

CARLOS PEREIRA DI SALVO

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ACADEMIC POSITIONS

Visiting Assistant Professor, Department of Philosophy, University of Pennsylvania, July 2017 – Present.

EDUCATION

Northwestern University, Evanston, IL, U.S.A.
Ph.D. in Philosophy. September 2017.

Goethe University, Frankfurt am Main, Germany.
DFG Excellence Cluster, “The Formation of Normative Orders”
Fulbright Graduate Fellow, hosted by Rainer Forst. September 2016 - June 2017.

Purdue University, West Lafayette, IN, U.S.A.
B.A. in Philosophy and Political Science with Highest Distinction, May 2008.
Honors Program in Liberal Arts.

AREAS OF SPECIALIZATION

Social and Political Philosophy
German Philosophy (esp. Kant and Hegel)

AREAS OF COMPETENCE

Critical Theory (esp. Habermas)
Ethics
Philosophy of History
Philosophy of Language
Logic

AREAS OF TEACHING INTEREST

Bioethics
Ancient Philosophy

DISSERTATION

“Reconstructing the Kantian Cosmopolitan Project”

The processes unleashed by globalization make global governance increasingly necessary. But the legitimacy of the emerging institutional arrangements is increasingly contested. There is thus, today, a renewed impetus for the philosophical project of justifying the reform of global governance institutions in a democratic direction. My central concern is to understand what it takes for political philosophy to carry out this project successfully. I develop a framework for analyzing, categorizing, and assessing efforts by political philosophers to justify action-guiding institutional prescriptions. I then apply this framework to debates about global governance among the central figures of Kantian tradition. I focus on the complex role that judgments about feasibility play in those debates, and

show that this focus is necessary for any adequate understanding of them. Finally, I use the framework to motivate a way of building upon the existing debates in order to articulate a compelling sketch of the Kantian cosmopolitan project for our time.

Committee: Cristina Lafont (chair), Kyla Ebels-Duggan, Charles W. Mills, Rachel Zuckert

PUBLICATIONS

Pereira Di Salvo, C. J. "Hegel's Torment: Poverty and the Rationality of the Modern State." In *Hegel and Capitalism*, edited by Andrew Buchwalter, 101-16. Albany: SUNY Press, 2015.

Pereira Di Salvo, C. J., and Leigh Raymond. "Defining the Precautionary Principle: An Empirical Analysis of Elite Discourse." *Environmental Politics* 19, no. 1 (2010): 86-106.

BOOK REVIEWS

Review of Luigi Caranti, *Kant's Political Legacy: Human Rights, Peace, Progress* in *Kantian Review* 23, no. 4 (2018): 681-7.

WORKS IN PROGRESS

"Feasibility and Practical Justification"

"Poverty as Unfreedom"

"The Approximationist Interpretation of Kant's Cosmopolitan Project"

PRESENTATIONS

*Presentations marked with an * were invited; those marked with a † were refereed*

"The Approximationist Interpretation of Kant's Cosmopolitan Project"

- Practical Philosophy Colloquium, University of Siegen, June 2017.*
- Dissertation Writing Group, Northwestern University, March 2016.
- Graduate Work-in-Progress Workshop, Northwestern University, October 2015.

"Poverty as Unfreedom"

- Department of Philosophy, Williams College, April 2017.*
- Graduate Work-in-Progress Workshop, Northwestern University, February 2016.
- Chicago Scholars Lecture, Lake Forest College, November 2015.*

"Reclaiming Kant's Cosmopolitan Project"

- NU/ENS/Goethe-Universität Doctoral Workshop in Critical Theory, Northwestern University, April-May 2016.*

"Immanuel Kant's *Toward Perpetual Peace*"

- Critical Theory Research Workshop, Northwestern University, November 2015.

"Multilevel System as Transitional Model: A Reformulation of Habermas's Cosmopolitan Project"

- Dissertation Research Seminar, Northwestern University, April 2014.

- Political Theory Workshop, Northwestern University, November 2013.
- Critical Theory Roundtable, Saint Louis University, October 2013.[†]

“The Philosophical Historical Foundations of Habermas’s Cosmopolitan Project”

- Dissertation Research Seminar, Northwestern University, March 2013.

“Property, Personality, Poverty”

- 22nd Biannual Meeting of the Hegel Society of America, DePaul University, October 2012.[†]

COMMENTS

“Zeitstrukturen des Rechts: Über die Möglichkeit einer kritischen Theorie der Gerechtigkeit” by Esther Neuhann

- NU/ENS/Goethe-Universität Doctoral Workshop in Critical Theory, Northwestern University, April-May 2016.

“Republican Foundations for Liberal Restraint” by Christopher McCammon

- 5th Annual Conference of the Society for the Theory of Ethics and Politics, Northwestern University, May 2011.

RESEARCH GROUPS

Global Capitalism & Law Research Group, Buffett Institute, Northwestern University, 2015-2016.

FELLOWSHIPS, AWARDS, AND DISTINCTIONS

*Grants marked with an * were declined*

Fullbright Graduate Fellowship (Frankfurt, Germany), September 2016 - July 2017.

DAAD Research Grant for Doctoral Candidates and Young Academics and Scientists, 2016-2017.*

Thomas A. McCarthy Award for Teaching Excellence. Northwestern University, 2015-2016.

Teaching Assistantship. Northwestern University, 2015-2016.

Thomas A. McCarthy Award for Teaching Excellence. Northwestern University, 2013-2014.

DAAD Intensive German Language Course Grant, Goethe-Institut, Düsseldorf and Hamburg, July-August 2012.

Graduate Fellowship. Northwestern University, 2010-2015.

Outstanding Senior in Philosophy Award. Purdue University, 2008.

Matchette Prize. Purdue University, 2008.

TEACHING EXPERIENCE

Instructor

University of Pennsylvania

- Ethics | Spring 2018, Spring 2019
- Kant II: Kant's Political Philosophy | Spring 2019
- Philosophy of Economics | Fall 2017, Fall 2018
- Topics in Political Philosophy: Poverty | Fall 2018
- Philosophy of Law | Spring 2018
- Biomedical Ethics | Fall 2017

Northwestern University

- Elementary Logic I | Summer 2014

Teaching Assistant

University of Chicago

- Moral Theory | Candace Vogler | Spring 2016

Northwestern University

- Bioethics | Mark Sheldon | Winter 2016, Winter 2013
- Introduction to Critical Theory | Mark Alznauer | Winter 2014
- Elementary Logic I | Sean Ebels-Duggan | Fall 2013, Fall 2012
- Kant's *Critique of Pure Reason*: Analytic | Rachel Zuckert | Spring 2013
- Elementary Logic II | Fabrizio Cariani | Winter 2012
- History of Philosophy: Ancient | Kenneth Seeskin | Fall 2011

STUDENTS

Jessica Zuo, PPE Honors Thesis Advisor, "Value Incommensurability and Kidney Allocation," Fall 2018.

ACADEMIC WORK

Editorial Assistant

Critical Theory in Critical Times: Transforming the Global Political and Economic Order. Ed. Penelope Deutscher and Cristina Lafont. Forthcoming with Columbia University Press.

Translation and Editorial Assistant

Habermas Handbuch. Ed. Hauke Brunkhorst, Regina Kreide, and Cristina Lafont. Forthcoming with Columbia University Press.

DEPARTMENTAL SERVICE

University of Pennsylvania

- Co-Chair, Colloquium Committee, Department of Philosophy, Spring 2018-present.

Northwestern University

- Lead Organizer, NU Society for the Theory of Ethics and Politics Conference, 2011-2012, 2012-2013.
- Co-organizer, NU Society for the Theory of Ethics and Politics Conference, 2010-2011, 2013-2014, 2014-2015, 2015-2016.
- Vice-President and Teaching Assistant Coordinator, Philosophy Graduate Student Association, 2012-2013, 2013-2014.
- Co-organizer, Practical Philosophy Workshop, 2012-2013, 2013-2014.
- Member, Climate Committee, Department of Philosophy, 2012-2013, 2013-2014.

- Department Representative, NU Graduate Student Association, 2012-2013.

UNIVERSITY SERVICE

University of Pennsylvania

- Pre-Major Advisor, School of Arts and Sciences, 2018-2020.

Northwestern University

- Graduate Associate, Shepard Residential College, 2015-2016.

PROFESSIONAL SERVICE

- Symposium Chair, APA Eastern Division Meeting, New York, NY, 2019.
- Session Chair, APA Central Division Meeting, Chicago, IL, 2016.

REFEREEING

British Journal for the History of Philosophy

GRADUATE COURSEWORK

*Courses marked with an * were audited*

Social and Political

Kant's Political Theory | Kyla Ebels-Duggan | Northwestern
 Hegel's *Philosophy of Right* | Mark Alznauer | Northwestern
 Ideal vs. Non-Ideal Theory | Charles W. Mills | Northwestern
 The Political Thought of Karl Marx | James Farr | Northwestern
 Hegel's Political Thought | Kevin Anderson | Purdue University
 19th Century Thought | Kevin Anderson | Purdue University
 The Future of Democracy* | Cristina Lafont | Northwestern
 Philosophy of Property* | Andrew Koppelman | Northwestern
 European Social Thought* | Mark Alznauer | Northwestern
 Rawls, Multiculturalism, and Immigration* | David Ingram | Loyola University Chicago
 Critical Philosophy of Race* | Charles W. Mills | Northwestern

German, History, Critical Theory

Habermas's Theory of Communicative Rationality | Cristina Lafont | Northwestern
 Critical Theory | Kevin Anderson | Purdue University
 The Philosophy of History in the German Tradition | Rachel Zuckert | Northwestern
 Hegel's Philosophy of History | Mark Alznauer | Northwestern
 Gadamer's *Truth and Method* | Cristina Lafont | Northwestern
 Kant's *Critique of Pure Reason** | Andrew Cutrofello | Loyola University Chicago
 Hegel's *Phenomenology of Spirit** | Ardis Collins | Loyola University Chicago

Ethics

Virtue Ethics | Kyla Ebels-Duggan | Northwestern
 Structuring Value | Jon Garthoff | Northwestern
 Kant's Moral Philosophy* | Victoria Wike | Loyola University Chicago
 Practical Reason and Rationality* | Stephen White | Northwestern

Language and Logic

Speech Acts (proseminar) | Sanford Goldberg | Northwestern
Reference | Axel Mueller and Gregory Ward | Northwestern
The Language of Deliberation* | Fabrizio Cariani | Northwestern
Reasoning and Rationality* | Fabrizio Cariani and Lance Rips | Northwestern
Kripke* | Peter Ludlow | Northwestern
Sentential Modal Logic | Dolph Ulrich | Purdue University
Logic and Anti-Realism | Sean Ebels-Duggan | Northwestern

Ancient

Plato's *Republic* | Sara Monoson | Northwestern
Plato's Forms (proseminar) | David Ebrey | Northwestern
Aristotle's *De Anima** | Julie Ward | Loyola University Chicago

READING GROUPS

“Structural Rationality,” organized by Daniel Whiting. Northwestern University, 2015.

“Kant’s Philosophy of History,” organized by Morganna Lambeth and myself. Northwestern University, 2015.

Kelsen, Hans. *Pure Theory of Law*, 2nd Ed. Practical Philosophy Reading Group. Northwestern University, 2013.

Forst, Rainer. *The Right to Justification: Elements of a Constructivist Theory of Justice*. Practical Philosophy Reading Group. Northwestern University, 2012-3.

Thompson, Michael. *Life and Action*. Practical Philosophy Reading Group. Northwestern University, 2012.

Schafer-Landau, Russ. *Moral Realism*. Practical Philosophy Reading Group. Northwestern University, 2012.

Raz, Joseph. *The Authority of Law*, 2nd Ed. Practical Philosophy Reading Group. Northwestern University, 2011.

Pettit, Phillip. *Republicanism: A Theory of Freedom and Government*. Practical Philosophy Reading Group. Northwestern University, 2011.

LANGUAGE SKILLS

- Spanish, Native
- German, Fluent
- Italian, Proficient

PROFESSIONAL AFFILIATIONS

Member, American Philosophical Association, 2016-present.

REFERENCES

Cristina Lafont

Professor and Chair of Philosophy
Northwestern University
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TEACHING REFERENCES

Mark Sheldon
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Northwestern University
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“Reconstructing the Kantian Cosmopolitan Project”

Dissertation Abstract

Political legitimacy requires that the social processes that shape our lives be effectively steered by institutions that are under our democratic control. But the transnational social processes characteristic of globalization, such as currency and financial crises, mass migration, and fossil fuel energy production, cannot be effectively steered by the institutions of the traditional state. Furthermore, while these processes could be steered effectively by an emerging framework of global institutions, including the UN System and the World Trade Organization, at present this framework escapes our democratic control.

One response to this political predicament has been to accept the need for global governance institutions in order to steer the transnational social processes that increasingly shape our lives, but to seek to bring these institutions under our democratic control. I set out to understand what it takes to offer an adequate justification of such a political project, as the Kantian tradition has long sought to do. To this end, I develop a theory of *practical justification*: the justification of action-guiding institutional prescriptions. I use this theory to defend a novel interpretation of Immanuel Kant’s position on global governance, and to reconstruct a debate between Kant, John Rawls, and Jürgen Habermas on the practical justifiability of a world republic. Finally, I use the theory to motivate a sketch of the Kantian project for the reform of global governance institutions that eschews the traditional dichotomy between a world state and a loose form of international confederation.

Political philosophers have long reflected on the role that judgments about normative ideals ought to play in action-guiding justifications of institutional prescriptions. My theory focuses instead on the relatively neglected role of feasibility judgments. I distinguish two demands we might make on such judgments in this context. One demand is conceptual: How must we conceive of feasibility? The other is epistemic: What level of evidentiary support must feasibility judgments enjoy?

By canvassing the contemporary methodological literature in political philosophy, I show that answers to either of these demands fall on a spectrum from rather strict to very lax. A conception of practical justification that requires consistency with present public opinion is stricter than one that is satisfied with consistency with basic facts about human nature. One that requires positive support from the available evidence is stricter than one that is satisfied if we cannot be certain that the judgment is false. On that basis, I propose that we characterize the distinction between realistic and utopian practical justification in the following way: A conception is *realistic* if it is both conceptually and epistemically strict; it is *utopian* if it is either conceptually or epistemically lax.

This theory of practical justification allows me to offer a novel interpretation of Kant’s position on global governance. Kant’s views on this subject have puzzled generations of interpreters. Kant sometimes argues that politicians ought to work to bring about a federal world republic. But at other times he explicitly rejects this institutional structure, and argues instead that politicians ought to work to bring about a voluntary league of nations. Yet, even then, he continues to regard the institutional ideal of a federal world republic as a command of practical reason.

Sympathetic interpreters have sought to rid Kant of inconsistency by arguing that his changing position can be explained by his changing understanding of the normative significance of state sovereignty. Against these interpreters, I locate the shift in Kant’s position not in his commitments regarding normative ideals, but rather in his commitments regarding practical justification. I show that Kant maintained throughout his critical writings that reason commands the establishment of a federal world republic. But in the earlier writings, he embraces a utopian conception of practical justification. On this view, the command of reason is sufficient to assume, for practical purposes, that a federal world republic is feasible, so long as the factual evidence does not rule this out conclusively. So Kant concludes that politicians ought to bring about a federal world republic.

By contrast, in the later writings, Kant embraces a more realistic view of practical justification. He now gives a different status to his judgment, based on historical and anthropological evidence, that the establishment of a federal world republic is infeasible for human beings. He concludes on the basis of this judgment that politicians ought *not* bring about a federal world republic. Instead, he now thinks that they ought to bring about a voluntary league of nations, on the grounds that it is the best approximation of the ideal of which human beings are capable.

Feasibility judgments also play a central role in the debate between Kant, Rawls, and Habermas concerning the status of a federal world republic as a long-term institutional ideal at which reforms ought to aim. Each of them thinks that a legitimate structure of global governance must solve the problem of assurance. This is the problem of guaranteeing widespread and reliable compliance with common norms, without which the compliance of individual members could not be legitimately demanded. However, while Kant thinks that an institutional structure endowed with centralized and hierarchical executive power would be necessary to solve this problem, Rawls and Habermas do not.

This disagreement, I argue, can be traced to a disagreement about human moral psychology, and whether and to what extent it can be shaped by institutions over time. On Kant's view, human beings are beset by powerful inclinations to non-compliance with valid norms, and predisposed to acting on those inclinations. This "radical evil" is an essential property of human nature. For this reason, widespread and reliable compliance among individuals and states—were it feasible—could only be guaranteed by an institution endowed with centralized and hierarchical executive power.

Rawls and Habermas, by contrast, see human moral psychology as shaped to a significant extent by social processes. On their view, progress towards better institutional arrangements facilitate processes of social learning that are in turn reinforced by moral progress. History, they think, affords us evidence of this. So, while both Rawls and Habermas would agree with Kant that legitimate global governance cannot be achieved *in the short term* without an institutional structure endowed with centralized and hierarchically structured executive power, they disagree that no alternative is feasible *in the long term*. Adopting the right sort of transitional institutional structures, they think, would make an alternative solution to the problem of assurance feasible in the long term.

This disagreement about moral psychology illustrates the temporal structure of political feasibility. Some political projects may not be feasible in the short term, but they can become feasible in the long term, provided we undertake certain short term reforms. I argue that an adequate conception of practical justification must be sensitive to this fact. It must adopt laxer conceptual and epistemic standards for long-term institutional prescriptions than it does for short-term ones.

On this basis, I criticize Habermas's attempt to rework the Kantian cosmopolitan project on alternative moral psychological and social-theoretic premises. Habermas argues that robust legislative institutions are not feasible on a global scale because the civic solidarity required for the formation of a democratic will cannot be extended beyond state borders. I reply that while he gives us good reason to think that this is true in the short term, he offers no good reasons to think that it is also true in the long term. I suggest that his institutional proposals could, if adopted in the short term, lead to the expansion of solidarity across state borders and the further development of a global public sphere. In this way, they could make feasible an institutional structure I call a *global federation* in the long term.

I conceive of this institutional structure as a further development of Habermas's proposal for a "multilevel system." Like a multilevel system, a global federation would lack centralized and hierarchically structured executive power, while retaining the means for decentralized coercive enforcement. But, unlike a multilevel system, it would be endowed with broad legislative and judicial powers. By working towards the establishment of a global federation in the long term, we could bring the transnational social processes that increasingly shape our lives under our democratic control.