

**General Education Course Information Sheet***Please submit this sheet for each proposed course**Department & Course Number*

PS M 115C / Civic M 115C

*Course Title*

Citizenship and Public Engagement

*Indicate if Seminar and/or Writing II course*

- 1 Check the recommended GE foundation area(s) and subgroup(s) for this course

**Foundations of the Arts and Humanities**

- Literary and Cultural Analysis
- Philosophic and Linguistic Analysis
- Visual and Performance Arts Analysis and Practice

**Foundations of Society and Culture**

- Historical Analysis
- Social Analysis

**Foundations of Scientific Inquiry**

- Physical Science

*With Laboratory or Demonstration Component must be 5 units (or more)*

- Life Science

*With Laboratory or Demonstration Component must be 5 units (or more)*

2. Briefly describe the rationale for assignment to foundation area(s) and subgroup(s) chosen.

This class explores the idea and practice of public service in Greece, Rome, China and the modern United States – it thus explores a parallel cultural phenomenon (service) across several different societies and literatures, and analyzes it in relation to sociological structures of economy and power.

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3. "List faculty member(s) who will serve as instructor (give academic rank):

Brian Walker Esparza – Associate Professor Department of Political Science

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Do you intend to use graduate student instructors (TAs) in this course? Yes  No

If yes, please indicate the number of TAs 5

4. Indicate when do you anticipate teaching this course over the next three years:

	Fall	Winter	Spring	
	Enrollment	Enrollment	Enrollment	
2010-2011				X
				300
2011-2012			X	
				300
2012-2013			X	
				300

5. GE Course Units

Is this an existing course that has been modified for inclusion in the new GE? Yes  No

This course, which introduces students to the service dimension of citizenship, was conceived in line with the same values that stand at the heart of the GE program and thus does not need to be changed significantly to fit the program

If yes, provide a brief explanation of what has changed.

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Present Number of Units: 4

Proposed Number of Units: 4

6. Please present concise arguments for the GE principles applicable to this course.

<input type="checkbox"/> General Knowledge	Students get a good grasp of how citizenship functioned in the classical world and China, and look at seven “ideal types” of service in modern times – soldier, bureaucrat, politician, activist, environmentalist, philanthropist etc.
<input type="checkbox"/> Integrative Learning	The idea of service ties together a wide array of action types, allowing students to understand their own lives in relation to politics, bureaucracy, activism etc. Service is taken as a leitmotif term in Western and Chinese philosophies, integrating knowledge of the traditions.
<input type="checkbox"/> Ethical Implications	This is an advocacy class – it encourages students to see public service as part of good citizenship in a republican style government and helps them imagine pathways to service in their own lives.
<input type="checkbox"/> Cultural Diversity	We compare modern American visions of service to Confucianism, to ancient Greek and Roman models, and we consider left wing and right wing attitudes to service as separate cultures with their own internal logics. We also compare citizens to non-citizens/immigrants in terms of their relation to service.
<input type="checkbox"/> Critical Thinking	Students write weekly mini-essays in response to prompts which force them to take a stance on the week’s topic and defend their position against potential objections – this moves them from passive reading to active critical engagement.
<input type="checkbox"/> Rhetorical Effectiveness	Students are exposed to the very best writing and thinking on citizenship and public service and learn how to weave such arguments into their own writing and conversation.
<input type="checkbox"/> Problem-solving	The problem this course helps students solve is “How could a person with my particular tastes, temperament and ideology find my own path to public service?”
<input type="checkbox"/> Library & Information Literacy	Students master the core of the citizenship literature by the end of the course.

**(A) STUDENT CONTACT PER WEEK (if not applicable write N/A)**

1. Lecture:	<u>4</u>	(hours)
2. Discussion Section:	<u>1</u>	(hours)
3. Labs:	<u>N/A</u>	(hours)
4. Experiential (service learning, internships, other):	<u>possible</u>	(hours)
5. Field Trips:	<u>N/A</u>	(hours)

**(A) TOTAL Student Contact Per Week**

**5 (HOURS)**

**(B) OUT-OF-CLASS HOURS PER WEEK (if not applicable write N/A)**

1. General Review & Preparation:	<u>2</u>	(hours)
2. Reading	<u>3</u>	(hours)
3. Group Projects:	<u>N/A</u>	(hours)
4. Preparation for Quizzes & Exams:	<u>3 (pop quizzes)</u>	(hours)
5. Information Literacy Exercises:	<u>N/A</u>	(hours)
6. Written Assignments:	<u>2</u>	(hours)
7. Research Activity:	<u>2</u>	(hours)

**(B) TOTAL Out-of-class time per week**

**12 (HOURS)**

**GRAND TOTAL (A) + (B) must equal at least 15 hours/week**

17

**(HOURS)**

University of California, Los Angeles

**Political Science-115C**  
**Spring 2012**  
**bwalk@ucla.edu**

**Brian Walker-Esparza**  
**3347 Bunche Hall**

# Seven Pathways to Citizenship

This is a course about the powers of citizenship. How can we best unlock, in our own time and predicament, the energy of service that Aristotle and others have praised? What are some of the dominant pathways of service, here and now, for people like us? What does good citizenship mean in a world buffeted by marketing, by the stresses and powers of technology, by looming ecological peril?

We start with a tour of the best of what has been thought and said about citizenship in the past. We also look at some model citizens, people held up as examples from which we can gain inspiration. Even though each person has to find his or her own route to service, it is still useful to think about other people and what they have done. Learning about the choices and habits of great citizens feeds our imagination about the possibility of service in general, creating a nice backdrop against which we might explore our contemporary questions.

## **Requirements:**

**Reading Quizzes** 15% -- (There will be four such quizzes; only your top three will be counted)

**Participation** in discussion groups 10% (see note below)

**One six-page paper** 25 % due April 14<sup>th</sup> 25%:

Answer the following question:

What are some of the most important ways in which the classical republican model of citizenship (as we find it portrayed in Plutarch and Cicero especially) differs from our current model of citizenship (Zukin et. al.)?

**Journals/Mini-Essays** 30% Please hand in your journal entries (they are really mini-essays) to your TA each week at the beginning of section. These journal entries will be graded on a satisfactory/unsatisfactory standard each week (not handing in your journal at the beginning of your section meeting counts as an automatic unsatisfactory). If you receive three “unsatisfactory” grades in the quarter, you will lose seven marks (out of one hundred) on your “journal score.” Thus, an 87 on your final journal grade would be marked down to an 80.

Your final Journal grade will be based on your polished journal entries, to be handed in on the last day of class. All journal entries are to be single-spaced. Please turn in your journals through Turnitin.com before you bring them to class (See “Class Rules” at the end of this syllabus). Due dates for the journals are given in the syllabus below.

#### **Final Examination** 20%

Your participation grade is determined by your attendance and participation in class and discussion section; you lose 2 points (out of a possible 10) for every class or discussion group that you miss without a doctor’s note.

Required Reading:

1. Reader for 115C [available at Westwood Copy 1001 Gayley Ave – corner of Weyburn]

**Please read all texts before the first lecture on that topic!**

### **April 3<sup>rd</sup> Introductory – Citizenship in Question**

Joe Conason “A Practical Visionary; A New York public servant addressed intractable problems” -- review of *Herb Sturz and Society’s Toughest Problems*  
 Chuck McCutcheon “Experts warn U.S. is coming apart at the seams.”  
 Robert Putnam – from *Bowling Alone*

### **Section One – The Classical Model of Citizenship**

### **April 5<sup>th</sup> Citizenship in Ancient Athens – The Good, the Bad, the Indifferent**

From Matthew R. Crist, *The Bad Citizen in Ancient Athens*  
 Plutarch “Pericles”  
 Aristotle, from *The Politics and Nicomachean Ethics*

**Journal** (due in discussion period April 5<sup>th</sup>-April 6<sup>th</sup>): How do you define *citizenship*? How do you define *public service*? Write about half a page (single-spaced) on each term.

## April 10<sup>th</sup> Citizenship in Rome

From C. Nicolet, *The World of the Citizen in Republican Rome*  
Cicero from *On Duties*

## April 12<sup>th</sup> The Classic Model of Citizenship II – China, Korea, Japan

Zhu Xi, *The Great Learning*  
Leon Stover from *Imperial China and the State Cult of Confucius*

## Section Two – Pathways to Citizenship in Modern Times

### April 17<sup>th</sup> American and French Experiences of Citizenship

Alexis de Tocqueville – from *Democracy in America*  
Jean-Jacques Rousseau from *The Social Contract*  
From *The Good Citizen*  
Zukin et. al from *A New Engagement; Political Participation, Civic Life, and the Changing American Citizen*

**Paper due April 19<sup>th</sup>, beginning of class**

### April 19<sup>th</sup> The Debate over Immigration and Citizenship

Aviva Chomsky from *They Take our Jobs": and 20 Other Myths About Immigration*  
Peter Brimelow from *Alien Nation: Common Sense About America's Immigration Disaster*  
Mike Davis and Justin Chacón, from *No One is Illegal; Fighting Racism and State Violence on the United States Mexico Border*

### April 24<sup>th</sup> Conceptual Overview of Modern Citizenship Thinking

Thomas Marshall “Citizenship and Social Class”

**Journal** (due April 26<sup>th</sup>-27<sup>th</sup>): What are your three greatest concerns about immigration? Briefly argue the pros and cons of two of these. How would people who disagree with your position on immigration criticize you? Answering this will allow you to discuss both

the pros and cons of your position. Please write between one and one and a half pages, single-spaced.

## Section Three – Seven Pathways to Citizenship

### **April 26<sup>th</sup> The Citizen as a Soldier**

Robert Rush, “The Enlisted Soldier’s Guide”  
 William James “The Moral Equivalent of War”

**Journal** (due May 3<sup>rd</sup>- 4<sup>th</sup>): William James argues that the soldier is a model citizen. Reconstruct his basic argument. Why does James, as a pacifist, hold this position? Is he right? Please write between one half page and a full page (single-spaced).

### **May 1<sup>st</sup> The Citizen as Civil Servant I**

Lester Ward, “The Laissez Faire Doctrine is Suicidal,” and “Some Social and Economic Paradoxes”

From Paul Van Riper, from *History of the United States Civil Service*  
 Eric Alterman “What Does Liberalism Look Like?” from *Why We’re Liberals*

### **May 3<sup>rd</sup> The Citizen as Politician**

Franklin Delano Roosevelt:

David Kennedy, “FDR’s Lessons for Obama”  
 Days of a Gilded Youth  
 Eric Dodds and Rebecca Kaplan – An Enduring New Deal  
 Amity Shlaes “Deal or No Deal”  
 The Relentless Mrs. Roosevelt

Robert Caro from *The Years of Lyndon Johnson; The Path to Power*  
 Max Weber “Politics as Vocation”

### **May 8<sup>th</sup> The Citizen as Civil Servant II – the post-1980s Civil Service**

James R. Thompson, “The Federal Civil Service: The Demise of an Institution,”  
*Public Administration Review* July/August 2006  
 Paul C. Light “Embracing the New Public Service” from *The New Public Service*

**Journal** (due May 10<sup>th</sup>-11<sup>th</sup>): Discuss the pros and cons of the idea that civil service is a noble path (how would Rousseau, Ward, and James look at this idea?). Write one single spaced page.

## **May 10<sup>th</sup> The Citizen in Public-Private Partnership I – The Case for Privatization**

E.S. Savas from *Privatization in the City– Successes, Failures, Lessons*  
Case Study Green Dot Schools Los Angeles (case study)

## **May 15<sup>th</sup> The Citizen in Public-Private Partnership II – The Privatization Movement in Retrospect**

Diane Ravitch “The Myth of Charter Schools,” from *The New York Review of Books*

## **May 17<sup>th</sup> The Citizen in Public-Private Partnership III – Is management in the public sphere the same as management in the private sphere?**

Jim Collins *Good to Great and the Social Sectors* (class website)

## **May. 22<sup>nd</sup> The Citizen in Activist Association**

Portraits in Activism: (from Stephen Frantzich *Citizen Democracy; Political Activists in a Cynical Age*)

“Bernice Sandler - Being a Good Sport, or, Won’t You Be On My Team,”

“The Scottsdale Six: A Monumental Dream”

“Carl Cohen Unaffirmative Action”

“Lessons for Nascent Citizens”

Saul Alinsky, from *Rules for Radicals*

Taylor Branch from *Pillar of Fire*

## **May 24<sup>th</sup> The Citizen as Enlightened Capitalist I**

From *Sign of the 76; the fabulous life and times of the Union Oil Company of California*

Milton Friedman, “The Social Responsibility of Business is to Increase its Profits”

James Austin & Cate Reavis “Starbucks and Conservation International” (case study)

## **May 29<sup>th</sup> The Citizen as Enlightened Capitalist II**

George Gilder, “The Moral Sources of Capitalism” from *The Neoconservative Reader*

Peter Singer, “What Should a Billionaire Give – and What Should You?”

**Journal** (due May 31<sup>st</sup>- June 1<sup>st</sup>): Does a company do enough for society simply by adding to the economy, or should businesses also try to be “social responsible,” like Starbucks in our case study? Briefly consider pros and cons, drawing on the arguments from this week’s readings. One or two pages, single-spaced.

## **May 31<sup>st</sup> Environmental Citizenship I**

Bjorn Lomborg, “Predicament or Progress,” from *The Skeptical Environmentalist: Measuring the Real State of the World*

Michael Pollan, “Why Bother?” from New York Times Magazine

## **June 5<sup>th</sup> Environmental Citizenship II**

David JC Mackay from *Sustainable Energy – without the hot air*

## **June 7<sup>th</sup> Overview and Envoi**

**Journal** (due June 7<sup>th</sup>-8<sup>th</sup>): Answer the question “How do we encourage 21<sup>st</sup> century Americans to become better citizens?” Two pages, single-spaced.

## Class Protocols

1. This course entails intensive reading – a minimum of 3-4 hours of preparation time for each hour of class.
2. Please read all assigned readings before the first class on each topic -- Crist, Aristotle, Plutarch by the beginning of the class on April 5<sup>th</sup>, for example.
3. To encourage you to do the readings and engage with them seriously we will be springing several "pop quizzes," on you at unpredictable times during the quarter.

Quizzes usually consist of 5 questions designed to check whether you have been understanding and remembering what you read (and whether you have done the reading in the first place). You will be quizzed on the readings assigned for the day at hand, as well as for the readings of the previous day. Thus on May 1<sup>st</sup>, for example, you will be responsible for the Ward, Van Riper, and Alterman readings for the 1<sup>st</sup> but also for the Robert Rush and William James readings from April 26<sup>th</sup>. The longer you keep ideas in your active memory the likelier you are to remember them.

You need to do all the readings on time in order to prepare for these quizzes (which count for a full 15% of your grade). Because we know that people sometimes get sick, have family emergencies, or just have a bad day now and then, we allow everybody to drop their lowest quiz score.

4. Please remember that there are many different people in this class, with a wide array of interests, backgrounds, and levels of capability. If, at some times, this class seems to be cast at a lower or level or higher level than you are comfortable with, please try to be understanding. The texts in this class are rich enough to repay the subtlest mind, but are still accessible to everybody with a bit of patience.
5. These huge classes are not ideal, but many studies have shown that people learn well in them if everybody works together carefully. Politeness and goodwill to those around you will help a lot! We endeavor to show you as much respect and care as possible and we appreciate it very much when you return the favor. To be specific: 1) Please put away non-class reading material during lecture. **In the same way that it is rude to read at the dinner table, it is rude to check your e-mail or go online during class. It is also annoying to the people who sit behind you who will be distracted by your screen.** 2) If you tend to fall asleep in class, please try to stay out of the instructor's line of sight. (Most everything you do in the audience is clearly visible from the panoptic podium). 3) Also **please do not talk in class - it is rude and also annoying to your fellow students!** This last point is important: -- many students have complained in previous years about the amount of chatting going on around them and consequently how hard it was to hear. Please be considerate to your fellow students (and to the instructor). 4) Multitasking prevents knowledge uptake; if you go online during class you will not learn as much as you would otherwise.

6. Please bring the readings to class each day. Frequent references will be made to the text -- reading along, underlining, and note taking will be immensely useful to you later when you are preparing for exams. You should take notes in this class – it will help you retain the concepts more effectively.

7. Please take advantage of office hours. The TAs and I enjoy talking with and getting to know you. It is especially important to contact your TA or me if you feel that you are confused or falling behind. You also should always feel free to ask questions in class -- I will make openings for questions in our class business moments at the beginning of class and at other times, as well. Every question is useful, and if you feel confused it is likely that other people do as well. **E-Mail**. You can also e-mail me any concerns or questions that you have – I always enjoy hearing about how things seem from your perspective. Unless what you ask is private, I shall try to answer your e-mail out loud in class – if you are wondering about something, others probably are, as well, and if you find something interesting others might too.

9. Please show up to class and section on time. Important announcements (deadlines, discussion of paper topics, and so on) frequently come in the first five to ten minutes of class. If you arrive late, you risk missing important information that could influence your grade.

10. You should type all papers and take-home exams in the usual way - double spaced, with regulation one inch (or thereabouts) borders and 10-12 point font sizes, unless stated otherwise. Papers are due in (to your TA) at the beginning of class on the days stipulated above. All late papers lose two marks per day unless a verifiable doctor's note is provided.

Before turning your paper, in please submit it to *Turnitin.com*, the anti-plagiarism detection service. You do this by going to your MyUCLA "Courses" page and finding the *Turnitin* icon link to PS115C. Click that to link the class. Click the "submit" icon next to the assignment name in order to submit your paper. If you have any problems with *Turnitin*, call 310-206-4525 to talk to a *Turnitin* specialist. Papers that have not been registered on *Turnitin* lose 7%.

All students have a right to protest their grades after carefully reading the TA's comments, mulling them over for 24 hours, and then explaining in writing what they think is wrong. If you are not satisfied after the TA has re-read a paper or exam once, you should come and see me and I will read your paper and adjust the grade (up or down, as the case may be).

11. Please bring 2-3 blank (don't write your name on the book until you are asked to do so, please) blue books for all exams.

12. Make sure that your correct e-mail is registered on URSA so that you can receive e-mails from the TAs and from me.

13. This class is available as an audio podcast from *BruinCast* (<http://www.bruincast.ucla.edu/>). You can find outlines for most lectures on the class website here (<https://classes.sscnet.ucla.edu/course/view/11S-POLSCIM115C-1>). Please be patient and forgive me if I stray a bit from the outline -- I find a bit of improvisation keeps lectures lively.

# Seven Pathways to Citizenship

## Study Questions\*

### Opening Texts - Citizens as Practical Visionaries

A few short texts to foreshadow the primary concerns of the class:

Conason "A Practical Visionary"

- What did Herb Sturz do that makes the author see him as a great public servant?  
What skills did he have? What virtues allowed him to make his mark?

Chuck McCutcheon "Experts warn U.S. is coming apart at the seams"

- What are some of the principal infrastructural challenges that the U.S. is facing today?

### Matthew Crist The Bad Citizen in Ancient Athens

**Q: Why is this text in the reader?**

**A: We learn something about good citizenship by trying to be specific about what we see bad citizenship to be (or, to use a concept that is less blaming, what some of the principal acts of bad citizenship might be). Crist gives us a few examples of what the ancient Greeks saw as bad citizenship -- in the process, he paints a pretty good picture of what the ideal citizen was for the Greeks. The Greek model of the good citizen greatly influenced the Roman civic model and American understandings of republicanism.**

What were some of the principal forms of bad citizenship in ancient Greece?

What were some of the primary activities that the Greeks saw as making up good citizenship – what behaviors did you need to cultivate in order to be considered a good citizen?

For the Greeks, what are some of the principal ways in which the citizenship duties of wealthy people differed from those of poor people?

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\* Please note that these are study questions meant to guide you to the most important ideas in the readings– this is not meant as a list of questions that will be on the exam.

What do you think is the line of reasoning behind the Greek belief that military service was a kind of expenditure every Greek citizen should be willing to make?

## Plutarch Life of Pericles

**Q:** Why is this text on the reading list?

**A:** Pericles represents the quintessence of the classic model of the citizen – he is a military visionary, a skilled politician, a builder of public works. He led his country in both peace and war and left behind great works of civic artistry. He teaches about citizenship by example. He is also a good window into the classical “republican” model of citizenship that influenced the founding fathers and gave the U.S. one of its dominant visions of citizenship.

What are the principal services that Pericles provides to Athens?

What powers does Pericles have that help him be such a good citizen?

How central is the idea of military prowess in Plutarch’s portrait of Pericles? Do you think that this is typical of classical thinking? Why is the military so central?

Questions for deeper thinkers:

- a. Plutarch’s moralizing portrait of Pericles starts out with a passage about women and monkeys meant to illustrate the idea “That which matters most should never give way to that which matters least.” Using your own words, describe how this is so. In other words, what is Pericles getting at in starting the portrait as he does?
- b. What are some of the ways that **examples** help us to deliberate?

## Aristotle The Politics and Ethics (excerpts)

**Q:** Why on the syllabus?

**A:** This is the epitome of Western citizenship thinking.

Why does Aristotle think that any rational person should focus above all on the public life of his community?

Aristotle sees excellences/virtues as something that must be put into practice. How might this theory support a vision of active (rather than passive) citizenship?

What are some of the attractions of public life for those who want to practice the virtues?

What virtues are most important to good citizenship?

## C. Nicolet from The Citizen in Ancient Rome

**Q:** Why is this text on the reading list?

**A:** Hamilton, Madison, and others modeled themselves after the Romans (think of “Publius”) – and we see many echoes of Roman political thinking in American republicanism. These sections from Nicolet’s authoritative study of Roman civic morals are somewhat terse, but they give you a good basic jumping off point — feel free to go online to learn more – especially about two terms I would like you to understand: the census and the *cursus honorum*.

What were the primary benefits that Romans drew from citizenship?

How did the Roman idea of citizenship differ from the Greek notion?  
 What were the main institutional groups in the Roman political class?  
 What is meant by the suggestion that, for the Romans, “in the last resort all the City’s demands (military, fiscal, and civic duties) are demands that the citizen makes upon himself” (p. 384)?  
 What makes up “the City?” What are “the things common to all mankind” (384)?  
 What was the census, what did it do?  
 What was the *cursus honorum*? Name at least two of the offices it entailed and what they were responsible for (you might want to look online for this).

## Cicero De Officiis / On Duties

**Q:** Why is this text on the reading list?

**A:** *De Officiis / On Duties* is a classic explication and defense of the life of duty and the fulfillment of offices as one of the highest forms of life for man. Cicero (Roman 106 B.C. – 43 B.C.) summarizes ideas about duty, service, honor, and civic virtue that remained mainstream in the West for two thousands years, up until very recently. There are still embers of this republican tradition around even now, in the twenty-first century.

This text will also help you hone a research skill: You can use this text to learn how to separate the wheat from the chaff while reading. Do that by trying to find arguments in this text that still work, that are still *illuminating*. Learn to discern the difference between those illuminating passages and other sections that are merely interesting as ways of seeing inside the Roman world-view. These latter details are less important, for our purposes, than the ideas that still work and make sense today.

You have to work through this text quite slowly, coming back to it in little sections, cultivating attention and slowing digestion.

Use this text to hone your skill engaging with, and finding illumination in, dense and ancient texts.

Look closely at the Synopsis. What is the subject of this book? Why is it structured the way it is?

Give three modern-day examples, from any area of life, of the tension between honorableness and “the beneficial.”

Take a look at the glossary at the end. What are the main terms and concepts through which Romans thought about public service? What, in particular, is the difference between *societas* and *res publica*? Be able to describe the difference in your own words. Why are these terms so important for Cicero?

Cicero sees not doing your duty as running away. Running away from *what*?

## Zhu Xi The Great Learning

**Q:** Why is this text in the reader?

**A:** It was one of the central texts in Confucianism up to the beginning of the twentieth century. It sets out a distinctively and rationally clear-headed model that

**links governance and self-cultivation. It summarizes one of the world's most influential traditions of public interest thinking.**

This text can be seen as being framed by a concern with governance. Show how this is so.

Describe, in your own words, what is meant by “probing the principles that inhere in everything”?

What is self-cultivation? Give some examples.

## Leon Stover from Imperial China and the State

**Q: Why this is in the reader?**

**A: This will teach you the basics of the classical Chinese political structure under the Manchus (the Qing dynasty). It also has a nice comparative section comparing Chinese and Roman visions of public service.**

What were some of the principal public services the Romans provided, according to Stover?

How does this system compare to the Chinese system?

Describe four or five of the principal tenets of Confucianism, according to Stover.

Be able to name any three of the Qing state “Boards.”

## Jean-Jacques Rousseau from On the Social Contract

**Q: Why is this text on the reading list?**

**A: This is a highly influential text that portrays the origins of state power as being rooted in the “general will” of the population. French politics, and the politics of many of the countries that follow France, revolve around this “general will” model.** Read the first paragraphs of Chapter IV ”On the Limits of State Power” very carefully. What is meant by the state (or city) as a “moral person”? Does The United States have any version of this kind of thinking? If so, give some examples.

What is a “social compact”? Does this idea in Rousseau have any equivalent in the United States and, if so, what is it?

What is the difference between the “general will” and “the will of all”? (see Chapter III) What is meant by the words “the commitments that bind us to the body politic are obligatory only because they are mutual, and their nature is such that in fulfilling them one cannot work for someone else without also working for oneself”? How does this compare to the Roman model that we looked at earlier?

What is the difference between law based on conquest and law based on social compact?

What is the difference between natural liberty and civil liberty?

What does “the public” mean for Rousseau?

**Cliff Zukin, Scott Keeter, Molly Andolina, Krista Jenkins, and Michael X. Delli Carpini**

## A New Engagement?; Political Participation, Civic Life and the Changing American Citizen

**Q: Why is this text on the reading list?**

**A:** *A New Engagement?* offers you an analytically clear and up-to-date snapshot of the *ethos* of civic and political engagement in the U.S. circa 2006. In the first part of this course, we proceed historically, but it is important to start out by knowing where we are right now.

Name and briefly define the main generational cohorts that the authors discuss.

Give a very quick one-paragraph summary of the current state of civic and political engagement in the U.S., according to these guys.

What is the difference between civic engagement and political engagement? Which do you think is more important? Which do you think would be your preference as a pathway, given the kind of character you have?

## Aviva Chomsky from They Take Our Jobs

**Q: Why is this on the reading list?**

**A:** Because the question of what the citizen might do (the principal question in this class) is predicated on an even more basic one - “Who is a citizen and who is not?”

These texts on immigration give a good overview of some of the main ways left- and right-wing people look at immigration and citizenship.

Chomsky suggests that U.S. Constitutional development is highly complex, and that in particular our tradition vacillates between two visions of rights – between an expansive one and a more restrictive one. What are some of the policies and documents in American history where we see a restrictive vision of rights at work? What are some of the policies or documents where we see a more expansive vision of rights?

What are the principal stages in the development of the modern American idea of citizenship and immigration?

What is Aviva Chomsky’s response to “Myth 7: The Rules Apply to Everyone”? Is her response convincing?

What is her response to the suggestion that immigrants are not assimilating culturally and that the mainstream should worry about that? Again, is this response convincing?

What were the principal components of the Kennedy-McCain Senate Bill on immigration in 2006?

## Peter Brimelow from Alien Nation

**Q: Why is this on the reading list?**

**A:** Because this represents a good overview of some of the dominant conservative arguments against immigration (some trade unionists and environmentalists also share Brimelow’s ideas). We want to look at this question of immigration and citizenship from both the left and the right in turn.

Brimelow argues that immigration has been far less beneficial than its supporters propose and that it in fact threatens Central American public goods. What are some of the public goods and traditions that Brimelow considers to be under threat? How convincing is his suggestion that immigration is likely to have these effects?

How closely does Brimelow's idea of the main stages in immigration match up with that of Aviva Chomsky?

What role does the ideal of republican self-governance play in Brimelow's arguments?

What role does democracy play?

## Justin Akers Chacón from **No One is Illegal**

**Q: Why is this on the reading list?**

**A: Chacón is a professor of Chicano history in San Diego and this chapter is a good distillation of current Chicano ideology about immigration, at least in its left-wing form.**

Chacón is trying to make us look on immigration from a new angle. What reasons does he give as to why Americans should give up their conservative attitude towards immigration?

Is Chacón *pro-illegal*? Explain what this would mean and give evidence for your answer to the question.

What does the title “No One is Illegal” mean? What reasons does Chacón give for embracing this position that “ No One is Illegal?”

Compare Chacón’s writing style to that of Aviva Chomsky. What are the relative merits of each? Who is the more efficient communicator?

## Thomas Marshall from **Citizenship and Social Class**

**Q: Why is this text on the reading list?**

**A: “Citizenship and Social Class” is a dense but extremely illuminating history of the development of modern citizenship. It puts Rousseau’s discussion of political rights in a historical context as part of an attempt to set out a theory of liberal socialism – an attempt to use the state to raise up the population, but in a way compatible with civil rights. Above all, this text teaches us an analytical language for discussing the major aspects of modern citizenship. It contains a highly influential definition of civil, political, and social rights, tracing the relations between them and giving a superb summary of how they have developed historically.**

**This is such a dense text that you will probably want to read it in several sittings.**

Explain, in your own words, the difference between the three primary types of rights.

Explain how each right is connected to its own historical epoch. Be able to spell this out.

That means you have to grasp a basic outline of British history over the past couple of centuries.

What does Marshall mean by *citizenship*? What does he mean by *social class*?

What is meant by “the move from Status to Contract?”

What does Marshall mean by “social rights?” Do you think that social rights are expanding as Marshall predicted?

## **Robert Rush from The Enlisted Soldier’s Guide**

**Q: Why is this text on the reading list?**

**A: It gives us a realistic idea of what the soldier’s life entails.**

Judging by the “Military Code of Conduct,” what are the principal requirements of the soldier’s path? Name three or four things that you would do differently if you took the soldier’s path.

What role do medals play in a soldier’s life? Why do you think medals and awards play such a large role in the Enlisted Soldier’s guide?

How important is the discussion of friends and enemies in this manual?

## **Lester Ward from “The Laissez Faire Doctrine” & “Paradoxes”**

**Q: Why is this text on the reading list?**

**A: Lester Ward, “The American Aristotle,” was an early opponent of libertarian thinking and was influential in paving the way for a belief in activist government. (He was also a spelling reformer and didn’t believe in silent “e”s, etc.)**

What are some of Ward’s main disagreements with laissez faire thinking?

What are Ward’s reasons for thinking laissez faire doctrine more like a religious creed than a practical theory?

What is Ward’s argument as to why the artificial is superior to the natural?

## **Paul Van Riper from History of the United States Civil Service**

**Q: Why is this text on the reading list?**

**A: This is a superb overview of the development of American public service up to the mid-1950s**

Name 3 principal goals of the Pendleton Act reformers.

What was “the spoils system”?

Compare the reforms of the Progressives to the Pendleton Act reformers. What were some of the principal differences? What were some of the primary Progressive era reforms?

Name three “reorientations” in American public service thinking – three historical moments where attitudes towards civil service changed radically.

## **Eric Alterman, What Does Liberalism Look Like?**

**Q: Why is this text on the reading list?**

**A: This is a defense of left-wing liberalism (what American conservatives refer to “socialism”) and of the idea of the state as efficient provider of public services.**

What are some of Alterman's principal arguments about the superiority of countries where states provide more services – give particular examples.

## **Robert Moses, Public Works: A Dangerous Trade**

**Q: Why is this text on the reading list?**

**A: Moses was Parks Commissioner for the City of New York and supervised the buildings of many NYC bridges, tunnels, parks, expressways etc. – he is a good example of a public servant and of the role that public servants play in service provision.**

What are the arguments for and against municipal governments building “non-revenue producing facilities”? (see page 6)

What was the role of the municipal government and what was the role of John D. Rockefeller in building Fort Tyron?

What are some examples of public works projects on the west side of Los Angeles?

## **Franklin Delano Roosevelt readings from Time**

**Q: Why is this text on the reading list?**

**A: The New Deal restructured public service in the United States, moving the nation somewhat closer to a “European” model of the state. Also, FDR and Eleanor Roosevelt were themselves model public servants -- the reforms they sponsored set the agenda for generations of later reformers. Roosevelt and Lyndon Baines Johnson are our two examples of public servants who served as politicians.**

Be able to name five of Roosevelt's principal accomplishments during his first 100 days. How do you think that they image of public service changed between the administrations of Herbert Hoover and FDR?

What are some of the principal points of disagreements between conservatives and liberals on the legacy of the New Deal?

In what way might we see a politician like Roosevelt as a public servant?

## **Robert Caro from The Years of Lyndon Johnson**

**Q: Why is this text on the reading list?**

**A: LBJ is a quintessential example of the politician—someone who is a master of political struggle and who is also an efficient caretaker of the political system. LBJ was also a quintessential New Deal politician and this piece will give you a glimpse of Washington during the growth of the American state that went along with the New Deal.**

What made LBJ into a good politician? What were some of his central skills/virtues?

Learn two stories about LBJ from Caro that show Johnson's powers as a politician.

Was LBJ immoral for the things that he did? Do you think that the morality for politicians is different from the morality for ordinary people?

## **Max Weber from Politics as Vocation**

**Q: Why is this text on the reading list?**

**A:** This serves as a transition piece between our discussion of politics and our discussion of social activism. It is a very cynical text, but an astonishingly influential one. It sets out a powerful vision of politics as being essentially about struggle and force (quite different from the harmonization model we encountered in Confucianism). Weber (note that the *W* is pronounced as a *V* in German, and English people have adopted this when talking of this author) also develops an argument inherited from Machiavelli: that politics has its own distinctive morality, one that is often in tension with everyday morality. This is a superb, though controversial, article about what it means to be a political leader

What is the evidence for seeing Weber as having a struggle-centered vision of politics?

What is the difference between the ethics of responsibility and the ethics of ultimate ends? Think up some examples of people who represent these different types of attitude. Give some examples of the mischief that Weber sees as arising from the application of everyday ethics to political life.

For Weber, what makes a good political leader?

Why does Weber believe that Christianity and socialism create a large place for violence?

**A question for those who want to think deeply:**

- Weber might be seen as having two quite different ideas of ethics, one that is cynical, one that is much less so. Explain what these two different ideas of ethics are and spell out the tension between them. Can we reconcile these two visions?

## James Thompson from “The Federal Civil Service-The Demise of an Institution”

**Q: Why is this text on the reading list?**

**A:** This text is quite dry, but it does a good job of summarizing Bush-era changes in the American civil service.

Summarize JT’s argument about the incompatibility between public service ideals and management models.

What is “New Public Management”?

What does Thompson mean by a civil service “logic of action”?

What are some of Thompson’s concerns about the politicization of the civil service?

## Paul C. Light, Embracing the New Public Service

**Q: Why is this text on the reading list?**

**A:** Like Zukin *A New Engagement* and Baldassare et al.’s *Risky Business*, this text is designed to give us a view of where we are right now. It serves both as a good introduction to public service as a potential career and also to the idea that the civil service looks very different now than it did at the time of FDR and LBJ.

What are some of the claims that Light makes for public service training?

What does he mean by the “multi-sector” public sphere?  
 What are some of the forces pushing government towards this model?

## **E. S. Savas from Privatization in the City**

**Q: Why is this text on the reading list?**

**A: This text offers a good summary of arguments for the privatization of government functions.**

Name five problems with government that Savas believes that privatization could solve?  
 What does New Public Management entail for Savas (four characteristics)?  
 What is “privatization”?  
 What are some of the areas in which Savas thinks government is needed?  
 What are some of the principal forms of privatization? Be able to describe the advantages and disadvantages of the three different forms of privatization.  
 What are some of the common disadvantages of privatization?  
 What is Paul Starr’s argument about privatization and the low quality of public goods?

## **Green Dot Public Schools: To Collaborate or Compete**

**Q: Why is this text on the reading list?**

**A: Schools are a good example of a government monopoly that critics think can have pernicious results; charter schools are an attempt to break up that monopoly. Charter schools are a particularly popular cause among libertarians who think they are a way of introducing competition into the school system and consequently reforming it. The Green Dot schools are a reasonably successful example of one such for-profit school system.**

Why do you think that Green Dot seems to outperform LAUSD schools with similar demographics? Do you think that Green Dot successes are “scalable”?

What are some of the principal institutions that the Green Dot reformers are trying to change?

What are some of the principal challenges facing the Green Dot schools at the time this case study covers?

If you were Steve Barr, would you pursue the opportunity to collaborate with LAUSD (as at Locke) or would you compete against LAUSD (as at Crenshaw)?

## **Diane Ravitch from The Myth of Charter Schools**

**Q: Why is this text on the reading list?**

**A: Diane Ravitch was, for many years, one of the leading advocates of charter schools, but this article shows her in a much more skeptical mood. She summarizes her reasons for changing her mind, and in the process suggests a set of reasons for being skeptical about the charter school idea.**

What are some alternative hypotheses to that of school failure as a cause of declining American standards?

What was the CREDO study – what were some of its conclusions?

Give three of Ravitch's principal criticisms of "Waiting for Superman."

What is Ravitch's take on the Green Dot schools?

According to Ravitch, why do Korea, Singapore, Finland, and Japan have higher-performing school systems than those in the United States?

## **Jim Collins, Good to Great and the Social Sectors**

**Q: Why is this text on the reading list?**

**A: This text, by a highly influential business thinker, argues that the social sector works on a radically different logical basis than that of business. He gives some excellent advice on how to improve the qualities of the outputs of one's organization and has a highly sophisticated understanding of the difference between the public and private spheres.**

What are the five issues that define Collins' fundamental position? Be able to state and explain each of them.

What does Collins mean by "greatness"?

What is "the hedgehog concept"?

What are the "four quadrants" of the social sector? Be able to name two organizations from each quadrant.

Name five differences between best practices for the business and social sectors, according to Collins.

## **Stephen Frantzich from Citizen Democracy; Political Activists in a Cynical Age**

**Q: Why is this text on the reading list?**

**A: Frantzich discusses several different kinds of activists, from conservative to liberal, some focused on the legal system and others concerned with more delimited issues. He paints a realistic picture of the activist life and the challenges that activists face, summing things up in a set of succinct take-aways.**

What would you do differently if you decided to become a political activist? If you had to describe the activist's life in terms of a "pathway," how would you describe it?

Be able to sum up, in a paragraph or two, the activities of any two of the activists whom Frantzich describes.

Name five of the most important lessons that Frantzich thinks that activists should learn. Bonus question: What criteria allow us to distinguish activism that is a public service from activism that is not a public service?

## **Saul Alinsky from Rules for Radicals**

**Q: Why is this text on the reading list?**

**A: A superb introduction to organizing activism by one of the left's most influential activists.**

Be able to name at least two of Alinsky's rules.

## Taylor Branch from **Pillar of Fire**

**Q: Why is this text on the reading list?**

**A: This is a realistic picture of a master activist/preacher at work and shows MLK in a political context – as someone struggling for his vision in an environment where many people oppose him. It also shows the strong religious influence on activism.**

What role did suffering play in the activism of SNCC and King? How can non-violent suffering be efficacious? How does it do its work?

What is the difference between King's perspective on shunning and that of government security officials (and his friend Dunbar)? What does this tell you of the distinctiveness of the non-violence tradition? How is this reflective of King's basic philosophy?

Who were some of King's primary enemies/opponents?

## Union Oil, **Sign of the 76**

**Q: Why is this text on the reading list?**

**A: Businesses portray themselves, and not without reason, as providers of services. This excerpt from a Union Oil promotional book gives a good history of Union Oil as a provider of resources for the American war effort.**

What were some of the services that Union Oil provided during the Second World War? Union Oil's reaction to the New Deal is to start advertising the advantages of the free enterprise system. What are some of the advantages of the free enterprise system, according to Union Oil spokespeople?

## Milton Friedman from **The Social Responsibility of Business is to Increase its Profits**

**Q: Why is this text on the reading list?**

**A: A classic argument, still much referenced, as to why corporations should not see themselves as socially responsible, why they should not see themselves as citizens.**

Friedman's argument hinges in part around a discussion of issues between principals and agents and a discussion of the constraints that agents face. Briefly reconstruct this argument.

Why does Friedman think that the corporate executive who gives corporate money to charity is involved in a form of taxation? What does he mean by taxation?

What is the difference between political mechanisms and market mechanisms?

**Here is a key passage from Friedman's text:**

"There is one and only one social responsibility of business—to use it resources and engage in activities designed to increase its profits so long as it stays within the rules of the game, which is to say, engages in open and free competition without deception or fraud."

**A question for those who like to think deeply:**

- Given this (refer to the above passage), would it be acceptable for a business to dump its toxic waste at sea so as to save on waste clean-up bills?

## **Case Studies: Starbucks and Conservation International**

**Q: Why is this text on the reading list?**

**A: It is not just individuals who try to be good citizens. Increasingly, corporations are also trying hard to be socially responsible, both as part of their branding strategies and also because they see it as a good thing to do. Starbucks is a good example of a corporation trying to take that route.**

What are some of the primary programs and projects that comprise Starbucks' program of CSR?

Is CSR a form of citizenship? If so, how?

What would Milton Friedman say to the managers and chief executives of Starbucks?

## **George Gilder from Moral Sources of Capitalism**

**Q: Why is this text on the reading list?**

**A: Gilder was an early neo-conservative (back when the movement was responsible for some brash and interesting thinking). This text is interesting in part because it is realistic about the reasons conservatives used to worry about capitalism and business. But Gilder is also convinced that there is an immense fundamental sense of generosity in business life.**

What is the “insidious” view of businessmen inherited from Adam Smith?

Why does Gilder think that the capitalist system is inherently generous?

What does Gilder mean by “a lack of predetermined return”?

Why does Gilder (following Lippmann) see capitalism as a version of the Golden Rule?

## **Peter Singer from What Should a Billionaire Give?**

What is Singer’s response to those who think Bill Gates is really giving money away for business reasons?

Do you think Peter Singer would see Bill Gates as a model citizen? Why or why not?

Shouldn’t the state be looking after aid to developing countries? How does Singer respond to this suggestion?

If Singer is right, is there anything you should do differently?

## **Bjorn Lomborg from The Skeptical Environmentalist**

**Q: Why is this text on the reading list?**

**A: This book is a central text in the current debate over environmentalism and thus an important background for discussing our idea of environmentalism as**

**citizenship. If you are an environmentalist, you need to be able to respond to these arguments. If you are a critic of environmentalism, you will find some state-of-the-art arguments here.**

List some of the important world improvements that Lomborg discusses in this chapter.

What are some of the principal problems that still remain?

BL recommends a different method for solving world problems, distinct from the characteristic understandings of environmentalism. How does Lomborg recommend that we approach doing good?

What are some of the principal forms of the “precautionary principle”? What is Lomborg’s response to this idea?

Which Lomborg arguments do you find persuasive? Which do you find weak?

## Michael Pollan “Why Bother?”

**Q: Why is this text on the reading list?**

**A: Pollan is an influential modern environmentalist who makes a good case for the argument that individuals should make major changes in their behavior in light of scientists’ worries about climate change.**

What is Pollan’s response to the question “why bother”?

## David Mackay from Sustainable Energy – Without the Hot Air

**Q: Why is this text on the reading list?**

**A: This is from a recent (2009) book by Mackay, a professor of physics at Cambridge. It sets out evidence-based arguments about climate trends, about the causal links between our daily choices and those climate trends, and about concrete changes that we can make in our daily practices if we want to work towards being more responsible about our role in promoting dangerous trends. Mackay explains both why and how we might adopt behaviors that are more environmentally responsible. The examples Mackay draws upon are all British, but most of them also apply to life in the United States.**

What does Mackay mean by “stuff”?

What are some of the principal environmental costs of “stuff”? What are the principal factors (name from 3-5) that make up the environmental cost of “stuff”?

List five individual actions you could take to shrink your environmental footprint.



# UCLA Course Inventory Management System

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## Course Revision Proposal

### **Political Science M115C Citizenship and Public Service**

Requested revisions that apply:

Renumbering  Title  Format  Requisites  Units  Grading  Description

Multiple Listing:  Add New  Change Number  Delete

Concurrent Listing:  Add New  Change Number  Delete

#### **CURRENT**

Course Number Political Science 115C

Multiple Listed With

Title Citizenship and Public Service

Short Title CITIZENSHP&PUB SERV

Units Fixed: 4

Grading Basis Letter grade or Passed/Not Passed

Instructional Format Primary Format  
Lecture

Secondary Format  
**Discussion**

TIE Code LECS - Lecture (Plus Supplementary Activity)  
[T]

GE No

Requisites None

Description Lecture, three or four hours; discussion, one hour (when scheduled). Recommended requisite: course 10. Designed for juniors/seniors. Study of ways in which political thinkers have conceived of ideas of citizenship and public service, how these ideas have changed over time, and frameworks for thinking about citizenship in era of markets and globalization. P/NP or letter grading.

#### **PROPOSED**

**Political Science M115C**

**Civic Engagement M115**

**Citizenship and Public Service**

**CITIZENSHP&PUB SERV**

Fixed: 4

Letter grade or Passed/Not Passed

Primary Format  
**Lecture - 3 hours per week**

Secondary Format  
**Discussion - 1 hours per week**

**LECS - Lecture (Plus Supplementary Activity)**  
[T]

No

**Recommended: Course 10**

**(Formerly numbered 115C.) (Same as Civic Engagement M115.)**

**Lecture, three or four hours; discussion, one hour (when scheduled). Recommended requisite: course 10. Designed for juniors/seniors. Study of ways in which political thinkers have conceived of ideas of citizenship and public service, how these ideas have changed over**

Justification

time, and frameworks for thinking about citizenship in era of markets and globalization. P/NP or letter grading.

Syllabus

To broaden the scope of our course offerings in Political Theory and in the Civic Engagement minor.

File [Syllabus 115C-Fall20075.doc](#) was previously uploaded.  
You may view the file by clicking on the file name.

Supplemental Information

Effective Spring 2006 Date

Winter 2008

Department Political Science

**Political Science**

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Routing Help

## ROUTING STATUS

**Role:** Registrar's Office

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**Role:** FEC Chair or Designee - Knapp, Raymond L ([knapp@humnet.ucla.edu](mailto:knapp@humnet.ucla.edu)) - 62278

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