

**POLI 613, McGill University**  
**Bureaucracy, State, and Choice: *Order in 20<sup>th</sup> century political, legal, and social theory***  
**Fall 2023, Wednesday 11:35 am-2:25 pm, Leacock 927**

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Office hours Tuesday 10:30am -12:30 pm

**1. Syllabus of Readings and Sessions**

**August 30:** Introduction; short class.

In preparation, I encourage review of 19<sup>th</sup>-century texts that it's good to have in your mind as we start the 20<sup>th</sup> century. Most important are Marx, "The Communist Manifesto" and "The 18th Brumaire of Louis Napoleon." See also: John Stuart Mill, *On Liberty*; Alexis de Tocqueville, *Democracy in America*, vol 1 part 2 ch. 1-8, vol. 2 part 2 ch. 1-8, vol. 2 part 3 ch. 19-25, **vol. 2 part 4** (most important); Nietzsche, *Thus Spake Zarathrustra*, ch. 11.

**September 6:**

Weber, "Politics as a Vocation." "Bureaucracy," from Gerth & Mills, eds., *From Max Weber*.

**September 13:** Carl Schmitt, *The Crisis of Parliamentary Democracy*

**September 20:** Joseph Schumpeter, *Capitalism, Socialism, and Democracy*

**September 27:** Schumpeter continued.

Also: John Dewey, "Democracy and Educational Administration;" [\*The Public and Its Problems\*](#) ch 3, 5, 6

**October 4:** Hannah Arendt, *Eichmann in Jerusalem*

**October 11:** fall break, no class.

**October 18:** Hannah Arendt, *The Human Condition*

**October 25:** *The Human Condition* continued

**November 1:** FA Hayek, *Law, Legislation, and Liberty*, vol. 1

"Individualism, True and False;" "Economics and Knowledge;" "The Facts of the Social Sciences;" "The Use of Knowledge in Society"

Isaiah Berlin, "Political Ideas in the Twentieth Century," "Historical Inevitability"

**November 8:** Hayek continued.

excerpts from Hayek, *The Constitution of Liberty*

Excerpts from Karl Polanyi, *The Great Transformation*

**November 15:** Michel Foucault, *Discipline and Punish*

**November 22:** Foucault, *The Birth of Biopolitics*

Excerpts from Foucault, *Security, Territory, Population*

**November 29:** Excerpts from Bernardo Zacka, *Where The State Meets the Street*; and Joseph Heath, *The Machinery of Government*.

## **Everything else**

### **1. Aims and Learning Objectives:**

This course aims to provide a graduate-level introduction to some central themes in 20<sup>th</sup> century political theory about the bureaucratic state and the kind of impersonal order it creates, about rival sources of order, and about the possibility of choice, freedom, creativity, and resistance in the face of the state's order. The study of the bureaucratic orders and their alternatives will be entwined with studies of markets and economic orders as well as of law and legal orders. The problems of neutrality, impersonality, purposelessness, and ethical responsibility in modern institutional orders will be recurring touchstones.

### **2. Prerequisites:** None for graduate students.

Permission of instructor for undergraduates (which will probably not be forthcoming, but don't even ask unless you've got grades of A- or better in at least two political theory courses at the 400 level or above)

### **3. Texts:**

Several books will be available at Pargraphe bookstore, and should be purchased if you don't already own them. Shorter readings are available on MyCourses.

### **4. Class format and grading**

**A. Discussion.** 10%. See below for the use of waivers.

**B. Proposal for the final paper** due November 19, 10%

**C. Final paper** of 8000-10000 words due December 19, 80%

The class will be a three-hour in-person discussion seminar with one break.

Every week after the first 1-3 discussion prompt questions will be distributed to help prepare for the following week.

There will be no set student presentations. Everyone who attends will be expected to take part in discussion every week, including but not limited to being able to speak to each of the discussion prompt questions when called on to do so. Each student has three waivers, invoked by e-mailing me before class. During those three sessions a student is free to attend without participating (but may speak up if they wish), won't be cold-called on, and their participation won't be graded.

**5. McGill Statement on Academic Integrity:** McGill University values academic integrity. Therefore all students must understand the meaning and consequences of cheating, plagiarism and other academic offences under the Code of Student Conduct and Disciplinary Procedures (see <https://www.mcgill.ca/deanofstudents/plagiarism> for more information).

L'université McGill attache une haute importance à l'honnêteté académique. Il incombe par conséquent à tous les étudiants de comprendre ce que l'on entend par tricherie, plagiat et autres infractions académiques, ainsi que les conséquences que peuvent avoir de telles actions, selon le Code

de conduite de l'étudiant et des procédures disciplinaires (pour de plus amples renseignements, veuillez consulter le site <https://www.mcgill.ca/deanofstudents/plagiarism> ).

NB: Plagiarism and academic dishonesty are career-ending offenses for graduate students, and I absolutely will (indeed I have done so in the past) do everything within my authority to prevent a graduate student committing them continuing in the degree program.

The rules have not yet been updated to spell out any exceptions to the baseline rule that the uncredited use of any machine-generated prose (e.g. ChatGPT) is academic dishonesty. The right response to the current uncertainty is to avoid the situation; no uncredited machine-generated prose at all. If there's some excellent reason to use such prose *with* credit and citation, please clear it with me first; I'm not ruling it out but I don't know what such reasons would be.

6. In accord with McGill University's Charter of Students' Rights, students in this course have the right to submit in English or in French any written work that is to be graded.

Conformément à la Charte des droits de l'étudiant de l'Université McGill, chaque étudiant a le droit de soumettre en français ou en anglais tout travail écrit devant être noté (sauf dans le cas des cours dont l'un des objets est la maîtrise d'une langue).

7. In the event of extraordinary circumstances beyond the University's control, the content and/or evaluation scheme in this course is subject to change.

8. While I am bureaucratically required to put item 7 on the syllabus, I am not bureaucratically forbidden to make fun of it. So, on the one hand: if a highly contagious disease epidemic breaks out, we will meet in person less frequently and less mandatorily. This was the worry that first prompted the addition of that language to syllabi, and the fact that it needed to be said demonstrates how foolishly bureaucratized and legalistic the interpretation of the *Handbook on Student Rights and Responsibilities*, ch. 1, Articles 10-11 has become over the years thanks to challenges to any change made in the syllabus after the second week. It should also be noted that if an earthquake destroys the building in which our classroom is located, we may change classrooms, and that shall not be interpreted as a breach of contract; and if the End of Days arrives before the end of the semester, it is possible that final grades will be delayed. On the other hand, you have my commitment that I will not invoke #7 unless health, safety, or physical necessity demand it. Strikes, protests, and boycotts, for example, will not alter either my or your responsibilities to the class; no classes will be canceled, no deadlines delayed, etc.

## 8. Academic freedom

Academic freedom in a university differs from freedom of speech in the wider society; it is not the right to say just anything. It guarantees scholars— whether faculty or students— protection for their scholarly inquiry regardless of the conclusions that it reaches, while demanding respect for scholarly methods.

One aspect of that is that scholars will not be sanctioned within the classroom for what happens outside of it. The other aspect is that scholars will be evaluated on the basis of their use of scholarly methods, not on the basis of the conclusions that they reach. What this means in a class like this is: your grade will not be affected by your speech in nonacademic settings, and it will not be affected by such things as whether the conclusion you argue for is popular, or is shared by the professor. We are studying controversial and complicated questions, and you will be evaluated on the basis of

considerations such as quality of argument, quality of writing, and the careful use of sources, not on the basis of the political orientation of your conclusions.

9. McGill University is on land which has long served as a site of meeting and exchange amongst Indigenous peoples, including the Haudenosaunee and Anishinabeg nations. We acknowledge and thank the diverse Indigenous peoples whose presence marks this territory on which peoples of the world now gather.