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SOCIAL SCIENCES UNIVERSITY OF ANKARA

INSTITUTE OF SOCIAL SCIENCES

GÖZDE NAZLI ÇÖĞENDER

ON THE POLITICS OF BECOMING CYBORG: POLITICS AND STATE IN

POSTHUMAN ERA

MASTER'S THESIS

in

POLITICAL SCIENCE

AUGUST 2022



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PLAGIARISM

I hereby declare that all information in this document has been obtained and presented in accordance with academic rules and ethical conduct. I also declare that, as required by these rules and conduct, I have fully cited and referenced all material and results that are not original to this work.

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ABSTRACT

ON THE POLITICS OF BECOMING CYBORG:

POLITICS AND STATE IN POSTHUMAN ERA

August 2022

Discussions on the who and what conception of humanity in the 20th and 21st centuries have brought forth the idea that different classifications and definitions can be a way of positioning humans. The transhumanist thought system aims at overcoming the limitations of humans and improving them thanks to technology. In Transhumanism(s), 'posthuman' belongs to the future. Posthuman represents the next step of evolutionary progress by increasing the capacity of humans as an enhancement (H+) with technology. Posthuman is the future name of human. This thesis is about the search for a 'politics' around the 'posthuman' conceptions of transhumanism(s).

In this study, the outputs of the libertarian transhumanist theory on the TV series based on the novel as Altered Carbon universe have been examined to embody the theoretical framework beyond the abstractness of the posthuman concept. The aim is to emphasize the importance of the power of imagination, rather than the 'reinterpretation' of libertarian theory or existing political theories, and to discuss the necessity of new theories for social and political enhancement besides the physical enhancement that transhumanist philosophy aims at its core. For transhumanist politics, new bodies, new technologies, and new living spaces should be considered political objects waiting to be imagined. Otherwise, reality will not be different from the dystopia we are used to reading and watching. If a better future is desired, it must be imagined and thought through. Defining transhumanism as an evil ideology through prejudice is an acknowledgment of the dystopian reality we live in every day. It is necessary to imagine the future and try to reach it, both by supporting technologies and by examining their social and political

structure. Because the essence of politics belongs to humans yesterday, today, and tomorrow. The only way to shape the future is to think about it.

Keywords:

Posthuman, Politics, Transhumanism(s), Futures Studies, Science Fiction



ÖZET

SİBORG OLMANIN SİYASALLIĞI ÜZERİNE: POSTHÜMAN DÖNEMDE SİYASET VE DEVLET

Ağustos 2022

20. ve 21. yyda insanlığın kim'liği ve ne'liği tartışmaları, farklı sınıflandırma ve tanımlandırmaların 'insan'ı konumlandırmanın bir yolu olabileceği fikrini ortaya çıkarmıştır. Transhümanist düşünce sistemi, insanın teknoloji sayesinde sınırlılıklarını aşmasını ve onun iyileşmesini hedefler. Transhümanizm(ler)de 'posthüman' geleceğe aittir. Posthüman, 'İnsan'ın teknoloji ile gelişerek (H+) kapasitesini arttırmasını ve evrimsel ilerlemenin bir sonraki basamağını temsil etmektedir. Bu tez çalışması Transhümanizm(ler)in 'posthüman' kavrayışları etrafındaki bir 'siyaset' arayışını konu almıştır.

Bu çalışmada, Posthüman kavramının soyutluğunun ötesinde teorik çerçeveyi somutlaştırmak için Altered Carbon evreni üzerinde, liberteryen transhümanist teorinin çıktılarını incelenmiştir. Amaç liberteryen teorinin ya da var olan siyaset teorilerin 'yeniden yorumlanması'ndan ziyade, tahayyül etme gücünün önemini vurgulayarak şu anda yaşadığımız gerçeklikten farklı, transhümanist felsefenin özünde hedeflediği fiziksel iyileşmenin yanında toplumsal ve siyasal iyileşme adına yeni kuramların gerekliliğinin tartışılmasını sağlamaktır. Transhümanist siyaset için yeni bedenler, yeni teknolojiler, yeni yaşam alanları tahayyül edilmeyi bekleyen siyasi nesneler olarak ele alınmalıdır. Aksi takdirde gerçeklik, okumaya ve izlemeye alıştığımız distopyalardan farklı olmayacaktır. Daha iyi bir gelecek isteniyorsa, hayal edilmeli ve düşünülmelidir. Transhümanizmi önyargı yoluyla kötü bir ideoloji olarak tanımlamak, her gün içinde yaşadığımız distopik gerçekliğin kabulüdür. Hem teknolojileri destekleyerek hem de onların sosyal ve politik yapısını inceleyerek geleceği hayal etmeli ve ona ulaşmaya

alıřılmalıdır. nk, siyasetin z dn, bugn ve yarın insana aittir. Geleceęi sekillendirebilmenin tek yolu onu dřnmektir.

Anahtar Kelimeler:

Posthman, Siyaset, Transhmanizm(ler), Gelecek(ler) alıřmaları, Bilim Kurgu



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CHAPTER I

1. INTRODUCTION

The technology which has developed cumulatively since the beginning of the 20th century gained a different dimension with the development of internet technologies in the 1990s. It has passed the age of industrial understanding and has been transformed into the information age or Information Society by the 21st century. This age marks a period in which humanity is restructured within the framework of developing and changing information technologies culturally, politically, economically, scientifically, and socially. Technological progress is an undeniable 21st-century reality. Humanity has also been involved in change, both socially and biologically. The human, who was previously used to read and envisage as cyborgs in science fiction literature, is becoming increasingly on the current agenda as human-machine combinations go beyond fiction. Tens of examples like contact lenses, artificial organs, implants, and synthetic organs such as those developed by medical science, genetic engineering, or artificial intelligence engineering can be presented.

What if the boundaries between the digital and the natural disappear? As a legacy of dystopian science fiction novels, series, and movies, will artificial intelligence take over humanity, or will the human be the changing structure itself? Humanity is aware of the suggestions to be careful about artificial intelligence, which is used to hear from scientists often, but is this a phenomenon that needs attention when there is a robotized human itself? How will this change be reflected in social, psychological, economic, political, and technological fields? Considering the transformation of this era, revolutionaries who support this development should be mentioned such as geneticists, biologists, physicists, biochemists, reconstructive surgeons, immortalists, posthumanists, normative philosophers, inventors, cyberneticists, science-fiction writers, and social scientists (FM-2030 1978, 82).

In the following years, we will encounter machines with a stronger intelligence than humans. This will mean that the most important decisions for humanity will be made by robots. Is there an alternative way? Human potential is developing. Studies are carried out on the change in the human situation concerning technology because of human-machine combinations (Warwick 2004). Cyborg is the name given to beings with biological and artificial parts. In this way, human enhancement (H+) is targeted by physically and mentally improving human potential. It is believed that with these trends, which were created on the basis of the technological development integration into fields like robotics, humans can reach higher levels (posthuman) physically, sociologically, and mentally by developing technological opportunities. The purpose of this change has found its place with the idea of Transhumanism. The aim is to make humans more 'valuable' by using nanotechnology, genetic engineering, artificial intelligence, and robotics, to live longer, make changes in the body, to become posthuman thanks to technology.

Thinking about the future is the best way to shape it. The opportunity of humans to shape their end rearranges their position towards the future we create. Both 'utopian' and 'dystopian' modes of imagination are issues that should be considered to organize the public space in the future (Goode and Godhe 2017, 118). So, talking about the future provides us the opportunity to think about future alternatives. Futures studies concentrates on determining what will stay the same and what could possibly change. Determining a systematic knowledge of past, present, and potential for future occurrences and trends is thus a goal of the discipline (Hines 2006). Thinking about that is one of the conditions of being able to play a role in the future of humanity within Futures Studies. The future is planned with the goal of meeting the needs of the developed countries in the world. Individuals and institutions are guided within the framework of these plans. Individuals make decisions and measures as a result of these approaches. They do not endure or participate in the future; they shape it themselves. Societies and individuals without future insight on their agendas, live the planned agendas by others, cannot participate in planning, and miss many opportunities. They cannot lead developments for themselves and the society they live in. This is due to insufficient flow of information, which is not well thought out in the triangle of technology, future, and human.

In 2012, 16,262 individuals participated in a survey study. It was evaluated globally by Reuters News through Ipsos, which is an independent market research company. According to it, one-seventh (14%) of global citizens agreed that the world will end at some point in their lifetime (IPSOS, 19 May 2022). Based on this study, it can be said that this technophobic common understanding stems from the insufficient value given to the social aspect of technology. Dozens of pessimist ideas that can be written such as being captured by robots, the end of the human race, the fear of losing jobs due to technology, and the paranoia of being tracked by inserting chips are the outcome of the fact that Posthuman and Transhumanism issues have not been studied sufficiently in Turkey as well as in the world. The future is for humanity. So, the only way to be there is to imagine. We must change the common and passive perception that ‘there is a formed future, and we must live it.’. It should be admitted that various futures can be created using the knowledge and technology we have access to as humanity. If you agree with a scientist who is doing scientific studies in fields such as Artificial Intelligence and genetics today, the future will look very advantageous and bright thanks to technological progress. Through genetic engineering, the combining of machines and humans, and integration of them, humans will be improved. Even if it is seen as primitive, this has started to happen now. The humans will be immortal cyborgs that can live in a 'posthuman' existence and will be able to get rid of the chains of pain, illness, and even death. And it will reach human enhancement. Nevertheless, if you concur with the majority of science fiction authors, this posthuman transformation marks the start of the collapse of human freedom, morals, and individuality. Our dark future will be ruled by mad scientists, hostile machines, murderous replicas, and unstoppable viruses (Dinello 2005, 1-17). The only way to control which way this will go is to think about it. Scenarios should be created by considering possible problems and measures.

Artificial intelligence/cyborg and transhumanism concepts have been evaluated as technical subjects. It is not right to limit transhumanism or the idea of becoming a cyborg to disciplines like engineering, biotechnology, or medicine. Additionally involved in the process there are academics, thinkers, futurists, and artists. Cyborg studies have been done since the '90s. The thesis will begin with a future assumption that Cyborgs will dominate. It is understood that this future is not far from today's technological developments. It is important to seriously consider the political consequences of this. The purpose of the study is to analyze what kind of political order humanity will face in the

future waiting for it, how the cyborg (semi-machine, semi-human) individual will change this political order as a political entity, and to interpret the future by bringing different interpretations within the scope of the 'state' by examining the existing literature. As the foreseen posthuman era will change our lives a lot, it will reshape 'the politics'.

This thesis aims to evaluate the political effect of technological change on humans beyond general technophobia, to try to understand the political structure of the posthuman era, the position of the state, its definition, and function in an era when the human-machine combination is inevitably discussed. From the moment humans started to think collectively, political theory has come to encompass everything about humans, whether they are participating in an election or changing their bodies or self. Politics embodies 'order' or 'disorder' on its basis. So, everything about the possibility of change is within its scope. Therefore, an era in which a human itself will change, and the whole of this change and changing process also are within the scope of politics. In this period, when interdisciplinary studies are more meaningful, I think that the articulation of political theory and technology will be meaningful in terms of understanding the effect of technological developments on classical political theories. In a situation where humans transform, everything about it will also change. And politics, in which humans are the founding subject, cannot be expected to remain independent of this change.

The thesis is the discussion of what we understand from the definition and position of the state and politics with this transhumanist change, and what we will understand in the posthuman future. The study aims to redefine politics with the change in the meaning of human and to explain the possible positions of mainstream state theories in the face of this change. The state which is expected to be shaped by such a transformation that humanity will undergo will be tried to be revealed. The important thing is to think about the position of the state in terms of economy and politics in a period when humans will change. This study seeks to examine the structure of the concept that technological developments forced a change in political theory.

In a rapidly changing and developing world, humans are inevitably involved in the process. In the transhumanist transformation, which is the subject of the thesis, the change takes place in the human itself. Therefore, it is written about rethinking

transhumanism on a rational basis and freeing it from an evil depiction. It is aimed to understand the 'politics in the posthuman era' by aiming to reposition the transhumanist political philosophy and the politics of the 21st century. As mentioned before, the goal of this research is to offer a perspective on politics and state's position which has been categorized into different types determined through the roles in the transhumanist posthuman era, and examine the outcomes between politics, posthuman and society. Each political theory discussed in the literature has different sociological, economic, and political values. These theories have been affected by transhumanist philosophy, which proposed to attach importance to the posthuman's issues on the political agenda. In this study, the outputs of libertarian transhumanism on the Altered Carbon universe were examined. This research is intended to serve as a study of one future possibility of political transhumanism. It was created by applying a theoretical perspective to an example. It includes the investigation of transhumanist politics from libertarian transhumanism in posthuman era and the philosophy of the Altered Carbon universe, which provides a posthuman future by transformation process of humans. Libertarian transhumanist theory is the core of this research. More importantly, the motivation behind the decision to implement the libertarian transhumanist political concern for transhumanist issues and posthuman politics are taken into consideration. Libertarian theory was deemed appropriate for this study as it is the theory that most defends the understanding of freedom, which forms the basis of transhumanist philosophy, among other existing theories. At the same time, it has been chosen as the main subject of the study due to its first politically organized structure and its wide advocacy in the transhumanist perspective. The reason for choosing the Altered Carbon universe is the existence of the concept of freedom as advocated by the libertarian transhumanist theory and the limited position of the state. At the same time, it offers a field of study with its divided social structure, which it also presents to the problem of equality. Altered Carbon, as an output of the current libertarian transhumanist theory, has been the subject of this study because of its approach to the problem of access and distribution that may occur related to access to human enhancement technologies, and for this reason, it cannot provide an explanation for the existing equality problem.

However, this approach has several limitations. First, since the characteristics of the determinants have been specified abstractly, their implementation as a posthuman or transformation process is quite subjective. This is related to transhumanism itself also. Because it is related to the future, it's a bit of a stretch to measure the applicability of this theory. Beyond being criticized in an abstract way, it is thought that it will contribute to emphasize the importance of putting it on the political and social agenda, with the argument that the future begins now. At the same time, the main purpose of the study is to emphasize that, contrary to the general perception, possibilities other than a dystopian future can exist with a correct political system, and to show the limitations of existing narratives by going beyond the current political theory. To save that dystopian future which human prejudicially ignores, it will be discussed by examining the application of libertarian transhumanist theory through a science fiction series to overcome this limitation. Lastly, there might be other outcomes of libertarian state understanding apart from the types in this research that could not be detected since the limited number of cases is seen in series. Analyzing different possible future samples can lead us to face the existence of other potential outcomes of the state's role and politics except the ones suggested in this research. There is no discussion of libertarianism in this thesis. The main purpose of the thesis is to understand libertarian transhumanism and discuss its applicability. At the core of the work lies the transhumanist political philosophy. There is already such a political and philosophical basis, and in this work, I am doing a review of the existing theory to discuss its viability. This study is an examination and discussion of a political theory within the framework of a science fiction study.

This thesis consists of four sections. Chapter II is a literature review. It has been examined under 3 sub-headings. 2.1.1 is on posthuman discussions and interpretations in the literature. 2.1.2 is based on the origins of transhumanism. In this section, technological transformations will be examined. The concept of Cyborg and the philosophy of transhumanism will be explained and opinions about them will be given. 2.1.3 includes a political discussion around posthuman conceptualizations. It will be explained the posthuman transformation in politics and in 2.1.4 the state is examined with the discussion of its existence or non-existence. Chapter III is devoted to the theoretical background. In the theoretical background, 21st century politics is discussed, Chapter IV is the analysis

and discussion section. It consists of 2 main titles. 4.1 is the analysis and discussion section. In 4.1.1, libertarian transhumanism will be mentioned and in 4.1.2, the Altered Carbon universe chosen as the subject of study in this study will be introduced. Based on Richard K. Morgan's Altered Carbon series, it will be examined how the libertarian transhumanist state model would develop when political conditions in the posthuman era changed. Chapter V is conclusion which is given as a perspective of politics of posthuman era.



CHAPTER II

2.1 LITERATURE REVIEW

In this chapter, I will analyze the existing literature on transhumanism. In the literature, the concept of posthuman is a roof concept that can mean a lot. In the first part, within the scope of this study, what posthuman means within the framework of transhuman will be revealed and clarified. The second part is the examination of the origin of transhumanism. In two subtitles, the history and focus of transhumanist philosophy will be addressed. It is important to examine the birth and development of transhumanism to distinguish it from existing posthumanism(s). Therefore, in the first subtitle, its origin will be examined, lastly, in the second one, its current reflections will be mentioned, and the 20th and 21st-century transhumanist tradition will be shed light on. The third subtitle examines the concept of cyborg as the basic concept of Transhumanism. As the basic phase of the transhumanist transformation, the history and development of the cyborg movement and its final point will be examined. The fourth one will deal with political transformation as a problem arising from the intersection of politics and technology, which is the main point of the thesis. This is the part in which the effect of interdisciplinary thinking on political theory as a result of technological developments will be evaluated. It includes various interpretations of the political as the focus of politics.

2.1.1 CONCEPTUALIZATIONS ON POSTHUMAN

'Human' has become a subject that has been widely studied and questioned both scientifically and philosophically in the 20th and 21st centuries. Re-discussion of the meaning, position, or definition of human has led to different theorizations in the literature. As of the 21st century, the necessity of redefining 'human' has been reflected in academic debates. The basic element of these discussions can be gathered under one main concept as 'Posthuman'. As an umbrella term 'Posthuman' has different meanings

in fields such as Transhumanism(s)¹, Antihumanism(s)², Metahumanism³, New materialism⁴, and Posthumanism(s)⁵ (Ferrando 2014, 30). The common feature of all of these is the acceptance that the concept of 'human' is no longer able to explain its who / what (Ferrando 2014).

In an analysis of the concept of 'posthuman', first, a context discussion should be made on its scope and meaning. In this part, two different 'Posthuman' meanings will be examined: Transhumanist 'Posthuman' and Posthumanist 'Posthuman'. The reason for using these two approaches is that they evaluate the posthuman as an identity and the posthuman concepts they refer to in the literature are frequently confused. Transhumanism(s) is a set of philosophies that aim to 'glorify' life and advocate overcoming the limitations of existing human beings through science and technology (Max 1990). The aim of transhumanism(s) is to increase the physical and mental capacity of human beings by ensuring the development of human potential (humanity plus, H +⁶). These trends which emerged with the development of bioengineering and robotics, share the idea that humanity can reach higher levels both physically and mentally by using developing technology. The cyborg points to this 'human' state in which technology integrates with the human body, whose abilities are over human limitations as part-human and part-machine. This change has found meaning within the idea of 'Transhumanism'. The goal is to make humans 'more valuable' by using nanotechnology, genetic engineering, artificial intelligence, and bioengineering, to make humans live longer by doing changes in the human body and finally transform human beings into 'posthuman' thanks to technology. Transhumanist 'Posthuman' is the name given to the state of 'transcending' humans through science and technology. 'Posthuman' is the next step that

¹ There is plenty of transhumanist view in the context of it's political understanding. They will be explained in following part. Such as extropianism, democratic transhumanism, anarcho-transhumanism, libertarian transhumanism etc..

² Antihumanism has its philosophical roots in postmodernity. As certain post-structuralist theorists, particularly Michel Foucault, antihumanism fully acknowledges the effects of "Man's death."

³ The body is emphasized as a body network and as the location of amorphic re-significations that extend in kinetic relationships in the metahumanist perspective, which is a novel approach closely tied to a Deleuzian legacy.

⁴ The representational and constructivist radicalizations of late postmodernity, which had somehow lost sight of the material world, sparked the intellectual emergence of the new materialisms. In feminist critical discussion in the posthuman environment, they rewrite matter as a process of materialization.

⁵ Posthumanism here understood as critical, cultural, and philosophical posthumanism.

⁶ The natural, artificial, or technological modification of the human body to improve one's physical or mental skills is known as human enhancement (H+).

human beings will reach after the 'transhuman' period soon by science and technology in line with reason and rationality.

Transhumanism finds its origin in the Enlightenment age when science, reason, and progress were central. The necessary scientific ground for the 'posthuman' thought that will shape the future was prepared in this period. The 18th and 19th centuries formed the basis of using science in the idea of enhancing human capacities. Also, after the publication of Darwin's "Origins of Species" (1859), it has become increasingly accepted to see the current version of humanity as "probably a fairly early stage" rather than the end point of evolution. The development of the physicalist⁷ movement also helped provide the groundwork for the notion that technology can be used to better the human body (Bostrom, 2005). Transhumanism and cyborg studies are based on this idea. Darwin and the theory of evolution are sources of reference when it comes to the origins of these developments and transformations. As discussed, the idea of transhumanism envisages collaboration with technology to enhance humanity's capacity and recover from biological deficiencies. It deals with the human being in evolution, technology, and progress. Transhumanism(s) can be mentioned such as Democratic Transhumanism⁸ (Hughes 2004), Libertarian Transhumanism⁹ (Bailey 2004), Singularitarianism¹⁰ (Kurzweil 2005), Extropianism¹¹ (More 1990, 1998). The important thing in transhumanism (s) is human enhancement (H +). Accordingly, humans will reach the future by going through three different stages; human, transhuman—this is the new state of human as 'cyborg' in the present and becoming it partially—and the posthuman state that will be reached soon. As stated above, 'posthuman' is the future name of human beings in Transhumanism(s).

⁷ In philosophy, "physicalism is the metaphysical thesis, which argues that everything that exists is material, that everything is made up of physical things" (Stoljar 2022).

⁸ It alludes to the position of radical, liberal, or democratic transhumanists who support the creation and application of technologies for human advancement. In order to shape biopolitical public policy, Hughes wants to inspire democratic transhumanists and any prospective progressive allies to band together as a new social movement (2004).

⁹ The free market is the best guarantee of this right, according to those who support the so-called "right to human enhancement" because it generates more affluence and individual freedom than other economic systems. It will be discussed in following sections.

¹⁰ The moral philosophy of the singularity promotes purposeful action to bring about and secure the technical creation of intelligence smarter than humans.

¹¹ Extropianism is a pragmatic transhumanist compromise characterized by a pro-active attitude toward human evolution and enhancement.

In the definition of 'posthuman' of Posthumanism(s), human—as an open concept—beings are not at the center, and it points to the situation in which different ways of being are considered by grounding evolution, technology, and ecology (Dedeoğlu 2020). It is pointed out that the cause of the existing problems is human and human's centrality. The humanist and anthropocentric views that humans are the measure of everything and that everything in nature exists for humans are rejected. Posthumanism is an existential approach (Ferrando 2019), and it is the way to be a part of existence. Posthumanism(s) as a philosophy, is associated with postmodernism. "Prometheus as Performer: Toward a Posthumanist Culture?" (Hassan 1977) explains the basic points of posthumanism such as post-dualism and human deconstruction. Posthumanism (s) which is defined as the philosophy of the time we are in (Ferrando, *ibid*), can be followed in Critical posthumanism¹² (Hayles 1999), Cultural posthumanism¹³ (Haraway 1991), and Philosophical posthumanism¹⁴ (Ferrando 2019, 3). In Ferrando's approach, posthumanism is defined around three concepts: Post-humanism, Post-dualism, and Post-anthropocentrism. Posthumanism implies an understanding of human plurality that human is not considered to be one, but as many, that is, human(s). Thus, it conflicts with the humanist tradition based on a generalized and universalized approach to humans. Post-dualism is based on the awareness that dualism is used as a way of defining identity, is based on a closed self-concept, and is brought to life in symbolic dilemmas such as us/them, friend/enemy. Post-dualism argues that existence is not just a dual relationship between humans and any other things, but that existence requires interconnectedness. Post-dualism is a necessary step in the final deconstruction of humans (Ferrando 2019, 60). Post-anthropocentrism, on the other hand, refers to the decentralization of human beings against non-human beings. Ferrando argues that humans are no longer the only important species and their connection with the biosphere is important. Post-Anthropocene includes the deconstruction of humans and foresees its study with the

¹²Theoretically, the "continuous destruction of humanism" is mapped and addressed by critical posthumanism.

¹³It is a subfield of cultural theory that challenges conventional ideas of human subjectivity and embodiment and attacks the foundational tenets and legacy of humanism, contesting historical concept of "human" - "human nature" and attempting to further of antiquated ideas.

¹⁴ The philosophical branch of this philosophical movement, which is influenced by cultural posthumanism, investigates the ethical ramifications of expanding the moral compass and subjectivities beyond the human species.

concepts of evolution, ecology, and Anthropocene. According to the understanding, humans are not alone in nature, and everything in nature should not be subject to their use. Nothing that exists does have to be created for them. The post-Anthropocene idea is to destroy the central position of humans in relation to other beings, whether living or nonliving. The main difference between Posthumanism and Transhumanism stems from their perspective on anthropocentrism. In Transhumanism(s), unlike Posthumanism(s), there is no critique of anthropocentrism; the assumption of human supremacy and centrality continues.

It is important to examine the birth and development of transhumanism to distinguish it from existing Posthumanism(s). Therefore, in the first sub-title, by examining the source of origin, the 20th and 21st-century transhumanist traditions will be shed light on. In the next section, transhumanism will be discussed from the perspective of its history. Also, will be mentioned what is transhumanist posthuman and what is represented in this thesis.

2.1.2 CONCEPT OF TRANSHUMANISM

Although Transhumanism has been used with different meanings throughout history, its current and accepted definition was made by the World Transhumanist Association (Humanity +). According to the Transhumanist FAQ (2003), transhumanism is:

“The intellectual and cultural movement that affirms the possibility and desirability of fundamentally improving the human condition through applied reason, especially by developing and making widely available technologies to eliminate aging and to greatly enhance human intellectual, physical, and psychological capacities.”

At the core of philosophy, two terms make it easier to understand it, trans-humanism, and transhuman-ism (More 2013, 37). Trans-humanism focuses on reason, technology, scientific method, and human creativity in Enlightenment humanism for human progress. Transhuman-ism, on the other hand, represents the human being in the transition beyond the human because of the purposeful and instrumental outputs offered

by transhumanism. These two terms do not have independent meanings from each other. They do not have a compatibility problem. The reason why it is included here is to emphasize the transitivity of the moments. Transhumanists aim to go beyond genetic and biological inheritance due to technological advances. According to the Transhumanists, human beings are not in a static and finalized development. There is a development along the evolutionary line. The concept of posthuman is also the name given to the state in which humans developed in this evolutionary transformation. It refers to exceeding the undesirable and limited features of the human condition.

To understand the basis of transhumanism in the next two subtitles, its origin will be examined.

2.1.2.1 Priors of Transhumanism

The idea of developing humanity's capacity, socially and mentally, is as old as human history. Its first efforts are seen in the Gilgamesh epic (1700 B.C). The epic of Gilgamesh is the first example of this awareness and quest (Mitchell 2004). This work, which tells the adventures of a king seeking immortality, is a good example of the capacity that humans want to expand as the first goal.

It is possible to encounter this thesis, which has become observable in almost all myths, from Greek mythology to Christianity and medieval Europe over time. It is possible to examine primitively in two main streams. First, there is the idea that humans have an afterlife and immortality independent of pain, death, and disease. This can be thought of as a primitive definition of transhuman. On the other hand, there is a technological, rational, and scientific understanding in such a way that progress is in the best interests of humans. Ancient Greek and Asian teachings can be considered as the output of this rational understanding. It can be exemplified by the human relations offered by Socrates and his successors were open to critical thinking, or the Indian school thinks of humans alone. According to this, there is no god or the afterlife, humans must develop themselves in line with their minds, reason, and perceive the world. (Hughes 2004, 156)

In the 14th and 15th centuries, there was a group called humanists who think that human beings are special creatures that are graces of God. The group has advocated the

idea of "deification" of human qualities by ascending and thinking that they are the products developed by human beings or themselves reach to God (Mirandola 2012). Between the 16th and 18th centuries, the European Renaissance and Enlightenment are mentioned. During the Renaissance, it has been emphasized that human beings should be given more importance to scientific data, reason, logic, and impressionism than religious tradition and authority (Hughes 2004, 157). Especially with Francis Bacon's *Novum Organum* (1620) that is recommending an empirically based scientific approach as opposed to one that is based a priori reasoning, the scientific field became suitable for discussions of the human condition and 'future'. In other words, the scientific ground that is necessary for the posthuman thought which will shape the future was created under the leadership of Bacon. Transhumanism is based on the belief that humanity can be improved through reason and rationality. Transhumanism stems from "rational humanism" (Bostrom 2005, 3).

The 18th and 19th centuries were the basis of the use of science in the idea of developing human capacities. Especially with the Renaissance, the emergence of science in society became the beginning of a new era in terms of the application of scientific studies. Following the publication of Darwin's *Origin of Species* (1859), it became increasingly reasonable to regard the current version of humans as a possible very early stage of evolution. The basis of transhumanism and cyborg studies is shaped by this idea. Darwin and the theory of evolution are the reference sources when it comes to the origins of these developments and transformations. When it is understood that the development of humanity is a biological reality, it will be more appropriate to shape the future. The *Origin of Species'* understanding of evolution may be beyond the point: "The future may belong to unnatural selection." (Owen 2009). As Nick Bostrom (2005) mentioned Darwin's evolution continues slowly within the scope of technologies such as cloning, genetic enhancement, robotics, artificial intelligence, and nanotechnology. Theory of Darwin develops the idea that the human position may vary between a primitive state and a future developed state (Hughes 2004, 157).

2.1.2.2 Transhumanism in the Twentieth and Twenty-first Century

At the beginning of the twentieth century, discussions were made about scientific developments that could change human life, and studies were conducted considering bio futurism. We see the first example in 1923 in J.B.S Haldane's work named 'Daedalus, Science, and Future'. He concluded that the main benefit to humans will be provided by controlling their genetics and that the future society will be healthier and smarter with genetic enhancement (1923). Haldane's findings triggered a domino effect of futuristic ideas (Bostrom 2005, 4). In 1927, Julian Huxley who is known for his contributions to bio futurism emphasized for the first time the concept of 'transhuman', the progress and development of human beings by getting rid of dogmas with cultural and biological tools (Hughes 2004, 158). Later—J. D Bernal (1929)—mental and physical development through bionic implants, and—Herman Muller (1935)—with the idea of germinal choice put forward different ideas about human enhancement.

After all these discussions were on the agenda, it started to arouse interest in speculative fiction. Especially with the development of fields such as artificial intelligence and genetic engineering, the story that started in the sci-fiction field turned into reality. And this caused the future to be set up as utopian or dystopian. Aldous Huxley (1932) proposed to develop human capacities using technology but created a dystopian fiction, Robert Heinlein (1942) advocated long life almost forever due to genetic selection, and A. E. Vogt (1947) portrayed a future in which humans suppress posthuman mutants, Isaac Asimov (1950), a future where conscious androids gain legal representation with humans and Arthur C. Clarke (1953) made a future fiction in which posthuman evolution is possible. In other words, technological developments would cause the human condition to change. Meanwhile, a new concept has been added to this fiction: Cyborg (Clynes and Kline 1960). In the post-war period, the advances in space travel, medicine, and computers provided a new understanding of the prospects for scientific and technological advancement. Science speculation became popular. Science fiction of yesterday has become scientific truth of today. (Bostrom 2005, 6).

F. M. Esfandiary—who later changed his name to FM-2030—explained transhuman as a 'transitional human' whose perspective of technology, cultural values,

and lifestyles represent an evolutionary connection to the approaching era of posthumanity in his essay *Are you a Transhuman?* (1989). Implants, cosmetic surgery, increasing use of telecommunications, mediated reproduction, lack of religious conviction, and rejection of traditional family values are all characteristics of his posthuman understanding (Bostrom 2004, 11).

After these discussions, the World Transhumanist Association (WTA) (2010) was founded by Nick Bostrom and David Pearce as an organization that regulates and defends all transhumanist groups and their interests. Its founding purpose was mainly to create a more developed and academically respected transhumanist body (Bostrom 2004, 12). Two main texts were published within the organization: the Transhumanist Declaration, the basic principles set out, and the Transhumanist FAQ, a more philosophical statement. In 1998, the *Journal of Transhumanism* was established as a publishing tool within WTA. In 2004, the name of the journal was changed to *Journal of Evolution and Technology*, and then to the *Institute for Ethics and Emerging Technologies*. In 2008, WTA changed its name to "Humanity +".

2.1.2.3 Cyborg Movement

With the age of Enlightenment, the scientific ground required for 'scientific' studies was prepared. This idea brought by the philosophical foundation has reached the quality that will shape the future with many technological developments. The assumption that technological progress will affect humanity came forth as a result of the rapidly expanding technological developments. Especially with the development of computers and artificial intelligence studies became the scientific source of the idea of posthuman. Superintelligence, molecular nanotechnology, or some other technologies are developed, and the human condition is transformed. Although it may seem unlikely or like distant future, as mentioned by Bostrom (2005, 10) we can expect to see within ten years the development of technologies like virtual reality, genetic engineering, performance-enhancing drugs, drugs that improve memory, concentration, and mood, prosthetics, sex change surgeries, and anti-aging medications. As these advanced technologies develop, they have the potential to significantly alter the state of humanity.

The issue of what will be the ticket of humanity to the future is the cornerstone of transhumanist philosophy and the cyborg transformation. Humanity has limited capabilities. Human senses are restricted in terms of understanding the world. But can this be improved? Can we use technology to develop humans? At this point, there is the word 'cyborg' and the name of Kevin Warwick. A cyborg refers to a hybrid entity made up of both biological and mechanical elements, or a cybernetic organism. Manfred E. Clynes and Nathan S. Kline invented the term "cyborg" to indicate an enhanced understanding of humans capable of thriving in extraterrestrial conditions (1960). Humans often think of cyborgs as average creatures in robotic bodies that combine some human and posthuman features. Some characters first come to mind as the Terminator, Darth Vader, or the Borgs in Star Trek or Motoko Kusanagi from Ghost in the Shell, in Blade Runner, Altered Carbon etc. But there is no need to be too fictitious and we can see an example in real-time. Cyborg trials have already been seen through implants. As replacements, synthetic hearing instruments, lenses, and humans without arms/legs were encountered. But the important point for our research is the initiatives voluntarily, knowing the results of this.

Unlike the replacement technologies, in 1998, British scientist Kevin Warwick connected his nervous system to the internet by discharging 100 electrodes to investigate enhancement possibilities and became the world's first cyborg under the heading Project Cyborg (Warwick 2004, 186). Warwick started a project that aims to control his arm and fingers over the internet with a technological intervention to the nervous system. For Warwick, the important thing in this experiment was not to become a robot, but to transcend the limits of the human body (Warwick 2004). This was an opportunity that could be used to increase human capacity. It was a huge step for humanity as it gave humans extra abilities. Cyborg's thinking and experimentation continued to increase as technology evolved. British artist Neil Harbison underwent surgery to implant a cyborg antenna in his head in 2004. This device enables him to detect colors through vibrations in his skull that go beyond his color blinded disadvantage. The image of him in his passport featured the antenna. His "cyborg" identity was therefore confirmed in 2004. Neil Harbison also is the founding partner of the Cyborg Foundation¹⁵. The Cyborg

¹⁵ <https://www.cyborgfoundation.com/>

Foundation became the first global organization to assist people for becoming cyborgs in 2010. The foundation aims to defend cyborg rights and promote humans to enhance 'primitive' abilities.

One of the basic teachings of transhumanism is the relationship of domination it establishes between humans and the environment. Contrary to traditional Anthropocene ideas, instead of changing the environment in which humans live, it aims to change the human itself by supporting the H+ activities to be taken in the way of adaptation. This idea of transformation is closely related to the 'cyborg' state that gives the thesis its name. As mentioned above, transhumanist thought essentially aims at reaching the posthuman through human stages. 'Becoming cyborg' is the first of the targeted stages of transformation. Cyborgization is defined as a state reached in the ongoing evolution of human beings (Warwick 2004, 1). The 'Becoming Cyborg' conceptualization has led to a dichotomy in the literature. Are we born cyborgs, or do we become cyborgs? The examination of this discussion is made through two different approaches. Although this thesis does not target to explain it as the main topic of discussion, I think that expanding will be meaningful in terms of understanding the concept of the cyborg, which is the main stop of the transhumanist transformation. The concept of cyborg draws attention to a hybrid, defined as a "human-technology symbiant" as a being born from the coexistence of humans and technology (Clark 2003, 3). The second definition draws attention to the dissolution of the body and the hybridization of the body and identity. What is important here is the adaptation of the cyborg to human nature, and this hybridization process is accepted as the basic feature of humanity (Clark 2003, 4). This first definition will be used as a cyborg 'being' and as a transhumanist 'human 2.0' as it is widely used in the literature within the scope of this study. Because being a cyborg sheds light on the transformation of humanity and the environment that transhumanism makes as a subject. Cyborg is the definition of what needs to be changed by going beyond the classical understanding of improving the environment in which humans live. In this thesis, whenever transhumanism is mentioned, the cyborg represents the human being. The cyborg is the subject at the center of politics for this thesis. That's why the title is used. Cyborg is the name of the human in the future scenario that will be presented.

As there is no consensus on the definition and classification of human beings, the idea that 'being a cyborg dehumanizes a person' remains very limited and ineffective. The subject reached through the process of cyborgization will not be anything different from the essence of the human. In the simplest sense, we are no different from the dozens of cyborgs we live with today. The cyborg, who wears an antenna to see colors, puts a chip in his arm to use electronic devices, and wears an electronic lens to see again, is also homosapiens who has not broken away from its anthropological origin. Therefore, becoming a cyborg will not be new speciation, but a new stop in the evolutionary line of humans.

The next two parts will focus on the politics of posthuman understandings from different perspectives and the theory of the state as the main premise of the thesis, and the meaning or meaninglessness of the state and politics. The second part will deal with political transformation as a problem arising from the intersection of politics and technology, which is the main point of the thesis. This is the chapter in which the effect of interdisciplinary thinking on political theory as a result of technological developments will be evaluated. It includes various interpretations of the political as the focus of politics.

2.1.3 POST-HUMAN TURN IN POLITICS: 'POLITICAL' IN POSTHUMAN CASE

The area where the post-human concept will create change in politics and political theory. Because it is a new transformation, different conceptualizations have been made for political theory. There are different perspectives on the political and its transformative actors such as animals, plants, machines, and inanimate beings that are also considered to be part of this debate. Within this framework, there are various opinions on the inclusion of human and non-human beings in politics. Zolkos (2018, 202) states the following in her study: "The line between humans, animals, biological organs, objects, and machines is blurred in discussions of "natural life" (or "pre-political life") as prospective locations for the fundamental reorganization of sovereign authority.". Although these distinctions differ biologically, mechanically, socially, or symbolically, they have a common point in terms of being criticisms of post-human transformation. To understand the politics of the

posthuman era, the 'subject' options that it contains should be examined beforehand. In other words, the subjects that we will position to understand the politics of the posthuman era deal with the distinction between humans and non-humans. This difference may be investigated as the connection between the social or symbolic domains and the biological sphere. Catherine Malabou's (2010) theory of plastic cerebrality and Maurizio Lazzarato's (2014) 'human-machine' understanding criticize the duality of biological and social fields.

In her studies, Catherine Malabou opposes the biological and social life distinction of biopolitics and biopower arguments that dominate the literature (Malabou 2010; 2012). For Malabou, biology must be rethought as "a complement to uncertainty in organic life", and "something that can produce its symbolization" (2012). Social life, on the other hand, is constructed in contrast to biological life and is endowed with liberating or resilient possibilities to the extent that it "transcends" the biological (Zolkos 2018, 195). Malabou's goal is to destroy the biological habitat, especially neurology and cerebrality.

Maurizio Lazzarato (2014) contributes to the transformation of the posthumans in political theory by criticizing the dual distinction between symbolic and machineism. Unlike Malabou's focus on plastic cerebral organs, Lazzarato's main actors are inanimate machine things (Zolkos 2018, 196), which he describes as energy-using objects that perform actions. In the age of late capitalism, Lazzarato argued that machines should be regarded as meaningful social actors as participants in processes of subjectivation. Lazzarato offers an inference from the concept of "mega-machines" borrowed from the technology philosopher and sociologist Lewis Mumford. "Mega-machines" are "mechanical assemblies" that contain humans, non-human animals, inanimate objects, and intangible and/or virtual elements such as designs, diagrams, labor, memory, density, and energy flows (Zolkos 2018, 197). In Lazzarato's non-human-centered theory of mechanics, machines are not against humans, but humans are considered "part of the machine". This situation may offer us the opportunity to understand the transhumanist posthuman. This kind of human/non-human distinction offers us the possibility that politics is this combination when they exist as a binary. The theorists have made different definitions, although politics is widely understood as anthropocentric. This

transformation in political theory, as can be seen, offered an explanation in contrast to the anthropocentric understanding in which the human and its activities were seen as superior.

When evaluated from various perspectives, different political discussions are made for the concept of posthuman. In the context of transhumanism, it refers to a posthuman subject. The anthropocentric interpretation of transhumanism is consequently at the forefront with its politics when considered as a name of human. In other words, when evaluated within the framework of transhumanist political theory, posthuman can be mentioned as a political subject. The point where it differs from other theories is that within Anthropocene base it puts posthuman politics at the center of politics and underlines the politics of human itself under the definition of posthuman.

The next chapter will form the methodological part of the study. In the first part, the method of the research will be discussed, and in the second part, the theoretical background of the research will be given based on the literature review given above.

2.1.4 STATE AS MAIN COMPONENT OF POLITICS

There is no agreed definition of the state in the literature. It can be defined as the sum of a component of units such as a collection of institutions, a territorial unit, a historical entity, or as a philosophical idea (Heywood 2017, 67). But if a definition needs to describe the state, this definition is usually used: "The state is a political association that establishes sovereign jurisdiction within defined territorial borders, and exercises authority through a set of permanent institutions." (Heywood 2019, 124). Throughout history, it has been defined from different perspectives and has undertaken different tasks within the framework of different political ideas. Today, many political scientists and philosophers have several definitions. For example, when the roof of the state is discussed, there are several ideas such as its ability to fight a war (Tilly 1990), as a tool that is used by the dominant bourgeois class (Engels 1884, 1972), or a combination of political, economic, ideological, and military form (Mann 1993).

The philosophers who expressed opinions in the field of political philosophy, the state as 'the necessity of living together' in Plato (375 BC), 'a formation that brings about the virtuous life in the citizenry' in Aristotle (350 BC), the result of the law in Cicero (54-

51 BC). The contemporary state differs from the classic state in that it has a different notion of legitimacy and sovereignty. To understand the state's position and tasks in the modern sense, there are several attempts such as Machiavelli (1532), who developed a secular political power, Bodin (1576) developed the concept of sovereignty, and the state appeared to end the war of everyone against everyone in Hobbes (1651), Locke (1689) opposed the absolutist view with the free market economy, the separation of powers, the theory of natural rights and the social contract. Following Locke, Rousseau (1762) said the source of sovereignty is the people in the theory of social contract and consolidated the legitimate source of the state.

Mainstream political theory is dominated by the liberal theory of the state (Heywood 2017,71). In liberal theory, the state is a neutral mediator between rival groups and individuals in society. Even liberal theory differs in itself. This basic theory separates into branches by modern writers, such as Pluralist, 'polyarchy' (Dahl 1982), which focuses distribution of political power among different social groups rather than elite or governance class, or neo-pluralist (Galbraith 1998, Lindblom 1980) drew attention to the domination of major corporations over small firms or government bodies. Libertarianism can be defined by its opposition to government intervention in economic and social life (Heywood 2017, 72). Classical liberals and libertarians thought that individuals should have the greatest possible freedom and therefore said that the state should be limited to a minimum. The state acts as 'a night watchman whose services are called only when regular existence is threatened' (Nozick 1974). The state, which is called "minimum" or "night watchman", has three main functions: maintaining internal order, implementing contracts, and providing protection against external attacks. The minimal state is the ideal of the Libertarianism, which argues that economic and social issues should be left entirely in the hands of individuals or private businesses. In this view, the economic responsibilities of the state should be limited to creating conditions in which market forces can work most effectively (Heywood 2017, 74). On the other hand, Classical elitists argued that political power was always in the hands of a small elite (Mosca 1939, Michels 1962). Modern elitists (Schumpeter 1942) also discussed the distribution of power in societies but to them, political power belongs to the minority.

Marxism offers a grassroots analysis of state power in contrast to the liberal tradition in which the state is defined as neutral. Marxist thought sees the aims of the state as the continuation of the rule in favor of the ruling class in the tradition of capitalist production. While classical Marxists emphasized that the state was used for the interests of the bourgeoisie, modern Marxists portrayed it as a unifying social formation that the state could enjoy 'relative autonomy from the ruling class and thus sometimes respond to the interests of other classes (Poulantzas 1968). As a different interpretation, based on the assumption that political power is inherently corrupt, anarchism sees the state as a form of evil (Heywood 2017, 74). The state is "the most despicable, cynical, and most complete negation of humanity" (Bakunin 1973). Anarchists believe that the state is illegitimate regardless of its political tendencies (Jun 2019, 30). In the modern sense, anarcho-capitalists reject the state on the grounds that it is a criminal gang that has no legitimate pretensions to exercise authority over the individual (Heywood 2019, 689). The most extreme form of state control is found in totalitarian states. The essence of totalitarianism is the building of an all-encompassing state that permeates every aspect of human existence, economy, education, culture, religion, family life, etc. (Heywood 2017, 74).

It can be said that all political thinkers, except anarchists, see the state as a necessary political union in some sense. The reason for including this section here is to show that the state cannot be defined in a common denominator. The main purpose of this section is not to describe them in detail, but to emphasize diversity. There is no consensus on the definition and position of the state, and there is no consensus on its duties, as well.

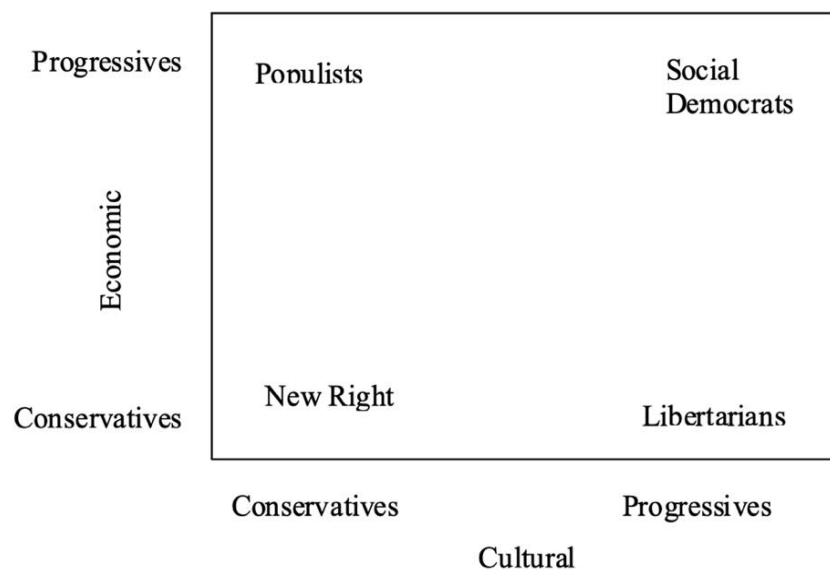
CHAPTER III

3.1 THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

3.1.1 Politics of 21st Century

Politics is a scientific field that covers almost all social science concepts. It arises from the merging of different fields, from psychology, biology, economics, and history to art, philosophy, music, and geography. As there is no consensus on the definition of politics, there is a different system and ideology for each current of thought. Ideological inferences have been made from various perspectives throughout political history. Politics was able to find a place for itself in every field that it reached and covered, and eventually diversified in the 21st century and entered literature in different meanings.

Figure 1: The Political Axes of 20th Century Politics



Source: Hughes 2004, 69

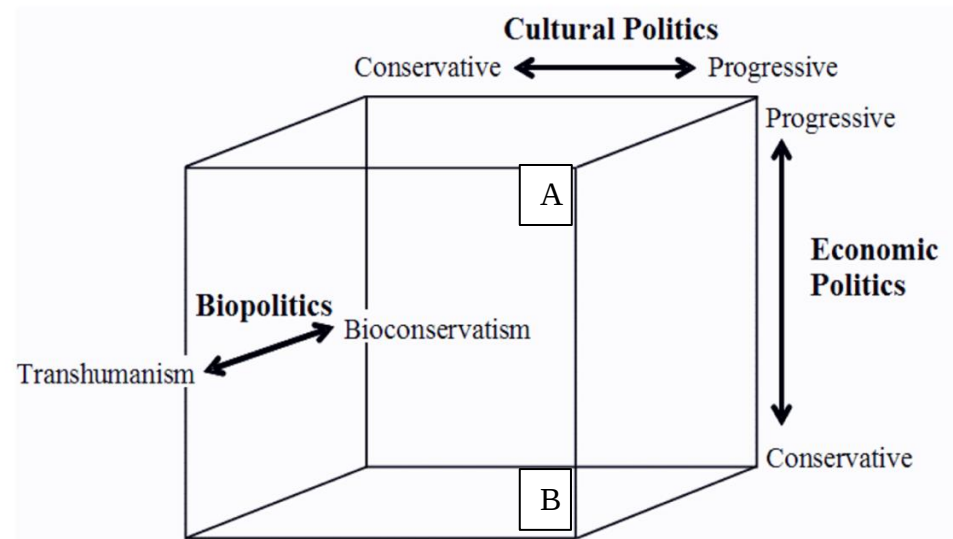
Political movements in the 20th century have been explained by two broad axes. As Hughes explains in his work, the political field of the 20th century consisted of two axes: economics and cultural ideologies (2009, 68). According to Figure 1, there is a diversity in the line between progressive and conservative ideologies.

From the moment that the idea of mechanization developed and became an alternative to human labor, it was thought that politics could have an alternative position in economic terms—capitalist state, night watch state, etc.—. Marxist and liberal theories made political interpretations of the economy. Especially from the 18th and 19th centuries, politics was seen as a regulator (Smith-Keynes) or a tool (Engels) of the economy. With the economic systems as the basis for the formation of politics, the concept of political economy began to be accepted dominantly in political science literature. The term "economic politics" is frequently applied to multidisciplinary areas that combine economics, law, and political science to examine how political institutions, the political environment, and the economic system interact (Weingast, Wittman 2008). While models close to the economically conservative point have distance against the social welfare state, unions, taxation, labor regulations, and economic redistribution, economic progressives generally prefer these measures as means of achieving justice and public interest (Hughes 2009,69).

At the end of the 20th century and the beginning of the 21st century, cultural politics can be mentioned. In the process that started with the industrial revolution, there is a political system that relies on the economy and an environment in which identity politics is developed and the concepts of equality, freedom, and justice are discussed more. Culture first became a significant current in the late 1960s and early 70s, primarily through the work of the Frankfurt school—Marcuse, Adorno, Lowenthal, Horkheimer, and later Habermas— (Nash 2001, 80). Cultural politics involves the influence of culture on human behavior and, consequently, on the political, social, and economic realities that result from it. In the 1980s, 'the idea that cultural studies were inevitably political' was the subject of debate (Armitage 2017, 267). The concept of cultural politics emerged largely in the 1980s. It contains content in various fields in the form of political theory, immigration studies, feminist and queer theory, techno culture, history, ecocriticism, security studies, media theory, anthropology, aesthetics, sociology, film studies, literary

studies, and various emerging disciplines (Armitage 2017, 268). This cultural transformation has revealed its increasing involvement in politics. Along with the culture repositioned on existing ground, the concept of reorganization of politics and cultural politics was introduced. Cultural politics is not only dependent on critiques or defenses of dominant discourses, but also on the "auto criticism of cultural studies itself and the definition of a new interdisciplinary field that brings together fields of study such as sociology, politics, literature, philosophy and the media." (Armitage 2017, 268). Cultural conservatives characteristically oppose women's equality, sexual liberation, and civil liberties. In general, they can be classified as nationalists, ethnic chauvinists, and religious conservatives. Cultural progressives, on the other hand, are more secular and cosmopolitan, supporting civil liberties and minority rights.

Figure 2: The Political Axes of 21st Century Politics



Source: Hughes 2004, 70

The 20th-century political diagram made by Hughes is a facilitator to understand the currents of the period. As can be seen in the table, the understanding of politics, which is basically divided into economic and cultural, has dominated the political arena. But as of the 21st century, the increase in technological developments adds another dimension to this table.

In the 21st century, it has added another dimension to the common understanding of the political system; biopolitics. Within the scope of this study, biopolitics is discussed from a progressive perspective. It has been evaluated within a framework that includes the right of individuals to control their own bodies or not. Developments in the field of technology have led to ethical discussions on the concept of human, and the present and future of humanity. Rapid developments in the life sciences have led to the emergence of many new and unusual situations that require ethical decisions. In this process, it was necessary to develop new discourses and new policies based on bioethics and biopolitics. The discipline of bioethics has turned into an area where ethical debates, which are encountered with new ones every day, can be beneficial for a better humanity. In the 1970s, the focus of most bioethicists' attention was to protect patients from unethical scientific research and protect the public from science and technology rather than reassuring their rights (Hughes 2004). As technology developed, they began to ask questions about the outputs of topics such as cloning, fertilization, and genetic engineering. The scope of bioethics goes beyond medical ethics. The subject area of bioethics is more extensive. In bioethics, one needs to collaborate with scientists and other experts to gain a clear understanding of the ethical development of the technical, political, and process areas.

Biopolitics is defined as advocacy for or rejection of biotechnologies (Hughes 2009). When humanity passes the transhuman stage, the human will reach the posthuman which is the last stop of the transhumanist philosophy. Therefore, to control this transformation process, biopolitics should be integrated into the existing system. Topics such as artificial wombs and the intelligence development of animals can draw humans into a political debate, bioconservatives or transhumanists, from a biopolitical standpoint. Everyone wants to protect or improve the society they live in some way. Wanting to avoid a dystopian future full of apocalypse scenarios, extreme inequality, and social conflicts are also points that require reflection on biopolitics. So bioLuddites¹⁶ and religious

¹⁶ Originally arrived from the labor force and mechanization. But later it transformed to related with everything to protect human beings from technology regardless of loss of labor or human self. For further information: <https://www.luddites200.org.uk/theLuddites.html>

fundamentalists can avoid their dystopian futures by defending prohibitions on human healing, or liberals, democrats, and the left-wing can by supporting it.

Bioconservatism is a current of thought based on the assumption that technological developments have threatened a particular social order. Bio-conservatives range from religious and cultural conservatives on the right to environmentalists and technology critics on the left, as can be seen in Figure 2. What bioconservatives agree with is their distant approach to biotechnological changes that can be experienced with technological developments (Rifkin 1998, Huesemann 2011). From the time that transhumanism began to evolve from an ancient idea to a trend, discussions about the political and ethical implications of transhuman technologies were confined to theology, bioethics, computer science, and science fiction (Hughes 2004, 72). In the early 2000s, Leon Kass (2003), Francis Fukuyama (2002), and a host of anti-tech groups brought biopolitics to center stage. Biological conservatism is a rejection of radical technological changes related to improving the human condition (Rifkin 1998). They contend that transhumanist enhancement technologies should not be used because they endanger "human dignity" and "democracy" (Fukuyama 2002). Opposing these bioconservatives are transhumanists. They see an opportunity to improve the human condition, control their own bodies, and establish a transhuman democracy for an increasingly varied society in the name of citizenry by using reason and science (Hughes 2004; Bostrom 2005). There is polarization in biopolitics between transhumanist and bioconservative positions. This discussion can be examined under the main headings like citizenship debates and implementation of technological improvements.

The first debate between transhumanists and bioconservatives is the citizenship issue. Caught between cyborg citizenship (Hughes 2004, 79) and human racism, it is debatable whether it should be transferred to the human gene or personhood. Since intelligent forms have the title of 'person', whether they are human or not, one encounters the concept of citizenship, which is debatable, and only the human gene and humanity are deemed worthy. The second important point is that bioconservatives keep their distance from activities such as abortion, genetic treatments, and cloning, for both religious and other reasons. Transhumanists or biopolitical progressives (Hughes 2009) argue that since

reproduction is a right of the body, technology can be used if one wishes (Bostrom 2005). Because of their approach to gene therapies, they are often argumentative about treating the disabled and H+. Unlike progressives, they do not want these technologies to be used. Bioconservatives argue that the human lifespan should be within natural limits, again for religious and traditional reasons. Progressives, on the other hand, emphasize that the use of technology for longevity as the main goal of transhumanism should be clear.

Apart from the diversified progressive and conservative lines within the scope of biopolitics in the table, it is possible to classify bio politically progressive transhumanists according to whether they are economically conservative or progressive. The debate among transhumanists is more about the state's position in accessing these technologies—that is, the state's position on the economy as the provider and distributor of these technological developments.

In transhumanist political theory, the first formation that can be considered political was put forward by Max More in the 1990s under the name of the Extropy Institute (ExI) (1992). ExI's goals were to “(1) *develop an elegant, focused philosophy for transhumanism—the philosophy of "Extropy";* (2) *encourage discussions and debates on improving the human condition; and* (3) *develop a culture for activists, energized and devoted to bringing these ideas to the public*” (More & Vita-More 2013, 55). The Institute has a liberal point of view. While always advocating progressivism in the principles set forth, it takes a more liberal line in with the free market understanding of its participants. At the end of the 90s, the World Transhumanist Association (WTA) was established despite the perspective of ExI based on the 'free market' understanding. Hughes (2012, 763) explains the point of it as “the WTA included both social democrats and neoliberals around a liberal democratic definition of transhumanism, codified in the Transhumanist Declaration” (2009).

After the philosophical pillar of transhumanism was established, such communities began to form politically different currents among themselves. When looking at figure 2, it is possible to examine the transhumanist political currents on economic progressive and conservative lines. Point A marked in the figure indicates techno-progressivism. Democratic transhumanists, who are on the techno-progressive

line, argue that technologies that will provide access to the posthuman are equally distributed so that the developing technology does not harm the social equality between the classes of the society (Hughes 2012, 767). This approach, developed by Hughes, is based on the idea that "people have control over whether their existing capacities are developed or not" (2012). Its main point is to transform into a social movement as an alternative to bioconservatism and libertarian transhumanism while reinforcing the understanding of biopolitical politics within the framework of democratic transhumanism (2004). In contrast, point B is libertarian transhumanism. It is a critique of democratic transhumanism. Libertarian transhumanism arises from the combination of transhumanism and libertarianism (Bailey 2004). Libertarian transhumanists argue that the "right to human development" can most effectively be exercised in a political system where the free market and personal and economic freedom dominate (Bailey 2004, Reynolds 2006). Emphasizing that libertarian philosophy and transhumanism share a common perspective on 'self-ownership' within this current of thought, it was said that discussions of individual/cyborg and social rights between transhumanist political currents are "precisely the tension that philosophical liberalism has historically tried to negotiate" (Bishop 2010).

The transhumanist political movement that will find a place for itself in a different vector plane in the table is anarcho-capitalism. Anarcho-transhumanists are placed on a different side from other currents as to how they define freedom. Freedom is defined as the expansion of one's ability to experience the world around them (Gillis 2012). Anarcho-transhumanists criticize the stakeholders of mainstream transhumanist politics for their protectionist attitudes towards the state and argue that they are dysfunctional. They are also anti-capitalist by nature, saying that capitalist accumulation can lead to an undesirable posthuman future, whether democratic or libertarian (Gillis 2015).

It is the function of the state that should be at the center of transhumanist politics, as is simply discussed here. As can be seen from the table, the positioning of political ideologies should be related to where the state will speak in this progressive understanding and the role assigned to it. The last section is related to the state. In addition to transforming understandings of political one which is detailed previously, it will be

examined what is understood from the definition of the state throughout the history of political thought and in which cases the existence of the state can be mentioned. Since there is no consensus on the definition and position of the state within the framework of existing theories, the purpose of the state will be examined from different perspectives. The current positioning of the state and its importance in the understanding of politics will be discussed in the next section.

As discussed, when the general structure of 21st-century politics is understood, another point to be considered is the existence of the state in the political system. The state—whether its absence or entity—is positioned as the basic building block of politics. It directs politics by gathering political subjects and political fields within itself. The state, which exists for political subjects, ascribes to itself the politics of individuals, regardless of their qualifications. The state derives its power from the individual. So, the transforming state cannot be independent and indifferent to the needs of humans. The important point here is whether the state is a leviathan and does not swallow political subjects or fall asleep as a night watchman. The state, which is in the right position and whose basic duties are clearly stated, ensures that the right politics works by fulfilling its political obligations.

In the transhumanist movement, where the transformation of human beings is concerned—but not differentiated—it is expected that politics will also be a partner in this transformation. The change in politics, on the other hand, parallels the change in the position of the state in political economy in the dominant transhumanist political literature. As explained in the previous section, a better understanding of 21st-century politics is about positioning biopolitics by interpreting changing politics interdisciplinary. Placing biopolitics at the intersection of cultural and economic politics provides a better understanding of politics. In a situation in which humans are the focus of politics under all circumstances, as mentioned, the state will inevitably be the cornerstone of politics. Transhumanist political philosophy has also included different perspectives of the state on the transhumanist transformation process and even on the political structure in the posthuman era: Anarcho-transhumanism (Gillis 2012), Democratic transhumanism (Hughes 2004), Libertarian transhumanism (Bailey 2005).

As stated above, it can be said that all political thinkers, except anarchists, see the state as a necessary political union in some sense. The most important of this work is the positioning of the transhumanist movement due to the basic duties of the state and politics. As discussed, transhumanism has been explained in different interpretations, so opinions on the state and its role also differ. In this study, the state basically is political subject as organizer of posthumans and bioconservatives. The reason why the state was chosen as the cornerstone is that its contribution or non-contribution to this transhumanist change process is determined as the main duty of the state. When posthuman politics is imagined, political movements have been shaped within the framework of this state duty.

Transhumanist philosophy advocates the possibility of controlling the body. It includes not only the interventions that may lead to human development but also the right not to make these interventions. The most important difference that distinguishes transhumanism from bioconservatives is the recognition of this right, as discussed in the previous sections. Transhumanist philosophy achieves its primary purpose when individuals have rights over their bodies. In transhumanist philosophy, the state must first be the cornerstone of the provision and exercise of this right as using technology to be enhanced—being a cyborg—or the right not to choose it.

Another feature that transhumanism will impose on the state in the political economy framework is the distribution of technologies that provide posthuman transformation among socioeconomic classes. Mainstream political transhumanist views have diverged as mentioned in the previous section. There is a diversity between those who argue that this distribution should be equal and under state control (Hughes 2004), those who argue that the free market is the natural determinant of this distribution (Bailey 2005), and those who argue that power relations will lead this distribution process to an inconsistent and unreliable end (Gillis 2015). The control of these two determinants, which the state is expected to carry and protect, is related to the quality that the state should have. It is another important element that the state should bear, which is considered the basic component of 21st-century politics that emerged as a result of the applied transhumanist policy. Social freedom, as well as personal freedom, is part of the

transhumanist tradition. These are critical elements that are thought to be carried by the state within the framework of posthuman politics.

In the next section, libertarian transhumanism will be examined within the framework of these elements, and inferences will be made as to whether the state and politics that has these elements in the posthuman era are suitable for the science fiction example. Positioning of a state and politics for the posthuman era will be discussed over the relevance and applicability of the main lines. At the same time, a discussion will be carried out on the appropriateness of these determined basic duties of the politics.

CHAPTER IV

4.1 ANALYSIS & DISCUSSION

The purpose of this section is to prepare the background and to make sense of it for a discussion on libertarianism and the Altered Carbon universe. Humanist assumptions could not remain unchanged as the subject matter of humanism underwent radical transformations (Mazarakis 2016). The posthuman genre cannot be classified within the narrow confines of pre-existing political systems. This study will focus on the theoretical background of transhumanist politics and the possibility of the existence of libertarian transhumanist theory as an assumption for its practical implementation, the position of politics and the state in the 'posthuman era', where new political and social discourse is created as a new version of classical libertarianism. Transhuman and posthuman are the subjects of the goal of overcoming the above-mentioned limitations of humanism. Humanism aims at educational and cultural development to improve human nature. Transhumanism, on the other hand, emphasizes that our biological limitation is the greatest limitation of human nature, and aims to take it one step further in the evolution line through technology. Transhumanism, as an inheritor of enlightenment thought, seeks to overcome authoritarianism, and seeks new forms of government by accepting facts such as rationality, scientificity, individual rights, and progress (More 2013, 40).

As mentioned in the previous sections, transhumanism has been defined in different ways over time. When the basic concepts of transhumanist thought are understood, the politics of transhumanism should be discussed. According to the EU parliament's study which was conducted in 2006 that consisted of leading scientists, transhumanism was stated as “the political expression of the ideology that technology and science should be used to enhance human abilities”. It also covers the politics of issues such as controlling and accessing technological developments aimed at human enhancement. As a living organism, human is in a constant state of transformation. Along

with the latest technological developments, transhumanism is also the biggest supporter of the idea of preserving and amplifying this transformation. The politics of transhumanism begins here. At the point where scientific research meets philosophy, politics is inevitable. The border between science and politics is intertwined. The reason for this is to emphasize the effects of the outputs of produced technologies and the changes that will result. Making sense of the unity of the theoretical and political environment is valuable in terms of understanding the politics of transhumanism. The point to be noted here is that in the 21st century where politics is positioned as biopolitical, transhumanism has also found its place in this classification due to the politics of science. Transhumanist politics includes very different political views. Transhumanism as a type of political axis, hub, or vector as opposed to a particular political party or philosophy (Twyman 2014). In his article titled Transhumanism and Politics, Amon Twyman (2014) emphasized the importance of politics in order to prevent the division of the advocates of technological improvement, which includes human enhancement, and explained the awareness of the political priority of 'transhumanist transformation' based on the assumption that "everything is political". According to the study he wrote for the Institute for Ethics and Emerging Technologies (IEET), it can be said that all of the political philosophies that support transhumanist thought are "Political Transhumanism" which is mentioned in the previous chapters. And now in the 21st century, transhumanism is classified as a political movement. Transhumanist politics embodies a political diversity with the common goal that the application of technological developments is based on personal choice (More 2013, 56).

As mentioned in the previous sections, in a progressive perspective, biopolitics is a reference to the presence or absence of humans' right to control their bodies. Biopolitics is also related to the question of the ethicality of scientific developments and is defined as the advocacy and rejection of biotechnologies (Hughes 2009). In terms of controlling the human condition, which is expected to change rapidly by scientific developments, biopolitics has a very important place in the politics of the 21st century and is an indicator of the acceptance of the politics of transhumanism. With the transhumanist tradition, biopolitics emphasizes the greatness of all these changes by putting forward an understanding of politics through the control of biotechnologies and science. The reasons

for the evaluation of transhumanism on the political ground are that human being is a biological being, the importance of direct technological intervention in human biology, and the physical and psychological enhancement of the human body, and therefore it is within the scope of politics, especially in terms of control and distribution of these changes. Because of these features, which are considered as transhumanism, it is a current of thought that claim that these interventions are political phenomena. This can only find a place for itself by being explained on a biopolitical basis. In transhumanist understanding, biopolitics is defined as preventing the misuse of biotechnologies, regulating how they will be used, their political control, public policy regulations, or their absence (More & Vita-More 2013, 279-360). Transhumanism gathers in quite a variety of political ideas. In addition to common goals such as supporting anti-aging treatments, and preventing death, and human-enhancing ideals such as consciousness transplantation, they differ according to their assumptions of personal choice, public policy, and political perspectives.

In this section, a discussion will be followed based on a science fiction work on the applicability of the libertarian theory of transhumanism. With the example of *Altered Carbon* (Morgan 2002), I will first examine the positioning of libertarian transhumanism as the polar points that I have drawn within the framework of 21st-century politics, and then the position of posthumans in a libertarian political system.

4.1.1 Libertarian Transhumanism

Although the term 'transhumanism' was first used in the 1960s, it's the definition as an ideology was realized in 1992 with the establishment of the Extropy¹⁷ Institute. In the studies carried out within the scope of the Institute, transhumanism has turned into an ideology as the unity of anarcho-capitalism and transhumanism. Transhumanism was supported by a group of libertarian techno-optimists during this period. The Extropy

¹⁷ Extropy, explained in the official Extropian Principles (version 2.5), as "a measure of intelligence, information, energy, vitality, experience, diversity, opportunity, and capacity for growth (Regis 1994). Main theme is the application of critical and creative approaches to scientific development. "That could help make sense of the confusing but potentially liberating and existentially enriching capabilities opening up to humanity." (More, 2003).

Institute (ExI), founded by Max More, was the first organized proponent of transhumanism as a philosophy.

In the Extropian perspective, transhumanism is ideologically defined as,

“Transhumanism is a class of philosophies that seek to guide us toward a posthuman condition. Transhumanism shares many elements of humanism, including a respect for reason and science, a commitment to progress, and a valuing of human (or transhuman) existence in this life rather than in some supernatural “afterlife.” Transhumanism differs from humanism in recognizing and anticipating the radical alterations in the nature and possibilities of our lives resulting from various sciences and technologies such as neuroscience and neuropharmacology, life extension, nanotechnology, artificial ultra-intelligence, and space habitation, combined with a rational philosophy and value system (More 1990)”.

The Extropy Institute is 'a networking exchange dedicated to developing strategies for human enhancement (H+)' for the human envisioned future. Extropy is a core element of transhumanism, reflected "as a symbol of continuous progress and the scope of living or organizational systematic intelligence, functional order, vitality and capacity, and the drive to heal" (More 2003).

The Extropy Institute also focused on the impact of the values represented by extropianism on the formation of transhumanist ideology and the promotion of these values. The publication of Extropy's five core principles in 1988 marked the transition from an abstract set of ideas about human development to a concrete ideological system with specific social and political goals through technology (Mazarakis 2016, 17). The intent was not to specify particular beliefs, technologies, or policies. The Extropy Principles consist of a handful of principles (or values or perspectives) that encode the proactive, life-affirming, and life-promoting ideals that support transhumanism (More 2013, 36). It is the first comprehensive and explicit expression of transhumanism as a political ideology and contains several key elements shared by all existing forms of transhumanism.

More's understanding of "Extropian Principles" and its values were expressed as:

"1. Boundless Expansion: Seeking more intelligence, wisdom, and effectiveness, an unlimited lifespan, and the removal of political, cultural, biological, and psychological limits to self-actualization and self-realization. Perpetually overcoming constraints on our progress and possibilities. Expanding into the universe and advancing without end.

2. Self-Transformation: Affirming continual psychological, intellectual, and physical self-improvement, through reason and critical thinking, personal responsibility, and experimentation. Seeking biological and neurological augmentation.

3. Dynamic Optimism: Positive expectations fueling dynamic action. Adopting a rational, action-based optimism, shunning both blind faith and stagnant pessimism.

4. Intelligent Technology: Applying science and technology creatively to transcend "natural" limits imposed by our biological heritage, culture, and environment.

5. Spontaneous Order: Supporting decentralized, voluntaristic social coordination processes. Fostering tolerance, diversity, foresight, personal responsibility, and individual liberty."

This manifesto's fifth principle refers to Extropianism as voluntary, decentralized social coordinating procedures. James Hughes (2004), states that the principle of 'Spontaneous Order', "derived from the work of Friedrich Hayek and Ayn Rand, is that an anarchist market creates a free and dynamic order, that state existence and its authority are entropic." (Hughes 2004, 166). The approach that can be called the rejection of the state in the anarcho-capitalist perspective has been considered the best option to support the concept of individual freedom, which is at the core of transhumanist politics in terms of libertarianism. But over the years, this approach has been criticized as too extreme by thinkers within the institute, and the idea of libertarian transhumanism has been put forward as a more moderate version. In 2000, Max More abandoned the principle of "Spontaneous Order" and replaced it with the following:

Open Society: Supporting social orders that foster freedom of speech, freedom of action, and experimentation. Opposing authoritarian social control and favoring the rule of law and decentralization of power. Preferring bargaining over battling, and exchange over compulsion. Openness to improvement rather than a static utopia.

Libertarian politics was at the forefront of transhumanist thought in the 1980s and 90s. From the late 1980s and through the 1990s, most transhumanists evinced broadly libertarian politics. Anders Sandberg (1994) argued that transhumanist concepts may be combined with a variety of political philosophies, and that the extropian libertarian transhumanism hybrid is a particularly potent type of transhumanism (More 2013, 57). It can be said that the extropian movement's crucial point is its combination of radical technological optimism with libertarian political philosophy. Extropians value "*free exchange of ideas, freedom to criticize, and freedom to experiment*" within their libertarian understanding. Self-proclaimed and involuntarily imposed 'authorities' are challenged, and coercive political solutions, unquestioned obedience to leaders, and inflexible hierarchies that stifle intelligence and constrain technological advancement are viewed with suspicion (More 1998). It could also be called libertarian transhumanism (Goertzel 2006). Libertarian transhumanists focus mostly on Enlightenment's ideal of liberty (Mazarakis 2016) with the principles of:

Figure 3: The Core principles of Libertarian Transhumanism

Self-Ownership	Right & Liberties	State	Market
*Seeks individual freedom to reach the posthuman era. *Implication of self-interested reason and will in the context of rationality and ethical perspective.	*Emphasizes limiting and suppressing attempts regarding violation of civil rights and liberties. *Consists of civil libertarians. *Morphological freedom	*Coercive state power is challenged, and the rule of law is emphasized. *Stated that any state intervention in the name of public policy regulation or insured human enhancement technologies will limit their choice regarding freedom.	*Depends on the free market. *Believes free market is a more efficient allocation of societal resources than any planned or mixed economy.

Libertarianism emerges at the intersection of economic and individual freedom. As mentioned in the previous section, it consists of freedom and state pillars. It legalizes the "old-fashioned" (Lyotard 1984) traditional liberal politics, the biological and the metamorphosed "human" as the political of politics. This cycle of humanism will eventually change contemporary political thought. The libertarian transhumanist thought that emerges under extropianism, aims at human development, well-being, and happiness. Freedom is the state of individuals to be free without being exposed to the authority of others. And at its core is the maximization of freedom of choice and independent decision making. The reason for choosing libertarianism in this study, as stated before, is that it has the closest meaning to the 'freedom' emphasis that transhumanism aims at. That is why the perception of freedom, detailed as morphological freedom in transhumanist philosophy, is one of the main points in the analysis of posthuman politics within the framework of libertarian transhumanism. In the libertarian transhumanist movement, in societies with central state control, technological progress, diversity, and oppositional views are constrained (Bailey 2005). Open societies allow for more strictly organized social structures to exist as long as individuals are free. Coercive state power is challenged, and the rule of law is emphasized. Emphasizing that coercive state power leads to the suppression of alternative ideas and practices, it supports the equal application of rules and laws to legislators and implementers without exception. Open societies are argued to be essential to the peaceful, productive pursuit of transhumanist goals. Libertarian transhumanism believes that posthuman-transhuman individuals should be responsible for their own lives. Healthy societies require a combination of freedom and responsibility. For open societies to exist, individuals must be free to pursue their interests in their way. But for individuals and societies to thrive, freedom must come with personal responsibility (More 1998). By emphasizing the priority of the rights held by individual subjects over democracy, Libertarians argue that this idea, as the basis of libertarian transhumanism, that developments such as biotechnology that will provide H+ should be the cornerstone of the political structure of liberal societies as a "reasonable comprehensive doctrine" (More 2013, 715).

The next section is about *Altered Carbon* as a sample of transhumanist politics. To understand the libertarian perspective and to evaluate the state, equality, justice, and politics on a concrete basis, it would be meaningful to analyze a work. Therefore, it was thought that it would be appropriate to examine *Altered Carbon* because of the universe it offers.

4.1.2 Altered Carbon and Politics

Transhumanist science fiction began to find a place in the literature after WWII, with the influence of the cold war. From the 1940s on, fields of study such as cloning, genetic engineering, and artificial intelligence became the main subject of literature.

All these studies do not remain within the boundaries of literature, they also found a place in the scientific field. Especially with coining the 'Cyborg' term, it provided the necessary terminology for transhumanist philosophy as well. The cyborg, as the union of cybernetic and organic life, is the second stage of transhumanist transformation. In science fiction, Darth Vader from the Star Wars series, from the Marvel cinematic universe—Spiderman series—Dr. Otto Octavius and Dr. Norman Osborn, Antman from MSU, Captain America, Hulk, Iron Man, Nebula and Spiderman who uses Stark technology to modify his genetic superiority with technology, Cyborg from DC universe, Motoko Kusanagi from *Ghost in the Shell* series or Lucy (2014) are the main examples. *BioShock*, *Deus Ex*, and *Cyberpunk 2077* as examples in the video-game universe. We do not see them only in science fiction but also, we live in the age of cyborgs. Implanted lenses, synthetic skin, and body organs are proof that the transformation that transhumanism signals have already begun. There are also considerations suggesting further regulation of this transformation within the framework of 21st-century biopolitics. As explained above, there are criticisms of the disappearance of biodiversity, the release of genetically modified organisms into the environment, and gene therapy for eugenic purposes (Adorno 2021, 181). Science fiction also elaborates on these criticisms and makes various portrayals of the future. Contemporary literature covers the conflict between techno-utopian scientists and techno-dystopian science fiction writers. Technophobic, dystopian science fiction is set up as a warning for the 'future'.

Altered Carbon is a sci-fi noir¹⁸ genre that was fictionalized by Richard K. Morgan, who was the flag bearer of the cyberpunk genre in the post-2000 period and written in 2002. *Altered Carbon*, as the first book of the three-book series, is a portrayal of a future shaped on a post-apocalyptic-dystopian basis. The work sheds light on the results of the transformation of humanity, which spread into space 300 years later, as a result of developing technologies. The fact that space travels are made with limited means has triggered humanity in technological innovations, and thanks to a disc called the “Cortical stack”, a consciousness transfer technology has emerged in which humans' memories and experiences are collected and recorded. Thanks to this technology, humanity spread into space and began to settle throughout. Later, the cortical stack, which was developed to facilitate space travel, began to be used by all humans, and at this point, *Altered Carbon* begins to offer a social and political structure that is the subject of the thesis. Because human consciousness can be transferred with a disk, interchangeable human bodies have been named 'sleeves'. Therefore, death is no longer a permanent end, and as long as the disc is not fragmented, the possibility of real death has disappeared. In this way, death as the greatest limitation of humans has been overcome and human in the transhumanist sense has gone through a transformation and reached the posthuman.

The story begins with the resleeved of an envoy Takeshi Kovacs¹⁹, an interstellar warrior imprisoned by the confiscation of his disk—consciousness—for 500 years, to solve the murder of Laurens J. Bancroft, a Meth²⁰. Apart from being a detective science fiction, it is a work worth examining in depth philosophically. What makes this universe special is that it describes a future in which humanity attains near immortality through consciousness transmission. The story takes place in Bay City. It is divided into three regions. The first group is a subclass under the name Ground. Grounders’—due to their ever-increasing numbers—the population is high and their capacity to attain the status of the above-dwellers. They often do not have access to medical technologies. They provide

¹⁸ A hybrid genre of fiction that combines film noir and science fiction. It examines technology as a threatening and destructive phenomenon.

¹⁹ The envoys are a rebel group against meth and immortality. They argue that eternal life is not for humans, and it will dehumanize them. Envoys believe that those who want to live forever should be executed.

²⁰ They are the super-rich, the upper classes who freely use wealth and power without limits, and they have become godlike.

cheap labor to the Protectorate²¹ and Meths. The second group is the Twilight group, which is stuck between the Meths living in Aerium and the grounders. It is a thin middle class. They form the workforce for bureaucracy and technology. They often serve as managers and technicians. The final structure is called Aerium. They are settlements above the clouds where the skyscrapers of the meths are located. Only privately registered aircraft and police aircraft can pass by these complexes. Suntouch House, owned by Laurens Bancroft, is the most important of these complexes.

The state continues to exist as the United Nations Interstellar Protectorate, which is modeled after the United Nations. It was established as an international institution in 1945 and became a supranational unified government in the 22nd and 23rd centuries. As an intergovernmental organization, it performs interstellar missions. At the end of the 21st century, humanity, which began to spread into space, left the solar system and reached Harlan's Worlds. The UN has developed its political influence to solve the problems here and has undergone an interstellar transformation to escape from the political turmoil as it spread to different systems over time. It is governed by a constitutional republic. There is a separation of powers, the judiciary is run by the 'court of Justice', the executive by the UN Security Council, and the legislature by the UN General Assembly. The state has served limited opportunities to people as an insured sleeve, security, etc., but has not been able to prevent class conflict and has turned into a dystopian posthuman state. The law is reserved for Meths, and when there is a monopoly in technological advances (PhyschaSec by Bancroft), class differences become quite deep. Grounders cannot reach the level of welfare to get a new and good sleeve, they have to take the provided by the state. Meths, on the other hand, can own and create any sleeve they want, clone themselves, and even back up their memories with the help of their satellites. It reveals the darkest side of human nature, in which the value of life, and the fear of death are kept in control as a transhumanist reality. A groundbreaking invention created a caste-like world order due to human greed rather than a peaceful environment. The divided structure of the city is proof of this system. This political structure, which can be described as libertarian, with freedom and the limited state have transformed the posthuman era into a dystopia in the

²¹ A sovereign interstellar empire. The successor to the international governing body we know as the UN is the official government of the solar system that governs the Sun, Earth and the rest of the planets.

Altered Carbon universe. The example of Altered Carbon is used to analyze the politics offered by libertarian transhumanist politics. Altered Carbon has been the subject of this thesis in terms of the social structure it offers us.

In the example of Altered Carbon as a libertarian interpretation, the way for individuals' self-development is clear. The individual knows what is best for itself. This notion of self-enhancement (More 2013) in libertarian transhumanism is included in the Altered Carbon example as human enhancement. As mentioned in the previous section, society is divided into three in the universe and this social inequality is a major obstacle to the freedom of access to H+ technologies. Therefore, the free will of the individual advocated by libertarian transhumanism, to reach the good that it thinks for itself, cannot work on this example. Libertarian transhumanism does not offer a solution to this problem. This is where the difference between Grounders and Meths comes into play. Access to H+ as a form of freedom is provided in theory. To be or not to be posthuman is left to the individual's own and free will, which is the greatest fact aimed at by transhumanist politics. Transhumanists place great emphasis on individual freedom and individual choice when it comes to enhancement. The point to be noted here is humans' understanding of perfection. Each individual is involved in this change process from their own perspective, some may prefer not to change. Since it would be morally inappropriate to set a single standard, the idea of giving humans the right to choose is particularly emphasized. In this respect, libertarian transhumanism is a system of thought in which the transhumanist understanding of politics is largely met. But the technologies that Meths' use—cloning or consciousness backup—cannot be provided by Grounders. Naturally, what makes this important for transhumanist thought is the restrictions that can be encountered in transhumanist transformation and in the posthuman era. It is emphasized that technologies should be independent of imposition. Those who do not choose to use technology or prefer to change in a different direction need protection from any authority or even interference. This idea leads to the discussion of political and social equality.

Although in different transhumanist theories the figure of the state tries to prevent social inequality, which is also covered in detail in the Altered Carbon universe, the limitation of the state lies at the core of libertarian transhumanism. Libertarianism is a

political philosophy that advocates the idea of a minimal state limited to the protection of individual freedom and supports free trade and a free market economy. Government intervention is thought to disrupt the economy and cause crises (Bailey 2005). The existence of the state, as the main subject of the thesis, is important here. In the posthuman era, the state has duties, especially in the distribution and control of these technologies. The political structure targeted in libertarian transhumanism offers a field that supports all individuals to reach their targeted visions without any restrictions, even in the process of transhumanist transformation. In particular, the restriction of the state as a democratic authority, argues that restrictions in science and medicine, and thus slow progress, are related to government regulation and public policy. The existence of the state acts as a sensor in all circumstances and they think that with an authority of majority suffrage, albeit democratic, these H+ technologies can be banned, and the transformation cannot be completed. By existing in a limited way, the state must fulfill its basic duties. At the time of the Extropian Institute, the thought that shared anarchist foundations and rejected the state completely, re-positioned the state with a libertarian perspective in the late 90s and reconstructed the transhumanist era. Libertarian transhumanism has a definition of the state taken from Ayn Rand (1966). At a point very close to anarcho capitalism, the main tasks of the state are to provide justice, security, and the military at the international level. This definition can find a response in the universe of *Altered Carbon*. There is a very limited state in the universe. Justice is provided by the above-mentioned, interstellar-dominated UN, while the military is provided by CTAC, and security is provided by the Police departments. Structural analysis can be made through Lieutenant Ortega and Laurens Bancroft in the *Altered Carbon* universe. Lieutenant Ortega, an officer in the Bay City Police Department (PD), basically refers to the location of the state. She has a role under the UN administration, people were given some opportunities, but the sharp class difference that emerged could not be overcome within the framework of equality and justice. The reason for positioning her as a state is its dysfunction and ineffectiveness against Meths as a staff assigned by the state to provide security. The same is true for the state. As discussed in the previous section, one of the issues that libertarian transhumanism places emphasis on is the issue of open society. Open societies allow more tightly organized social structures to exist as long as individuals are free. It is argued that open societies are necessary for the peaceful, productive pursuit of transhumanist goals

(More 1998). However, as can be seen in the presented analysis, a political environment that is free from state control and where individual freedom is seen above all leads to chaos in terms of justice and equality due to the passivity of the state. Throughout the series, the state is passive and sided with the Meths, losing its neutrality in all circumstances, including issues of security and justice. In accordance with the libertarian philosophy of justice, the rules that determine human behavior in the Carbon universe are absent. CTAC and PD take place in the universe as security providers of the state. But the class division in the universe is caused by the existence of techno-giants, the very limited state, and the existence of private companies such as PyschaSec in economic terms. At this point, Laurens Bancroft, who dominates the universe technologically, can be structurally positioned as technological progress and technology companies in this process. Along with H+ technologies, in this universe by cortical stack and artificial limbs and even bodies, posthuman transformation is a market dominated by private companies. Especially the existence of Laurens Bancroft, all the opportunities and the privilege he has by the state is an example of this monopoly. He can make an investment at any time, dominate the market, and even easily patronize someone who has been convicted by the state and imprisoned with his body and stack confiscated to investigate your own death. Because this "freedom" was provided by the state. This is actually one of the points where libertarian transhumanism is blocked. When there is not enough state control, it is inevitable for the state to degenerate in the economic-political framework. Where free market goals are not supported by efficient and effective public policies, a monopoly will be a defining element of posthuman politics, as in the case of Laurens Bancroft. Both the definition of the state and the understanding of freedom defined by theory cannot provide an adequate explanation for the equality problem that may arise with access to these H+ technologies. Since transhumanism should aim at social enhancement as well as biological enhancement, the political structure that libertarian transhumanism presents in its current form turns the posthuman period into a dystopia, as in the Carbon example. It determines that any government intervention on behalf of public policy regulation or insured human enhancement technologies will limit choices regarding freedom (More 2013). However, in order to prevent social division, they are insufficient of providing social equality as well as physical enhancement. They argue that this equality will be achieved spontaneously in the free market (Hughes 2004), but as we have seen in the

example, unlimited freedom and the envisaged market order cause the emergence of monopol companies such as PychaSec and monopolization of the market, therefore human enhancement technologies. This presents a society structure that is far from the concepts of freedom and equality they aim for.

Another example here is government-provided insured bodies in the Altered Carbon universe. A new sleeve is provided by the state to individuals who lost their bodies as a result of a murder. This is a decision that libertarian theory opposes. It envisages that the state should never be involved in this process (More 2013). The reason why it is included here is that the only point where it differs from libertarianism is that it cannot find a solution to the equality problem of the universe. Grounders who lost their bodies can benefit from this insured resleeved service. But a child who lost her body at the age of 5 has to admit having a body at 75 when she is resleeved. There is no choice. This is analogous to the consequences of state intervention by libertarian transhumanism. But what is at issue here is the inadequacy of public policy. Not everyone can benefit fully from these technologies. The application of H+ technologies is one of the important branches of transhumanist politics. In addition to the advantages of these technologies, their disadvantages are also revealed. With such technologies, the inequality that already exists will increase, and the access and control of the enhancements that can be obtained by an elite group will become limited. To ensure successful social transformation, making these technologies accessible is just as important as developing them. Although the competitive environment supports development, it increases injustice in accessibility. Here, the access and distribution of biotechnologies is a problem of injustice. Buchanan (2008) says that all humans benefit from individual developments, and this may be the case for these new H+ technologies. He mentioned that the increase in individual differences can also be positively affected by those who cannot benefit directly, as he calls the "network factor". Evaluation of development as undemocratic would also be wrong and incomplete. As mentioned above, even if it is not evenly distributed, it can be considered beneficial to society to him. The political structure presented by the libertarian transhumanist theory does not work in this example, and this network factor caused class differences and it continued to increase. It just remained as a motivation to enhance for Grounders as hope to be located with Meths. For example, Laurens Bancroft's attorney,

Oumou Prescott. She is from ground and thanks to Meths' enhanced technology she wishes to be one of them. While people of the lower class may attain weaker, uglier bodies and have to work for Meths, those depicted as Meth may attain better bodies and even live for centuries by having clones of their own. It was thought that the access of everyone in the universe to these technologies could disrupt the social order. When this story is analyzed from the point of view of the transhumanist system, it tells how changes in ideological and economic meanings can be observed and the consequences of the limited position of the posthuman state.

Libertarian transhumanism is based on Rawls's understanding of justice that includes equality of opportunity and social inclusion to avoid these criticisms of 'equality'. But it cannot be implemented properly in politics. This is where Rawls' basic claim that justice should be understood as "equality" takes its inspiration. People may have different opinions about how a life should be lived, but what we need to do is to create a social structure that the people who make up the society will approve of. Rawls introduced two important concepts to define equality: the original state and the veil of ignorance (1999). In contrast to current situations, Rawls looks at what social norms and institutions people would tolerate in a scenario where no one knew whether they had an advantage due to luck or not. A hypothetical mechanism known as the veil of ignorance allows people who are ethically unaware of one-sided features to choose over the fundamental components of society, thus achieving equality. Rawls has grounded inequality by attributing it to the factor of luck (1996, 102), but the idea that libertarian theory uses this understanding is inconsistent with the idea of getting rid of constraints and disabilities with H+, which transhumanism aims at. Libertarian theory cannot provide an explanation for the ideas of equality and justice of the transhumanist transformation, which it has not been able to put on a solid political foundation. Here, a criticism emerges from within transhumanist politics. Democratic transhumanism argues that the genetic equality that nature cannot offer to humanity can be achieved if H+ is democratic and fair. Every individual who wishes needs protection and supervision to benefit from these technologies, and contrary to the libertarian theory, it advocates that the state should equip with an intense intervention power and manage the process of distributing these technologies. While libertarian thought presents the ideal of freedom at this point, democratic thought is based

on equality and solidarity based on the lack of the above-mentioned and criticized understandings. For example, Meths have privilege on law, and technological developments caused class gaps because they were on a monopoly. While the Grounders live in misery, the Meths live independently in their skyscrapers. Although the initial inequality was overcome with H+, the issue of equality of these technologies cannot prevent sharp class conflicts and social corruption. As stated above, since they could not base the perception of equality and justice on solid political values, the idea of equality was provided in theory, but inevitably turned it into a dystopian environment in a possible posthuman era politics. In an environment where the state provides justice and security, the lack of social policies has led the grounders, including the workforce, to depend on Meths. Grounders can't buy bodies; they have to admit bodies given by the government while meths can clone their bodies and even back up their cortical stacks with the help of their satellites. The problem of death has disappeared, but the libertarian approach has not presented effective politics and has transformed the posthuman state into a dystopia, due to the ineffectiveness of the politics.

In contemporary politics, the role of the state and its impact on social and economic fields are quite limited. In the framework of economy and politics, in the context of capitalism, financial value comes to the fore and multinational—in the Altered Carbon universe as multi-interstellar—companies dominate politics in the 21st century. Libertarian transhumanism also mentioned this capitalist idea. Reaching the talented and advanced posthuman is the only goal. Libertarianism is essentially based on humanism. In the case of radical transformations, the concepts of humanism are expected to change libertarianism. Traditional humanism is based on the purely biologically unchanged human being of the political subject. The perception of 'human', which has changed with transhumanist thought, has renewed itself as a posthuman subject. On the other hand, the existence of the posthuman subject supports the assumption that it is based on the political organization (Mazarakis 2016, 12). Therefore, at a time when human itself is changing, libertarian theory on humans had to change to achieve existential goals as a sustainable political system that is aimed at. While libertarian transhumanism tries to adapt previous political thought to the posthuman era, it is recommended that new rules be created to replace the previous political system (Mazarakis 2016, 25). In a situation where the

human itself changes, it is not possible to adapt the liberal thought—taking a human as a subject—to the future, it has to change too. Classical politics consists of "inventing new moves in old games, conforming to established rules, and inventing new ones" (Mazarakis 2016, 25). In the posthuman era, this will be a period in which the state of politics changes, therefore it will be impossible for these to remain unchanged in a period when humans change. Transhumanism carries a libertarian political legacy. But the idea of "freedom as long as it does not harm others" is open to criticism. It is expected that society and politics will adopt new moral, legal and political discourse with H+ developments.

The limited existence of the state, the shortcomings of libertarian theory, and the lack of understanding of equality and justice for the posthuman era presented a dystopian future. The future is now. A future in which the inequality and injustice dominated by corporate capitalism, presented by science fiction or bioconservatives remain unchanged forever, is a predominant presupposition. On the other hand, there is a techno-utopian understanding. The change for the future begins now, but the acceptance of the existing ideas and theories turns the imagination into a restriction and therefore the continuation of the present turns the future into a crisis.

As mentioned in the previous sections, *Altered Carbon*'s social structure also presents us with this crisis. *Altered Carbon*, which offers a perspective on understanding the possibilities that technology brings to humans from a philosophical point of view, has good implications for the development of copying consciousness to stack, the immortalization of meths, the Grounder-Aerium distinction, the transformation of human beings, and politics. It is a story where a gripping detective story is blended with science fiction under a dystopian society structure. The story, which begins with a murdered very rich immortal hiring an envoy to find his killer, tells how even immortality can turn into a world over class differences. This, as mentioned above, showed that a utopian future cannot be built with libertarian perspective of equality or justice. This future presented is just a dream of 'capital', perfect for tech-rich Meths living in the Aerium. Certain lives are found to be worthless and unworthy of 'resleeved', while some lives are found to be worthy of preservation. The world has changed, and the posthuman era has arrived, but the power structures have not changed. The *Altered Carbon* universe is an example of the posthuman state of a capitalist world. It reveals the political and economic situations. The

existence of the state can be mentioned, but in many respects, it has been restricted. Bureaucracy and forces such as CTAC, and Bay City Police Department continue to exist under the UN. In other words, the point to be noted here is that the current political systems are designed for posthuman politics, showing that the economic and political order will exist in the same way. This is what most dystopian sci-fi has in common. It is based on the premise that another economic or political structure is not suitable for the posthuman era. This presupposition causes dystopian science fiction to make the future look pessimistic. Constantly talking, writing, watching, and playing examples of dystopia is an acknowledgment that this is natural and will be the only way. And this is limiting the imagination, meanwhile, limiting the future. New theories of freedom, theories of the state, citizenship theories, and economic models should be discussed. At a time when humans, as the subject of all these, will change, everything about humans must also change. In accordance with transhumanist ideals, there is a need for social enhancement as well as physical enhancement. Although contemporary literature is primarily concerned with the distribution of H+ technologies, transhumanist politics should also deal with posthuman politics. Conventional dystopian depictions constantly push us into a transhumanist future strewn with accepted, evilised presuppositions. However, new bodies, new technologies, and new living spaces should be taken as political objects waiting to be imagined. Otherwise, reality will be nothing different from the dystopia we are used to reading and watching. If a better future is desired, it must be imagined and thought about. Defining it as an evil ideology by prejudgment is an acceptance of the dystopian environment we live in every day. Only this can be expected from the future. Now science fiction and even transhumanist future studies need to change. We must imagine the future and try to reach it by both supporting technologies and examining their social structure.

Philosophically, it offers a perspective on understanding the possibilities technology brings to humans. It has good implications for the copying of consciousness with the help of a disc, the deification of the Meths and becoming immortal in the guise of God, the grounders-aerium distinction, and the transformation of humans and its political consequences. It is a story created in the genre of science fiction with a dystopian society structure of a gripping detective story. The story, which begins with renting an

envoy by a murdered immortal to solve his murder, depicts a posthuman era in the concepts of inequality and justice of immortality.



CHAPTER V

CONCLUSION

Defining and classifying humanity from different perspectives has become a subject to be considered in the literature as positive values such as rationality and criticism presented by classical humanism have been seized by racism, sexism, and dominance over nature.

'Posthuman', which is one of these approaches, is an umbrella concept that includes various schools. Therefore, each variant can have very different meanings from the others. The two most common meanings in the literature are understood under Transhumanism(s) and Posthumanism(s). Both systems of thought are based on the idea that the existing definition and scope of human beings are limited. But posthuman definitions are very different from each other. In transhumanist thought, posthuman is a stage of self-transcendence (H+) and evolution by developing in line with science and technology. It represents the human in the near²² future. In transhumanist philosophy, humans are divided into three basic evolutionary states: Yesterday refers to humans; today to the transhuman who transformed into a cyborg; tomorrow, on the other hand, points to the posthuman which human beings are transcended through speculative means such as mind transfer. Posthumanism(s), on the other hand, is an existential philosophical system. It explains that there must be a situation beyond the centrality of the human being. And posthumanism(s) criticizes the anthropocentric approaches, emphasizing that the biosphere is considered as a whole and the centrality of the human being is not important. Posthumanist posthuman covers the integrated state of humans with ecology.

Definitions of transhumanism have changed over time. In the definition made by More in 1990, it is explained as a philosophy of life that supports the principle and values

²² It is still a matter of debate in the literature. It is debatable whether this time is the future or the present due to questions such as whether humans have always been posthuman or are they posthuman now.

of the evolution of intelligent life through science and technology. In 2003 edition of the Transhumanist FAQ²³, its scope was further detailed and defined as an intellectual and cultural movement that helps humans get rid of their intellectual, physical, and psychological limitations and prevent aging with the help of technology. With a more descriptive definition, it was handled holistically as a political movement within the scope of transhumanism, and efficiency was emphasized. According to this definition, transhumanism is the criticism of the dangers of technologies to be used to achieve H+, their use, and distribution within the scope of ethical studies. Transhumanism has turned into a scientific field of study in the state of "being a philosophy as a cultural movement" (More 2013, 32). This field of study encompasses an interdisciplinary awareness to evaluate the elements of technological progress aimed at improving the human condition.

The transformation that will take humanity to the posthuman era has begun. The reason for including science fiction in this study is to be able to find implications for this transhumanist transformation while examining the possibilities of the future. Science fiction exemplifies not only dystopian or utopian values but also concrete outcomes. In this context, science fiction functions as social criticism and philosophy (Freedman 1987). The importance of science fiction lies in revealing the consequences of these new technologies, the transformation itself, and the moral, political, and social implications of this transformation and developments. The use of technology in science fiction, its examination as a technological posthuman, and the reason why it is preferred in this study are to go beyond an 'evil' definition and to connect these technologies with the political structure.

In this thesis, the example of *Altered Carbon* is used to analyze the politics offered by libertarian transhumanist politics. *Altered Carbon* has been the subject of this thesis in terms of the social structure it offers us. Written in the style of sci-fi noir, the work is a simple science-fiction detective story, and its greatest success is that it pushes humans to think constantly about the social and political structure it offers. The story, which takes place 300 years from now, tells the events that affected the use of a disc developed for

²³<https://nickbostrom.com/views/transhumanist.pdf>

space travel and called the 'cortical stack', which enables the transfer of human consciousness (DHF: Digital Human Freight) from the body to body.

In other words, the point to be noted here is that the current political systems are designed for posthuman politics, showing that the economic and political order will exist in the same way. This is what most dystopian sci-fi has in common. It is based on the premise that another economic or political structure is not suitable for the posthuman era. Dystopian science fiction portrays the future as dark due to this premise. Dystopian scenarios are frequently discussed, written about, viewed on television, and played on video games, which acknowledges that this is inevitable and the only option. Additionally, this is restricting the future while also limiting the imagination. New theories of freedom, theories of the state, citizenship theories, and economic models should be discussed. At a time when humans, as the subject of all these political issues, will change, everything about humans must also change. In accordance with transhumanist ideals, there is a need for social enhancement as well as physical enhancement. Although contemporary literature is primarily concerned with the distribution of H+ technologies, transhumanist politics should also deal with posthuman politics. We are continually pushed into a transhumanist future filled with common, evilised assumptions by conventional dystopian images. New bodies, new technology, and new living arrangements, on the other hand, ought to be viewed as political objects just waiting to be imagined. The purpose is to emphasize the need for new theories for social and political enhancement in addition to the physical enhancement that transhumanist philosophy targets rather than the "reinterpretation" of libertarian theory or existing political theories. Otherwise, reality will be nothing different from the dystopia we are used to reading and watching. If a better future is desired, it must be imagined and thought about. Defining it as an evil ideology by prejudgment is an acceptance of the dystopian environment we live in every day. Only this can be expected from the future. Now science fiction and even transhumanist future studies need to change. We must imagine the future and try to reach it by both supporting technologies and examining their social structure.

The aim of this thesis is to examine the political outputs of transhumanism and to present a perspective on the prevailing assumptions in the general literature. In order to

avoid the criticism that the posthuman conceptualization is abstract, the outputs of the libertarian theory which is accepted as dominant in the Transhumanist political thought literature were examined in the Altered Carbon universe. The aim is to pave the way for and emphasize the power of 'imagination', rather than the relevance of libertarian theory, or, as previously mentioned, 'reinterpreted' existing theories, to the posthuman era. The point is to discuss the need for new theories in the name of social and political enhancement besides the physical that transhumanist philosophy aims at its origin, which also is different from the reality we live in now.

Discussing the meaninglessness of posthuman's existence in the field of speculative fiction, and therefore its integration into the concrete political system is meaninglessness itself. We can only change the future by imagining it. As Arendt (1998) mentioned, the consequences of changing the human condition with scientific and technological developments can only be political when they are related to the value of science. The fact that it is abstract and futuristic does not mean that it will never be the subject of politics one day.

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