RETURN FROM EXILE

Contributing writer: Eric Vrooman

You shall leave everything you love most dearly: this is the arrow that the bow of exile shoots first. You are to know the bitter taste of others’ bread, how salt[y] it is, and know how hard a path it is for one who goes descending and ascending others’ stairs.

–Dante, Paradiso, XVII: 55-60

HURRICANE KATRINA FORCED THE CENTER FOR ETHICS to spend a year in exile at Washington and Lee University in 2005-2006. In Fall of 2006, the Center returned to Tulane, to New Orleans. Did the “bread” taste the same? Were the “stairs” even there?

The Center’s faculty and staff faced immense personal losses: the departures of fellow faculty and friends, the suspension of several graduate programs, and the flooding of Tulane’s campus. Amidst the clatter of hammers and keening of saws, piles of moldy furniture and drywall on the curb, and omnipresent dark water lines on brick and clapboard houses, an uncertain future awaited.

Some estimate that at least one-third of Tulane’s faculty and staff returned to homes that flood water had either destroyed or heavily damaged. Associate Professor of Philosophy, Bruce Brower, was among those whose homes were flooded. As this issue of Focus went to press, the Center’s Coordinator, Meg Keenan, still lived in a FEMA trailer, while she and her husband repaired flood and wind damage to their home.

strange to say, the Murphy Institute’s Center for Ethics and Public Affairs was up and running again. Strange because I still recall thinking, in September 2005, that the Center seemed destined to become one of the now countless casualties of Hurricane Katrina. Strange, too, because I remember thinking, a year later, that the sudden departure of some key members of the Center’s Faculty Committee at Tulane might do what Katrina had been unable to do.

But the Center for Ethics has taken flight again, no doubt about it. The lead article in this issue of Focus on the Center explains why. The Center, as you will see, was deeply affected by Hurricane Katrina. But the fact is that many more of its Tulane faculty mainstays returned than departed. As they resumed what were once considered normal activities at Center, they also discovered that those activities seem more interesting and significant than ever before. The issues that Tulane faculty and visiting scholars were concerned with when the Center was established five years ago now simply seem more vivid and relevant.

Remarkable, too, is the unexpected role the Center’s Faculty Fellowship program has played in helping to re-build Tulane’s depleted faculty. 2005-2006 Faculty Fellow Alison Denham (St. Anne’s College, Oxford) has accepted the Department of Philosophy’s offer of a two-year appointment as Visiting Associate Professor. 2006-2007 Faculty Fellow Jill Locke (Gustavus Adolphus) will stay on for another year as Visiting Associate Professor in the Department of Political Science. These appointments, I think, are new testimony to the value of the Center for Ethics.

Many other once “normal” activities also took place this year:

- In March, 2007, the Center hosted its sixth annual Politics, Philosophy, and Economics (PPE) conference. “Philosophy and economics” was its organizing theme. Participants included Steven Durlauf (U. of Wisconsin, Madison); Mathais Risse (Harvard); and Lewis Kornhauser (NYU). Papers presented at the conference will be revised for publication in a future issue of the journal. The Center’s PPE conference is an annual event organized by the journal’s editors, Gerald Gaus (Arizona) and Jonathan Riley.

- The Center also selected its fifth class of visiting Faculty Fellows. For the first time in 2007-2008, it will award a Faculty Fellowship to a Tulane faculty member: Jonathan Pritchett, Associate Professor of Economics, whose research focuses on the economic history of the American slave trade. Next year’s Faculty Fellows also include Elizabeth Brake (Calgary), Steven Wall (Bowling Green) and David Shoemaker (Bowling Green). Their book projects during a year’s residence at the Center will range from the place of marriage in ethics and law to the relationship between perfectionist political morality and democratic political institutions.
IS SHAME A NECESSARY COMPLEMENT TO DEMOCRACY, or does it interfere with democratic politics and participation? According to Jill Locke, that’s how the question about the relationship between shame and democratic citizenship is usually framed.

Locke argues that this either/or formulation is inadequate for understanding the work that shame and shaming discourse performs in democratic politics.

“Rather than figuring out if shame is intrinsically good or bad for politics or making distinctions between ‘good’ and ‘bad’ shame, I am interested in the political effects of calling someone or something ‘shameless,’” says Locke. “It has an effect of exiling that person and his or her practices from the political community. I think that’s where the really interesting conversation lies.”

While a graduate student in the late 1990s, Locke became fascinated by a revival in shaming punishments meted out by local judges. Since then, she’s broadened the scope of her research project on The Politics of Shame to include a focus on the role of shame in political participation.

“If there is a common theme that runs throughout my work,” says Locke, “it’s an interest in what I term the ‘moral culture of democracy’—the extra-legal and extra-governmental mores and forces that support and compromise democratic life.” In this regard, her work also joins in a conversation with contemporary theorists as wide-ranging as Martha Nussbaum, Michael Warner, and Patricia Williams.

As a democratic theorist, the opportunity to live and continue her research in New Orleans during the early stages of its rebuilding held great appeal for Locke.

Soon after her arrival, Locke was invited to give a lay sermon to a local Unitarian Universalist congregation. The experience encouraged her to consider connections between her work on the “politics of shame” and conditions in the Gulf Coast. The result: an epilogue to her book manuscript titled “Letter from New Orleans,” which comments on the shameful and humiliating conditions in New Orleans pre- and post-Katrina, as well as the urge to shame local, state, and federal government into action.

Associate Professor of Political Science at Gustavus Adolphus College, Locke is the co-editor (with Eileen Hunt Botting) of Feminist Interpretations of Alexis de Tocqueville (forthcoming from Pennsylvania State University Press). Her article on “Shame and the Future of Feminism” will be published in the Fall 2007 issue of Hypatia.
Letter from the Director (cont’d from page 2) >>>

Other activities (and more details about those mentioned above) are described in the pages that follow. As always, the research of the Center’s Faculty and Graduate Fellows constitute the core of its activities. Their profiles should not be missed. Nor should the impressive roster of visiting scholars who came to the Center to lecture or present seminar papers. There can be little question that programs sponsored by the Center continue to capture the interest of scholars across the country and around the world.

In short, after Hurricane Katrina, as before, the Center for Ethics plays a unique role at Tulane, serving as an arena for rigorous and often passionate discussion of moral and political questions that are – and must remain – at the heart of the academic mission of a major research university.

Richard F. Teichgraeber III, Director
June, 2007
Do people have a right to a certain standard of living? Do property rights, as currently constructed, impinge upon important freedoms? These are among the questions that motivate Karl Widerquist’s current research.

“I am working on a paper right now that I hope demonstrates that extreme property rights advocates—or right libertarians—cannot consistently argue for limited government without denying equal protection under the law to the poor,” says Widerquist. Property-less individuals, he believes, “lack the security they need to be capable of entering genuinely voluntary agreements.”

Widerquist’s search for a fair method for social decision-making prompted him to investigate the concept of justice as a voluntary agreement. Ultimately, Widerquist favors basic income capitalism because of its ability to deliver equal freedom to all “in the sense of freedom as noninterference.”

Widerquist was glad to be in New Orleans for the year. “I spent the last four winters in England, and twelve winters before that in New York. I like the occasional 80-degree day in the winter.” Naturally, the post-Katrina poverty, lack of affordable housing and high-paying jobs, and inequitable access to resources made New Orleans a particularly fitting backdrop for his research.

While Widerquist’s concerns about restrictions on freedoms have spread to physical torture of U.S. detainees and imprisonment without trial, poverty remains his primary focus.

Widerquist earned a D.Phil. in Politics from the University of Oxford in 2006. He also holds a PhD in Economics from the City University of New York. In addition to coauthoring two books—The Ethics and Economics of the Basic Income Guarantee (Ashgate, 2005) and Economics for Social Workers: The Application of Economic Theory to Social Policy and the Human Services (Columbia University Press, 2002)—Widerquist has placed articles in the Journal of Socio-Economics and the Journal of Economic Issues. A chapter from his current project appeared in a recent issue of Political Studies and several more are under review.
David Weinstein’s new project explores the ideas and careers of five influential German-speaking refugee intellectuals from the 1930s…

WHILE HIS EARLIER SCHOLARSHIP FOCUSED largely on 19th and early 20th century British moral and political thought, David Weinstein’s new project explores the ideas and careers of five influential German-speaking refugee intellectuals from the 1930s: Erich Auerbach, Hans Baron, Ernst Cassirer, Karl Popper, and Leo Strauss.

Weinstein and his co-author, Avihu Zakai, aim to reconstruct the charged political setting in which these figures did their work, exploring how migration and exile influenced their thinking, and how their thinking subsequently influenced that of others.

In particular, Weinstein and Zakai focus on their subjects’ reconstruction the canon of Western political theory’s and on their distinctive approaches to interpreting texts in that canon.

The idea for Exile and Interpretation: Reinventing European Intellectual History arose while Weinstein was a visiting scholar at The Hebrew University of Jerusalem, Zakai’s home institution. Numerous studies of Strauss, Popper, et al. exist. But none approaches them as a collective group of exiles. Weinstein and Zakai’s project aims to show how each responded to totalitarianism and to their experience of exile as Jews. They argue that each figure “rationally reconstructed” intellectual history “by historically decontextualizing it in order to combat fascism as well as communism.”

By training, Weinstein is a political scientist; Zakai an historian. But both consider themselves intellectual historians first and foremost. Their new project, then, should appeal to students of the history of Western thought, as well as to political theorists and sociologists of knowledge interested in the intellectual impact of exile.

In part because modern, continental intellectual history is a relatively new area of study for him, Weinstein was very pleased to invite Malachi Hacohen—author of the award-winning Karl Popper: The Formative Years (Cambridge University Press, 2000)—to the Tulane campus to speak in the Center for Ethics public lecture series.

Weinstein, a Professor of Political Science at Wake Forest University, has published three books with Cambridge University Press: Equal Freedom and Utility (1998); The New Liberalism: Reconciling Liberty and Community, co-edited with Avital Simhony (2001), and Utilitarianism and the New Liberalism, forthcoming in November 2007 in the Cambridge Ideas in Context Series.

Like Karl Widerquist, Weinstein has spent time recently at Oxford University. He worked on an essay on Popper during a Fellowship at the Oxford Centre for Hebrew and Jewish Studies in 2005. That piece has since appeared in The Journal of Political Ideologies (June 2006).
Faculty Fellowships 2008–09

The Center for Ethics and Public Affairs at the Murphy Institute at Tulane University announces residential Faculty Fellowships for the 2008-2009 academic year. These fellowships, made possible by funds from the Tulane Murphy Foundation, are available to support outstanding faculty whose teaching and research focus on ethics, political theory, political philosophy, or questions of moral choice in architecture, business, government, economics, law, or medicine. While fellows will participate in conferences and seminars organized by the Center, they will be expected to devote most of their time to conducting their own research. Stipends will vary in accordance with individual circumstance. Center Faculty Fellowships are open to all, regardless of citizenship.

Further information about the Fellowships and applications may be obtained from the Center for Ethics and Public Affairs website at www.murphy.tulane.edu/center or may be requested by contacting:

The Center for Ethics and Public Affairs
The Murphy Institute
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Applications must be received by November 16, 2007.
A “staunch critic” of Hobbes as an undergraduate, SHANE COURTLAND is today “one of his most dedicated advocates.”

To avoid the brutish conditions of the state of nature, Hobbes proposed a commonwealth in which all citizens would be subject to the sovereign’s will. Some modern scholars lobby for a constrained sovereignty, which results in pluralistic private standards—“the very thing,” Courtland says, “that brought conflict in the state of nature.”

Other Hobbesian scholars endorse a substantive account of public reason—rules or laws, in other words, that will act as the final decider of conflicts. The flaw with this approach, according to Courtland, is that rules need to be interpreted by someone.

Courtland makes a renewed case for Hobbesian absolutism, which seeks to evade the “Hobbesian Dilemma”: the creation of a power-abusing sovereign vs. constraints on the sovereign that result in pluralistic confusion and conflict.

Unconstrained proceduralism, according to Courtland, moderates the dangers of absolutism by allowing subjects to disagree with the sovereign, so long as they agree to abide by his decrees.

Courtland is currently advised by Professor Eric Mack. The second chapter of his dissertation—“Hobbesian Public Reason”—has been accepted for publication by Hobbes Studies.

Visit The Center for Ethics and Public Affairs at the Murphy Institute website murphy.tulane.edu
A central question in liberal thought is the extent to which liberal societies should tolerate non-liberal regimes. SOPHY WANG takes up John Rawls’s treatment of this dilemma as he explored it in The Law of Peoples.

According to Rawls, to be tolerated by liberal peoples, a non-liberal society must be viewed as legitimate by its members, honor human rights, and be peaceful. Some have criticized Rawls for not extending human rights further (to include classically liberal rights such as free speech, for example) in his criteria, but Wang defends his position on non-liberal regimes and the conception of international justice it authorizes.

Wang makes her case by highlighting Rawls’s claim that his list of human rights conveys a “special class of urgent rights.” This concept of “urgency” potentially broadens Rawlsian human rights into the realms of “social, political, and economic situations.”

Several questions emerge from Wang’s interest in whether social, political, and economic situations count as urgent rights. Specifically, her research investigates the moral obligation of liberal societies to assist those whose governments have jeopardized their rights, who should be the duty-bearers of this obligation, and what are legitimate means for them to accomplish their aims.

Wang plans to attend law school after finishing her dissertation in philosophy under the direction of Associate Professor Bruce Brower.

As Germans born after World War II came of age in the 1970s and 1980s, they lived in a nation divided in two. Yet according to CATHERINE WILKINS they also struggled with similar social and political problems. Her dissertation looks at paintings produced by German artists during those decades, and argues that they addressed common issues that governments in both East and West Germany overlooked.

According to Wilkins, East and West German artists in the 1970s and 1980s revived the 19th-century heroic-landscape form as a means of exploring a collective past. Their images highlighted both the similarities and differences between historic and contemporary Germany, serving as vehicles for social critique.

Focusing on narrative, iconography, and reception, Wilkins’s work speaks to political and cultural historians, as well as poststructuralist and literary theorists. Wilkins shows how images can be used to recover potentially “subversive” memory, as well, rendering her work relevant to memory-studies scholars.

“The dissertation also contributes to the ongoing multidisciplinary debates regarding Histoire Croisée—arguing that a sharp dichotomy between the FRG and GDR did not exist, that the residents of both nations shared a concern over some of the same issues of the period,” says Wilkins.

Wilkins is completing her dissertation—“Images of Revolutionary Identity: The Appropriation of the Heroic Landscape as a Means to Social Change in Germany, 1969-89”—under the direction of Associate Professor Marline Otte in the History Department.
SEPTMBER 15, 2006
ERIC MACK
Tulane University
_Hayek on Justice and the Order of Actions_

OCTOBER 6, 2006
KARL WIDERQUIST
Center Faculty Fellow
_Effective Control Self-Ownership: Freedom as Power to Say No_

OCTOBER 20, 2006
JILL LOCKE
Gustavus Augustus College & Center
Faculty Fellow
_Shame, Suffering, and Democratic Action_

NOVEMBER 3, 2006
RODERICK T. LONG
Auburn University
_Free Minds and Future Contingents_

NOVEMBER 17, 2006
PETER VANDERSCHRAAF
University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill
_The Circumstances of Justice_

DECEMBER 1, 2006
LAWRIE BALFOUR
University of Virginia

JANUARY 26, 2007
SUSANNE SREENHAR
Tulane University
_The Hobbesian Right of Rebellion_

MARCH 14, 2007
GARY GUTTING
University of Notre Dame

APRIL 20, 2007
STUART WHITE
Jesus College, Oxford University
_What (if Anything) is Wrong with Inheritance Tax_

APRIL 27, 2007
DAVID WEINSTEIN
Wake Forest University & Center Faculty Fellow
_Exile, Historicism and the Autonomy of Texts_

MAY 4, 2007
OLIVER SENSEN
Tulane University
_Why We Should Respect Others: Kant’s Formula of Humanity_
FEBRUARY 1, 2007
JAMES E. YOUNG
Professor of English and Judaic Studies,
University of Massachusetts at Amherst
Memory at Ground Zero: A Juror’s Report on the World Trade Center Memorial

FEBRUARY 8, 2007
MALACHI HACOHEN
Associate Professor of Political Science,
History and Religion, Duke University
The Rise and Fall of the Central European Jewish Intelligentsia, 1781-1968: Jacob and Esau and the Dilemmas of the European Nation State

MARCH 8, 2007
SHARON LLOYD
Professor of Philosophy, Law and Political Science
at University of Southern California
The Moral Philosophy of Thomas Hobbes: An Investigation

APRIL 13, 2007
SAMUEL R. FREEMAN
Steven F. Goldstone Term Professor of Philosophy and Law, University of Pennsylvania
Constructivism, Facts, and Moral Investigation

MARCH 2-3, 2007
PPE VI: PHILOSOPHY AND ECONOMICS

STEVEN DURLAUF,
University of Wisconsin at Madison
Assessing Affirmative Action as a Public Policy

MATHIAS RISSE, Harvard University
Fairness in Trade II: Export Subsidies and the Fair Trade Movement

LEWIS KORNHAUSER, New York University
Aggregate Rationality in Economics and Politics

JASON BRENNAN, Brown University
DAVID SCHMIDTZ, University of Arizona
The History of Economic Freedom

PETER VALLENTYNE, University of Columbia-Missouri
Brute Luck and Responsibility
“The staff of the Murphy Institute were among the very first to return to campus in November 2005,” Keenan recalls, “and at the start we found it terribly lonely. Then, as every few days brought another Tulane staff or faculty member back to campus, it was like a little celebration.” The return of Tulane students in January 2006 brought an even greater measure of solace and community.

There are many reminders, of course, that not all has returned to normal. Blue tarps still cover some rooftops. Entire blocks remain vacant and patrolled by the National Guard. During Mardi Gras 2007, parade routes were changed to avoid neighborhoods deemed unsafe. And streetcars have yet to resume running past Tilton Hall along St. Charles Avenue.

Exile brings with it a new perspective on “home”—on what it means, how it’s created and lost, and whether it can be recaptured. Dante and Machiavelli were both exiled from Florence. Hobbes exiled himself to Paris to write Leviathan. Jewish intellectuals like Erich Auerbach, Hans Baron, Ernst Cassirer, Karl Popper, and Leo Strauss fled Nazi Germany in the 30’s. Numerous Palestinian and Israeli intellectuals have been displaced by the Arab-Israeli conflict. There are, of course, countless others. Some have even chosen exile, like Thoreau, without imminent threats to their safety.

There’s a difference between political and war-time exile and exile induced by an unprecedented natural disaster like Katrina. Tulane faculty and staff were eventually free to return to New Orleans. But much of the city’s landscape had been forever altered. One could return home, but to a “home” that had been turned on its head.

In American history, the San Francisco earthquake of 1906 is the only other natural disaster that compares to Hurricane Katrina. It was also the subject of a course taught by Teichgraeber in the summer of 2006. According to Teichgraeber, rebuilding San Francisco occurred quickly, partly because the destruction there was blamed—quite misleadingly—on fire, not the earthquake that was the immediate cause of the fire. “You could say that San Francisco managed to lie its way out of a natural disaster,” Teichgraeber observes, “and so the earthquake’s effect on morale in San Francisco was nowhere near as deep as Katrina’s has been on New Orleans.”

At Tulane, morale also has been affected by the suspension of graduate programs (English and Economics, among others), the scaling down of departments in engineering, and the dismissal of tenured faculty—all parts of unavoidable cost-cutting efforts to secure the University’s future.

Several high-profile Tulane faculty with close ties to the Center for Ethics also elected not to return. Gerald Gaus is now James E. Rogers Professor of Philosophy at the University of Arizona. Michael Zimmerman, another Center mainstay, departed to become Professor of Philosophy and Director of the Center for Humanities and Arts at the University of Colorado. Arthur Brief is now George C. Eccles Chair in Business Ethics at the Eccles School of Business at the University of Utah. Robert Martensen has become Chair of the Department of Medical Humanities at East Carolina University. All are sorely missed.

In light of such huge changes, Teichgraeber says, “the continued vitality of the Center for Ethics and Public Affairs is something of a surprise.” Largely, it’s due to the fact that so many other Tulane faculty with close ties to the Center did return. They came home.

Naturally, it’s difficult to return from forced exile and still feel like you were left behind. That is one of the effects of returning to a city with half as many residents as it had...
before Katrina. But Tulane faculty and staff not only have overcome personal challenges. They have again extended their professional interest and support to Faculty Fellows (old and new) and other visiting scholars hosted by the Center for Ethics.

“I have been teaching at LSU in Baton Rouge for the past seven months in a department that has no seminars or other collaborative programs at all, let alone interdisciplinary ones,” says philosopher Alison Denham, who was a Faculty Fellow at the Center during its year in exile. “The Center’s seminars and lectures have thus provided me another opportunity to hear speakers from ‘outside’ and to pursue concerns in a collaborative way. I am grateful to the Center for making arrangements that allowed me to participate again.”

“President Cowen has done a superb job in developing and cultivating the very strong ties that always existed between Tulane and New Orleans. Inevitably, those ties tend to serve short and medium term practical wants and needs,” says Martyn Thompson, Associate Professor of Political Science. “The work of the Center helps to provide the necessary, academic counterpart to these practical initiatives by addressing the philosophical, ethical, moral, historical and scientific questions involved in such practices.”

The Center’s faculty seminar is also a large part of the reason why Assistant Professor of Philosophy, Oliver Sensen, first chose to work at Tulane. He notes that “few other universities have anything comparable,” in terms of the amount and quality of visiting speakers in philosophical disciplines. The numbers bore that out again during 2006-2007. Only a year after Katrina, the Center hosted fifteen distinguished visiting speakers, including the likes of Sharon Lloyd (USC), Samuel Freeman (Penn), and Stuart White (Oxford).

Tulane remains New Orleans’ largest private employer and the Gulf South’s leading research university. According to Keenan, “By hosting visiting Faculty Fellows, and bringing in internationally known scholars to speak at Tulane, the Center is helping Tulane maintain its reputation for academic excellence. And, by bringing in so many visiting scholars we are also ensuring that folks around the world continue to come to New Orleans and advocate for the city.”

While some faculty with close ties to the Center lost research and time-sensitive publishing opportunities, others found that Katrina helped to reorder their priorities and focus on work. “Living in a rented empty house in Houston, where my husband and I had evacuated, unencumbered by all the usual responsibilities of teaching and university life,” says Ronna Burger, Professor of Philosophy, “I found myself able to concentrate on writing and was able to complete a project I had been working on for many years, *Aristotle’s Dialogue with Socrates: on the Nicomachean Ethics*. The manuscript has just been accepted for publication by the University of Chicago Press.”

The Center’s faculty seminar is also a large part of the reason why Assistant Professor of Philosophy, OLIVER SENSEN, first chose to work at Tulane. He notes that, “few other universities have anything comparable…”
“Katrina forced me to sort out what was really important in my life,” echoes Brower, “and I have actually become much more dedicated to my research after the storm.”

New Orleans also has rearranged its priorities. Today when people here are in need, help is quick to arrive. A tornado struck a neighborhood close to Tulane in the early morning hours of February 13, 2007, blowing the roofs off a number of houses, some of which had only recently been rebuilt or renovated. Volunteers arrived with the morning sun to make repairs, provide food and give support.

Here, in a city where countless trailers are both reminders of the storm and signs of hope (since trailers usually mean homeowners back in the city and working to repair their homes), the Center’s faculty and staff are working to restore and maintain Tulane’s core academic mission. But they miss departed faculty colleagues. They also feel the weight of lives lost and irreparably harmed. And they hope to be spared future exile.


MARTYN THOMPSON will serve as the President of the Micheal Oakeshott Association though 2008, and co-edited the fourteenth volume of Politisches Denken Jahrbuch (Berlin: Duncker & Humblot, 2006) a series of annual collections of essays which plots change and continuity in German political theory since reunification in 1991.

2004-2005 Faculty Fellow ERICA BENNER will be a Fellow at the Whitney Humanities Center at Yale University in 2007-2008.


Faculty Fellow & Professor of Political Science, Wake Forest University, DAVID WEINSTEIN is the author of Utilitarianism and the New Liberalism, forthcoming in November 2007 in the Cambridge University Press Ideas in Context Series.
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