustaining medical treatment
 - Human enhancement medicine



What is Transhumanism?

An intellectual and cultural movement that affirms

- the possibility and desirability of transcending the limitations of the human body through applied reason
- especially by using technology to eliminate aging and enhance human intellectual, physical, and psychological capacities.



Trans-humanism

- 18th century rationalism and skepticism
- Dignity and worth of humanity
- Liberty, equality, democracy
- Our capacity for self-realization through reason, without supernatural assistance

International Humanist and Ethical Union

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CONFERENCE : BIOETHICS: A HUMANIST APPROACH

Posted by [webmin](#) on 7-Apr-20

Bioethics: A Humanist Approach
April 22 and 23, 2005
777 UN Plaza
New York City
Launch Conference of the IHEU- Appignani Humanist Center for Bioethics

International Humanist and Ethical Union

IHEU is an international NGO with Special Consultative Status with the UN (New York, Geneva, Vienna), General Consultative Status at UNICEF (New York) and the Council of Europe (Strasbourg), and maintains operational relations with UNESCO.

Transhumanists are humanists who emphasize what we have the potential to become through reason.

Transhumanism & the Posthuman

- **What is a *transhuman*?**

- We are now 'transitional humans' becoming posthuman (glasses, insulin, vaccines, prosthetics...)

- **What is a *posthuman*?**

- How different does someone have to be before they are post-human?

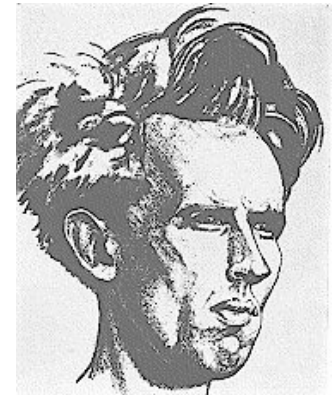


Proto-Transhumanists

- **JP Condorcet** and **William Godwin** – foresaw conquering death as part of utopian programme
- **HG Wells** and **Olaf Stapledon** – portrayed future evolution of humanity
- **JBS Haldane**, 1923, "Daedalus: Science and the Future" – in vitro fertilization, genetic engineering
- **JD Bernal**, 1929, "The World, the Flesh and the Devil" – first projection of cybernetic implants



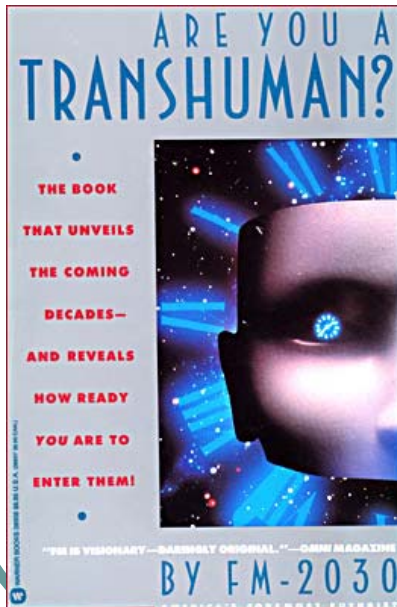
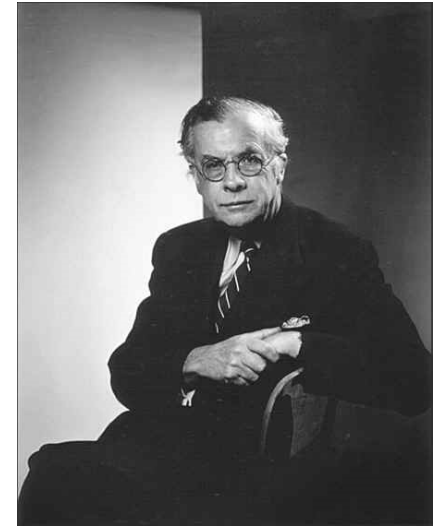
Jean Condorcet



JD Bernal

“Transhumanism”

Julian Huxley, 1957, coined term
"Transhumanism" - "the human
species can transcend itself."



“FM-2030” (FM Esfandiary)
popularized term “transhuman”
in the 1970s

90s: Libertarian H+ & Extropians

Extropy Institute

- <http://extropy.org>
- Extropian Principles
- Extropian email lists



Max More

Reason
writer
Ron
Bailey



REASON - LIBERTY - EXTROPY

- Home
- Rational Choice
- Contractarianism
- Libertarianism
- Market Anarchism
- Polycentric Law

DEEP ANARCHY
AN ELIMINATIVIST VIEW OF "THE STATE"
by Max T. O'Connor

[Editor: This article is reprinted from Extropy #5, Winter 19 published by The Extropy Institute]

Contemporary Transhumanists

World Transhumanist Association

transhumanism.org

Transhumanist Declaration & FAQ

30 chapters, 3000 members



Institute for Ethics and Emerging Technologies

ieet.org

WTA & IEET
Chair
Dr. Nick Bostrom
Oxford University

Transhumanist Communities

- **Computer Scientists**
 - **Singularity Institute for Artificial Intelligence** siai.org
 - **Ray Kurzweil, Hans Moravec, Ramez Naam**
- **Life Extenders**
 - **Immortality Institute** imminst.org
 - **Biomedical Researchers**, e.g. Aubrey de Grey
 - **Calorie Restrictors**, e.g. longevitymeme.org
 - **Cryonicists**, e.g. **Alcor** alcor.org
- **Nanotechnologists**
 - **Foresight Institute** foresight.org
 - **Center for Responsible Nanotechnology** crnano.org



Most Bioethicists Moving H+?

- **Greg Pence**, author *Who is a Afraid of Human Cloning?*
- **Greg Stock**, author of *Redesigning Humans*
- Religious Right (Schiavo) and Kassites polarizing, scaring bioethicists
- Forced to defend autonomy & technology against religious thuggery and nonsense yuck factor arguments



Arthur Caplan: "...enhancing intelligence or changing personality or modifying our memory, maybe that should be available to everyone as a guarantee of equal opportunity."

What Transhumanism is *Not*

Transhumanism is

- *Not* racial eugenics
 - Transhumanists are categorically opposed to pseudoscience, racism & authoritarianism
- *Not* a religious movement or cult
 - Most transhumanists are non-theistic, although transhumanism is compatible with humanistic religious beliefs
- *Not* libertarianism or objectivism
 - Transhumanists have variety of political and philosophical views



WTA Members' Politics Today

What term best describes your political views?

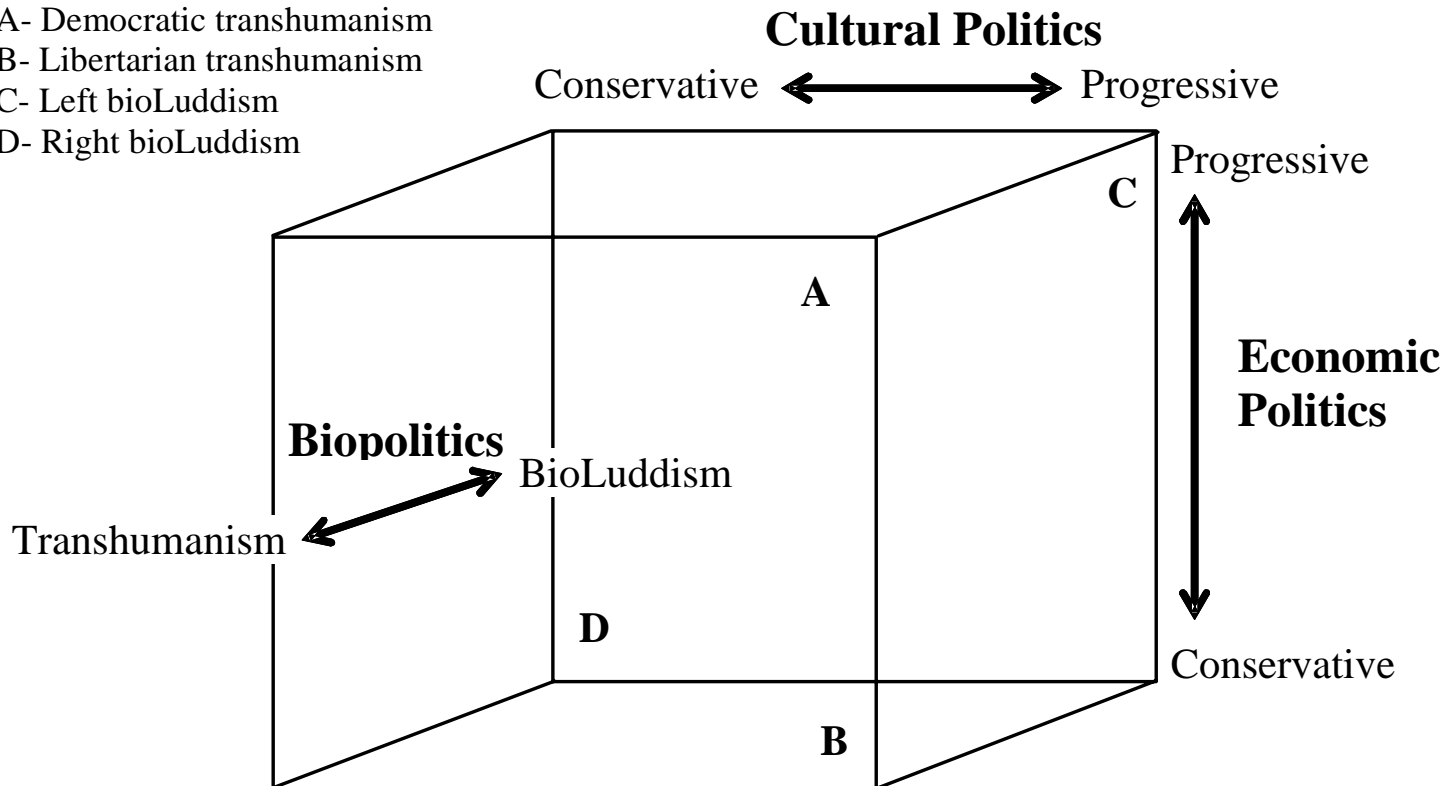
| | |
|------|--|
| 12% | Not political |
| 11% | Social democrat/democratic socialist |
| 9% | Libertarian |
| 9% | Upwinger/advocate of future political system |
| 8% | Moderate |
| 8% | Progressive |
| 8% | European Liberal |
| 7% | Libertarian socialist |
| 4% | Green |
| 3% | US-style liberal |
| 3% | Left anarchist |
| 2% | Anarcho-capitalist |
| 2% | Conservative |
| 2% | Randian/Objectivist |
| 2% | Communist |
| 1% | Radical |
| 1% | Minarchist |
| 7% | Other |
| 100% | Total |

WTA Members
Surveyed in
March 2005
(N=550)

BioPolitical Ideologies

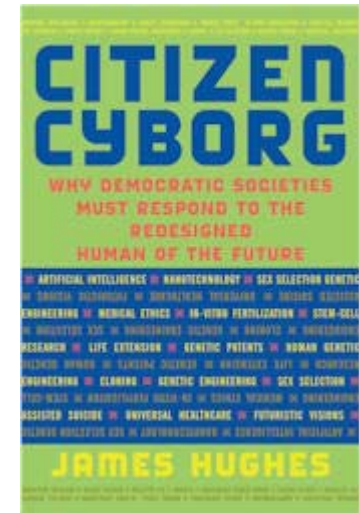
Ideological Positions in the 21st Century

- A- Democratic transhumanism
- B- Libertarian transhumanism
- C- Left bioLuddism
- D- Right bioLuddism



Democratic Transhumanism

- H+ is radical democracy
- **Equality** and **solidarity**, not just **liberty**
- Tech needs regulation, universal access
- Public policy to prevent and redress downsides of innovation, e.g. BIG for structural employment



Central Biopolitical Disputes

| Transhumanists | BioLuddites |
|--|---|
| Personhood | Human-Racism, Deep Ecology |
| Humanism, reason, individual liberty | Sacred taboos, “the natural”, yuck factor |
| Risks are manageable | Tech should be banned |



Beyond Human-racism...

- Human-racism:
Humanness is basis of rights-bearing
- Humans have souls or crypto-spiritual “human dignity”
- Universal Declaration on the Human Genome and Human Rights (UN General Assembly, 1998)
 - “The human genome underlies the fundamental unity of all members of the human family, as well as the recognition of their inherent dignity and diversity.”
- Annas/Andrews Treaty: human enhancement should be “a crime against humanity”



Embryonic citizens?

...to Personhood

- Is hairlessness one of the genes necessary for citizenship?
- **Persons:** “conscious beings, aware of themselves, with intents and purposes over time”
- You can be **human and not persons:** fetus, braindead
- You can be a **person and not human:** great apes, AI, posthumans
- Legal personhood confers “right to life”



H+ = Radical Human Rights

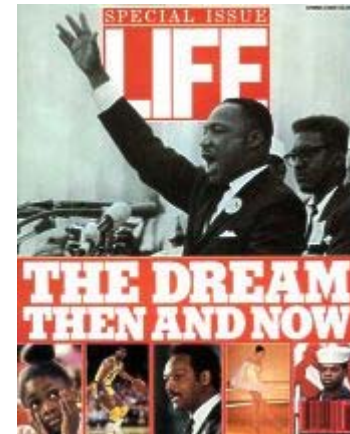
- Liberal democracy suggests personhood *not* race, gender or species as base of citizenship
- Citizens have right to self-ownership, self-determination: Control own bodies & brains
- LibDem State should encourage fulfillment of individual potential



John Locke
1632-1704

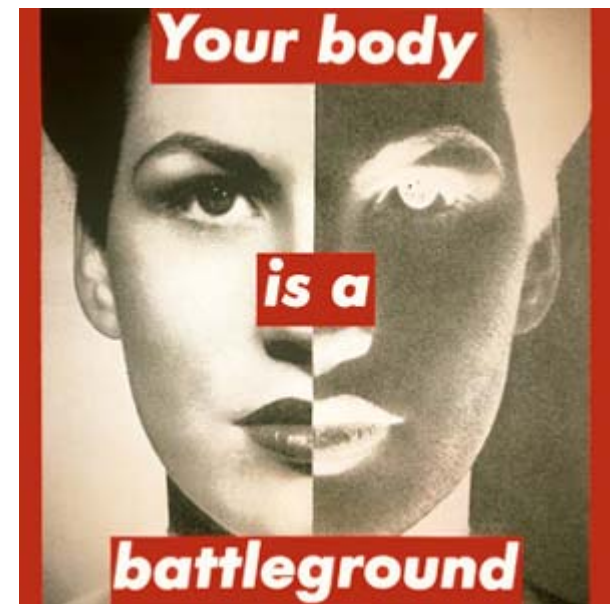
Freedom From Tech + Democracy

- Technology frees us from the tyranny of Nature
- Democracy, liberty, equality frees us from the tyranny of social conditions



Technological Self-Determination

- The right to use technology to control our own bodies and minds
- The right to more life and ability
 - Health care access
 - Cognitive liberty
 - Transgender rights
 - Right to body modification and cosmetic enhancement
 - Reproductive rights
 - Right of disabled to assistive tech



Religious (Trans)Humanism

- Split the opposition by allying with religious (trans)humanists
- Did God give humanity reason for a reason?
- Ted Peters: Co-creator theology
- Vatican: “The idea of man as ‘co-creator’ with God could be used to try to justify the management of human evolution by means of such genetic engineering.”



Rev. Ted Peters
defends Christians'
use of genetic
engineering

Limits on Human Reason?

- Hubris, secular & religious
- Deep Ecological suspicion of reason and “meddling”
 - Human intervention will always end in disaster
 - Nature is too complicated to ever understand
 - **Precautionary Principle:** When do we know enough?
 - Aspirin, antibiotics



The Risks of Doing Nothing



"We've considered every potential risk except the risks of avoiding all risks."

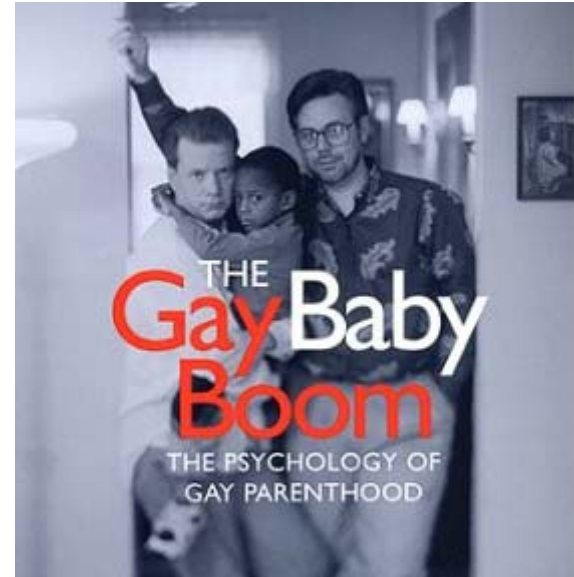
Grounds for Restricting Liberty

- **Strong grounds:**
Stop harm to others
- **Weaker:**
Stop people from harming themselves
 - *At least until their choices are free and fully informed*
- **Weakest:** Distaste (yuck factor), hypotheticals



Example: Reproductive Cloning

- Harm to others
 - Gene-damaged children
- Harming to self
 - Risks for egg donors
- Distaste, hypotheticals
 - Psychological harm to child
 - Odd family ties
 - Clone armies
 - Homogenous societies



The same hypothetical risks to clone kids are used against gay parenting

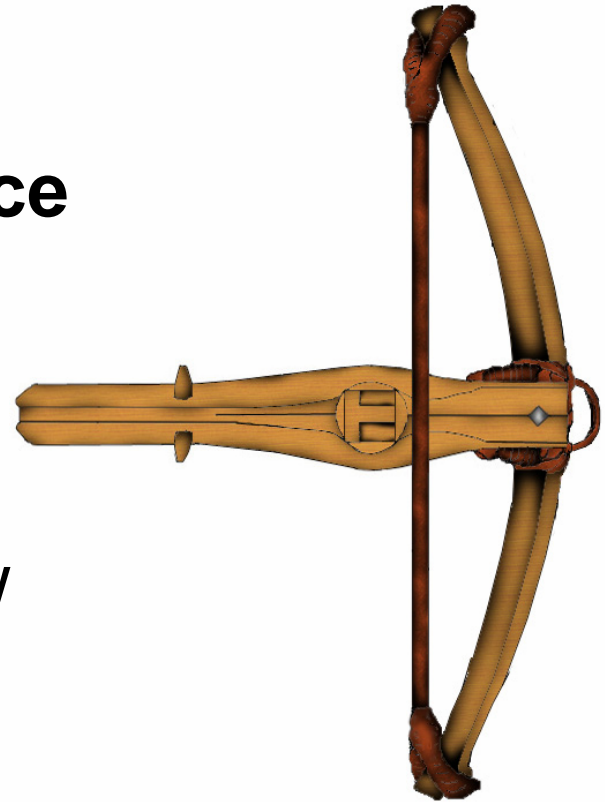
The Goal of Transhumanism

- A global society that allows individuals to make informed decisions to use tech to live
 - Longer
 - Happier
 - Smarter
 - With more control over their lives
- Tech that is **safe** and **universally accessible**
- A **transhuman democracy** where humans and posthumans can coexist



Tech is *not* the problem

- **Greed, racism, inequality, poverty, patriarchy, authoritarianism, ignorance and superstition are the problems**
- Technology only opens new battlefronts



Free People Make Liberatory Tech

- Free informed use of safe technology makes the world *freer*
- Free informed choices require strong research and regulation for safety, **free from corporate control and hype**



Universal Access *is* a Problem

Expand universal access

- Universal health insurance coverage, including beneficial enhancements
- Research & tech transfer for needs of the developing world
 - clean water, telecom, vaccines, immune tweaks, nano
 - Toronto Bioethics Centre reports



For more information

- **World Transhumanist Association**
transhumanism.org
- **Institute for Ethics
and Emerging Technologies**
ieet.org
- **Betterhumans.com**
(online magazine & daily news feed)
- **Me:** james.hughes@trincoll.edu
- Join us in **Caracas, July 22-24, 2005**
Transvision 2005

