

COMMENCEMENT

CUNY School of Law
Class of 2025

I. Palestine

As Palestinians, we are bearers of a rich and beautiful history. *Our history is not defined by Zionism, but by our people's steadfast popular resistance to Zionist colonization and imperialism.* For over 73 years, our people have faced Zionist ethnic cleansing and for over 73 years we have risen in struggle against it. Even prior to the 1948 *Nakba*, Palestinians consistently rose up against British imperialism and the Zionist movement, as exemplified in the 1936–9 Arab Revolt. Our history and struggle, therefore, cannot be defined by victimhood. Instead, they are defined by a relentless persistence toward liberation, even under the most brutal colonial conditions.

Today is no exception. In a moment when the word is rising up for Palestinian freedom, we must emphasize that popular uprisings across Palestine are deeply and firmly rooted in our history. *For this reason, our recommended reading list offers historical context on Palestine through the prism of popular resistance, which continues to be our main resource in the fight for land, return, and liberation.* We include sources in English and Arabic on popular resistance ranging from political histories, interviews, memoirs, poetry, films, and primary documents. By popular resistance, we refer to all forms of resistance taken up by Palestinians: in the form of economic resistance, women's organizations, unions, and labor organizing, and military/armed resistance.

—Palestinian Youth Movement (PYM)



The Ongoing Genocide in Gaza

In the past 18 months, over 52,314 people in Gaza have been confirmed killed, including at least 18,000 children.¹ This number equates to one out of every 50 people in Gaza. However, the actual death toll is far higher. Many analytical experts and human rights groups emphasize the impossible task of identifying many of the remains of Palestinians still stuck under rubble. Israel has further increased the death toll by decimating Gaza's infrastructure and implementing aid blockades, violating international law, that prevent medical equipment, food and water from entering Gaza.

Additionally, at least 117,792 people in Gaza have been injured. That's one in 20 people. According to the World Health Organization, nearly a quarter of the injured, an estimated 22,500 people, have life-altering injuries that require rehabilitation that is not available. According to UNRWA, the United Nations agency for Palestinian refugees, every day, 10 children lose one or both legs with operations and amputations conducted with little or no anesthesia due to Israel's blockade. The Palestinian Ministry of Health stated that by the end of 2024 there had been at least 4,500 amputations.²

According to Israel's own human rights group, B'Tselem, the state of Israel has killed more than 1,000 members of medical, defense and aid teams in Gaza since October 2023.³ B'Tselem writes that "the Israeli chief of staff Zamir is planning to conquer Gaza, the defense minister Katz is forming a bureau for 'voluntary emigration', and Netanyahu has declared Israel is seizing territory. With US support and tacit approval from the EU and the rest of the world—Israel is carrying out ethnic cleansing in the Gaza Strip."

Israel is committing a genocide of devastating proportions in Gaza, consistently committing war crimes in violation of International Law, and wiping out multiple generations of families from the Gazan civil registry.⁴ This has been established by the International

Court of Justice, Amnesty International, Human Rights Watch, and numerous other international human rights organizations.

The United States is the key financial supporter of the genocide of the Palestinian people and fully implicated in Israel's actions. Since the Israeli state was formed in 1948, it has received \$158 billion in unrestricted military aid from the United States, making it the single greatest recipient in history.⁵ In 2024 alone, Israel received nearly \$17.9 billion in military financing from the United States.⁶

As the U.S. government grinds away at civil rights locally, blaming immigrants, the poor, and the unhoused for eating away at resources that could supposedly be used to benefit our society at large, they are spending BILLIONS of our tax dollars to fund one of the most devastating human rights catastrophes in modern history. This genocide runs on U.S. Taxpayer Dollars, OUR taxpayer dollars. It is our call to action that you join us in saying "NOT ON OUR DIME."⁷

II. Boycott Divestment Sanctions

Boycott, Divestment, Sanctions (BDS) is a Palestinian-led movement for freedom, justice, and equality; upholding the simple principle that Palestinians are entitled to the same rights as the rest of humanity.⁸ BDS is an inclusive, anti-racist human rights movement that is opposed to all forms of discrimination, including Islamophobia and antisemitism. BOYCOTT involves withdrawing support from Israel's apartheid regime, complicit Israeli institutions, and all Israeli and international companies engaged in violations of Palestinian human rights. DIVESTMENT urges universities to withdraw investments from the State of Israel and all Israeli and international companies that sustain Israeli apartheid. SANCTIONS pressure governments to fulfill their legal obligations to end Israeli apartheid and not aid or assist its maintenance by banning business with illegal Israeli settlements, ending military trade and free-trade agreements, and suspending Israel's membership in international forums.

The Palestinian-led BDS movement is inspired by the South African anti-apartheid movement and urges non-violent pressure on Israel until it complies with international law and meets the following three demands. (1) End the occupation and colonization of all Arab lands and dismantle the apartheid wall. (2) Recognize the fundamental right of the Arab-Palestinian citizens of Israel to have full equality under law. (3) Respect, protect, and promote the rights of Palestinian refugees to return to their homes and properties as stipulated in UN Resolution 194.⁹ As long as Israel maintains a genocidal regime of settler colonialism, apartheid, and population over the Palestinian people, it is our obligation to call for BDS and end our complicity in this genocide.

In 2021, CUNY School of Law's Students for Justice in Palestine (SJP) and Jewish Law Student Association (JLSA) developed the "CUNY Law BDS Resolution."¹⁰ The BDS Resolution was drafted based on the CUNY system, including CUNY School of Law's direct complicity in the ongoing apartheid, genocide, and war crimes perpetrated by the state of Israel against the Palestinian people through its investments in and contracts with companies profiting off of Israeli war crimes. The resolution passed unanimously with overwhelming support of the student body as well as faculty endorsement.

CUNY BDS RESOLUTION:

1. As of 2014, CUNY had close to \$1.1 million invested in companies profiting off Israeli war crimes, including weapons manufacturers (Boeing, General Electric, Lockheed Martin, Northrop Grumman, and Raytheon), tech and security companies (Hewlett-Packard Enterprise, G4S8, and Motorola Solutions), and construction firms (Caterpillar and Cemex).

2. CUNY has over \$8.5 million in contracts with companies that aid in or profit from Israeli colonization, occupation, and war crimes, including Dell, IBM, HP, Lenovo, Cisco, and BMC Software.
3. CUNY collaborates with the NYPD, including through security MOUs, and academic programs that offer tuition-free, guaranteed admission to NYPD officers. The NYPD participates in Deadly Exchange programs with Israel, in which the NYPD sends officers to learn from Israel's military.
4. CUNY offers food and beverage products for purchase on campus that are notorious for violating Palestinian human rights, including PepsiCo and Sabra Hummus.
5. CUNY Law contracts with legal research 'data cartels' selling surveillance data and services, such as Thomson Reuters (Westlaw) and Reed Elsevier/RELX (LexisNexis). Through its LexisNexis Risk Solutions arm, LexisNexis contracts not only with the Department of Homeland Security/ICE, but also BioCatch, whose founder, Avi Turgeman served as head of innovation for the cyber-intelligence unit of the Israel Defence Forces.
6. CUNY campuses receive grants from US-Israel Binational Foundations, which "promotes scientific relations between the U.S. and Israel by supporting collaborative research projects" between complicit Israeli academic institutions and US academic institutions.

The Resolution calls upon CUNY to "cut all ties with organizations that repress Palestinian organizing and end its complicity in the ongoing censorship, harassment, and intimidation of Palestine solidarity activists, including through ending contracts, academic collaborations, and refusing to be complicit in the targeted harassment and silencing of Palestine solidarity activists." The CUNY BDS Resolution continues to be heavily supported by current and graduating students and alumni.

III.

Protect Students and Faculty

CUNY is Complicit in Doxxing and Censorship

Rather than protecting students and faculty who support Palestinians' right to life, CUNY refuses to defend our rights to speech and protest. The administration has decided that our protest, our refusal to accept genocide, is worse than the genocide itself. They have thrown us to the wolves.

When a doxxing truck—a vehicle that drives around with pictures of students and faculty calling them antisemites for advocating for Palestinian life—came to CUNY School of Law, the administration did nothing. Along with the truck came aggressive photographers who took pictures of students just trying to enter the school or just trying to go to the subway station. One of those photographers attempted to physically assault a student, and yet again, nothing from our school. We organized to block the truck and photographers. We formed rapid response teams to help our peers who were being doxxed and harassed. We reassured students who were concerned for their safety.

CUNY's dereliction of duty has created a massive rift in trust between students and administration. Where we should have been able to rely on them to have our backs, we instead know that we only have ourselves. CUNY also refuses to support academic freedom. The administration suppresses the speech of professors by subjecting them to surveillance, administrative hurdles, and firing for simply affirming that Palestinians have a right to life and liberation. CUNY allowed Governor Hochul to cancel a job posting for a

professor of Palestinian studies—a blatant authoritarian overreach and a Trumpian maneuver. CUNY has shown us that they are happy to allow their students and faculty to be thrown under the wheels of imperialism simply because of their opposition to genocide and their insistence on Palestinian life and liberation. We demand that CUNY protect students and faculty and stand strong in the face of bigoted intimidation tactics and false accusations of antisemitism. We demand that our professors not be fired and that our students not be harassed and intimidated.

CUNY is Complicit in Detainment and Deportation

CUNY must protect its students from detainment and deportation. As organizations like Canary Mission and Betar hand over lists of students' names to the current administration, CUNY must work to shield students and provide them with resources to remain free to continue their studies. CUNY prides itself on being a safe place for immigrants of all immigration statuses, but fails to protect us from the deportation machine.

For all we know, CUNY may be literally invested in its students' detainment and deportation. Private imprisonment and detention companies like the GEO Group run private detention centers to profit from human suffering. People like Mahmoud Khalil and Rumeysa Öztürk, students just like us, are detained in these centers. CUNY refuses to disclose its investment ties—could it be that they, too, are profiting off the suffering of their own students?

We demand that CUNY stand up to the regime and provide robust protections for students and work to uphold their rights to speech, protest, and civil engagement without fear of being kidnapped and disappeared.

IV.

Reinstate Student Speakers at Commencement

CUNY Law has a rich tradition of having our commencement speaker be an elected student representative, rather than the valedictorian of our graduating class. For the past couple of years, students have chosen to elect student speakers who are actively involved in the movement for Palestinian liberation, demonstrating the collective commitment of our student body to a free Palestine.

Nerdeen Kiswani, Class of 2022, used her speech to call out CUNY administration's complicity in the genocide in Gaza and to uplift the BDS resolution unanimously passed by CUNY Law students and faculty.¹¹ Importantly, Nerdeen reminded the audience that in 2021, CUNY Law's Interim Dean put out a statement naming criticism of Israel as "protected speech" and condemning racism, including anti-Palestinianism, anti-Semitism, and Islamophobia.¹² Fatima Mohammad, Class of 2023, once again reminded us of CUNY's ties to Israel, noting that CUNY Central maintains contracts with the NYPD, who actively train IDF soldiers.¹³

Despite these speakers being voted on by their peers and their speeches being pre-approved by CUNY Law, in a closed faculty meeting in September 2023, Dean Setty announced that there would be no graduation speaker at the Class of 2024's ceremony.¹⁴ As you can see in your program today, this repression of our student speakers has continued with no news as to if, or when, student speakers will return to graduation.

By not allowing us to have a student speaker at graduation, CUNY Law is illegally engaging in viewpoint discrimination and the suppression of our First Amendment rights to free speech.¹⁵ It is deplorable that CUNY has taken such a firm stance against free speech. We use this pamphlet to reclaim our right to speak at our graduation and, in doing so, urge the administration to divest from death.

The actions taken by CUNY Central and Chancellor Matos in retaliation for pro-Palestinian activism are paralleled by the actions taken by the current president of the United States. Through his executive orders, the president has taken action to restrict the practice of law. He has retaliated against law firms who have served or worked with his perceived enemies, for example, by terminating their government contracts. He does this because he believes they are working against his political agenda and goals. This retaliation seeks to intimidate and coerce attorneys away from working with clients and issues who may face hostility from the president and his administration. That includes immigration rights, trans rights, reproductive rights, and student activism. In stifling our freedom to take on the clients and issues we choose, the administration seeks to crush dissent.

CUNY Central and the federal government are mirroring each other, in their tactics, and in their goals. School administrators insisted to us that their measures are in the name of safety, while the president insists his actions are in the name of national security. CUNY Central tells us to fear pro-Palestine activity, don't think about all the cops and ICE agents that could be on campus. The feds tell us to fear and scapegoat immigrants, trans people, and pro-Palestinian organizers as the cause of our individual financial struggles and threats to our safety. Don't look at the billions in so-called aid that pays for the ongoing genocide on the Palestinian people, that could be funding schools, free breakfast programs, public transportation.

The genocide on Gaza, the attacks on student speakers, and the attacks on the legal field are one and the same. We cannot separate them from each other. Our freedom is bound to each other, and until Palestine is free, none of us are free.

★ ★ ★

Antisemitism has long been weaponized by Zionists and their supporters to shield the violent political ideology from criticism. Further, Zionist media has spent billions of dollars to manipulate international citizens of the world and to appeal to the intergenerational trauma of the global Jewish community to further its colonial agenda. Using propaganda, Israel seeks to dehumanize Palestinians to justify the equating of anti-Zionism with antisemitism. This false equivalence is a common tactic of settler colonial powers to delegitimize resistance and challenges to their violence and injustice.

This same conflation has been used against students across the world, as well as at CUNY School of Law. While CUNY at large maintains its investments in weapons manufacturers such as Lockheed Martin, who continue to provide Israel with internationally banned war machines, the law school administration, including Dean Setty, shamelessly parrot the speech of CUNY Central in their hollow concern for antisemitism on campus. When Setty was confronted by a Jewish student regarding the foundation for her so-called "concerns", she cited anonymous students who had expressed "discomfort" as a result of their support of Israel.

All the while, Jews are among those targeted by policies using concerns of antisemitism as justification for the quashing of pro-Palestine speech. Above, you'll see images of Jewish students creating spaces for Jewish ritual amidst the Gaza Solidarity encampment at City College (CCNY), one of many peaceful and spiritual experiences shared among the many anti-Zionist participants, Jews and non-Jews alike. Dozens of Jewish students were among those impacted by the militarized police violence enacted on the CCNY student encampments last April, where students were trapped, attacked with tear gas, and imprisoned without legal justification. As CUNY's former General Counsel wrote in a report, "*If such speech can serve as the basis for a finding of a hostile environment under Title VI, then no speech that some students may find offensive is safe on university campuses.*"

None of this is to be *twisted* as an assertion that antisemitism itself is a myth. This could not be further from the truth and further from our belief as a community. *We recognize antisemitism as a dangerous ideology that unfortunately persists and has increased globally as of late, alongside a sharp rise in islamophobia.* This is, in large part, a symptom

of Israel's blasphemous use of Judaic iconography as a spiritual shield against accountability for its crimes against humanity; an act many Jews would call "birkat hashem", to say the least. The Zionist movement's mischaracterization of antisemitism harms Jews internationally—spiritually, culturally, and socially.

A few examples include the nation-state's flag, co-opting the six-pointed Magen David (Star of David), the most prominent Jewish symbol, as its national symbol. The symbol has been flown over the sites of massacres since Israel's initial founding.

CUNY Law's Jewish Law Students Association (JLSA) stands proudly in solidarity with Students for Justice in Palestine (SJP), but our law school's Dean continues to spread the dangerous, propaganda-fueled myth of antisemitism on our campus. We refuse to allow for this weaponization of antisemitism against our Jewish principles and identities, which guide us toward liberation for *all*.

Author's note: This statement was authored by a first-generation Jewish student of Ashkenazi descent whose family of immigrants has long faced the dark realities of antisemitism, including but not limited to deadly Pogroms dating back generations, which took the lives of several cherished ancestors. I am writing on behalf of them and on behalf of the thousands of Jews who, like me, have currently and historically stood against the notion that a violent colonial regime could *ever* bring peace and safety to the Jewish people. Not only has this colonial experiment long been backed by outwardly antisemitic world powers, but it has also proven to utterly *fail* the global Jewish community through the global rise of antisemitism. The very premise upon which it lies, that enacting genocide on others is the only way to protect Jews, is an *antisemitic* notion which makes a mockery of the ancient Jewish faith. There is *nothing* more antisemitic than enacting genocide and ethnic cleansing. *Not in our ancestor's names.*



V.

CUNY Must Condemn the Gaza Genocide

CUNY SCHOOL OF LAW		
SUDHA SETTY FINAL REPORT CARD		
SUBJECT GRADING		
SUBJECT	COMMENTS	FINAL GRADE
Institutional Integrity	You called the cops on us	F
Strong Commitment to Academic Excellence	The 2023 bar passage rate dropped to 55.8%	F
Commitment to Equity and Justice	Equity and Justice was a matter of convenience	F
Inspirational Leadership	You failed to leverage CUNY Law's political will	F
Ethical Judgement	to condemn a genocide	F

Additional comments:

We are not mad about this Dean's performance, just disappointed. We hoped that she would uplift the mission of CUNY in her time here: "Law in the Service of Human Needs." As we watched videos of Palestinians mourning their children, searching frantically for their friends, and removing rubble with their bare hands to desperately search for their loved ones, a teary-eyed Dean Setty told us we were "interrupting" everyday school governance by centering the genocide at faculty meetings. When a Zionist doxxing van appeared at the law school, Dean Setty watched and did nothing while students put their bodies on the line to protect the identities of those that the Zionists sought to harass and target. When the NYPD brutalized and arrested CUNY students at the CUNY encampments in 2024 and 2025, Dean Setty stayed silent. Dean Setty's scholarship about the "national security" justification for politically targeted violence did nothing to prevent her from acting exactly like the politicians she critiques in her work—as someone who acts out of political self-interest and without the decency to uplift the political will for change.

Dean Setty, you are watching the genocide of an entire people, and you have done nothing. You have seen your students harassed, doxxed, and targeted by the public and the NYPD, and you remain silent. We will always remember you as the Dean who stood by and watched as your students upheld the mission of this school.

Suddha Setty, you failed this class.

We know that the report cards for Deans across the CUNY system are no different. The Deans at every CUNY campus are committed to enforcing the interests of the Board of Trustees. This is apparent by the student and the faculty representatives' merely symbolic presence on the Board—neither has a meaningful vote. These Trustees are all businesspeople with little to no experience or interest in education. For example, Robert Mujica serves as the Executive Director of the Financial Oversight and Management Board for Puerto Rico, which has devastated Puerto Ricans' living conditions. And they're all un-democratically appointed by various state actors.

We understand these failures exist within a larger trend of systemic degradation of academia. Public schools, like our own, have been especially vulnerable to the political whims of the state. Budget cuts, tuition hikes, lack of tenure tracks available for professors, the crumbling campus buildings, and the rise of austerity have all torn away at the fabric of what it means to provide access to education. This is particularly true for the programs built for New Yorkers: to bring poor, working-class, racialized, and underrepresented communities out of socioeconomic oppression. CUNY Law's Equity Line is one of many programs across the CUNY system that is constantly threatened with budget cuts. Some, such as the SEEK program, the Haywood Burns Chair, and the Black Male Initiative, have already faced significant cuts. Students attend CUNY School Law and faculty choose to work here because of its mission. We know that to be lawyers, and people, who serve in the public interest, we must hold our alma mater to the high standards to which we hold ourselves to provide our communities the attorneys they deserve.

If I Must Die

Refaat Alareer

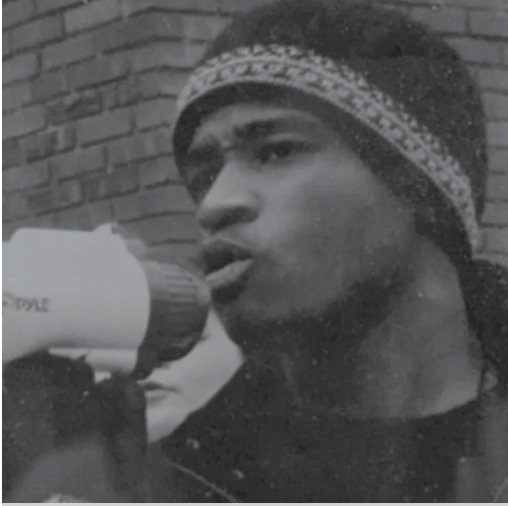
تن أش يبع تن أدبل اف
ريع رعل استع فر
توم أن أدبل ان اك اذ
تن أش يبع تن أدبل اف
يتي الكج يورتل
ي اي ش أع ي بتل
ش ام ق ق ط ق ي رت ش و
اطويخو
(ل ي و ط ل ي ذب و ارض ي بن كتل ف)
قرغن م ام ان اك م ي فل فطر ص بي ي ك
وام سل اي فق ج ي و و
قأج فلح ري ذل اداب ارط تن م
أج أع دوي ان و
دمجل ي ستل او
ومت اذوا
ق ي ق رول اقري اطل ارض بي
تن اذ استع ان ص ي بتل اذ ي ق رول اي ت ري اطا
ي ل أع أل اي فق ل نت
أك ل ام ك ان دن أقطح ل ل ن ع ي و
سجل ادي ع ي
توم أن أدبل ان اك اذ
ل مل أب ي توم ت أي ل ف
ق ي الكج حب ص ي ل ف
ن و ط ان أن ان س همج رت

If I must die,
you must live
to tell my story
to sell my things
to buy a piece of cloth
and some strings,
(make it white with a long tail)
so that a child, somewhere in Gaza
while looking heaven in the eye
awaiting his dad who left in a blaze—
and bid no one farewell
not even to his flesh
not even to himself—
sees the kite, my kite you made, flying up above
and thinks for a moment an angel is there
bringing back love
If I must die
let it bring hope
let it be a tale
No sound-bite will fix this.
We teach life, Sir.
We teach life, Sir.
We Palestinians wake up every morning to teach the rest of the world life, Sir.

Refaat Alareer (1979–2023) was a professor of world literature and creative writing at the Islamic University of Gaza and the editor of *Gaza Writes Back: Short Stories from Young Writers in Gaza, Palestine* (2013). He was killed by an IDF airstrike on December 6, 2023, along with his brother, nephew, his sister, and three of her children.

In Memoriam

In our graduating class's time at CUNY Law, we lost two bright spirits, zealous advocates, and law school peers: Jordan Taylor, who would have been graduating with us today, and Kay Escobar, who would have graduated in 2026. Here are a few words to honor their memory and impact.



Jordan Taylor (he/him)
1993–2023

Jordan passed away during our first year at CUNY Law, after many of us were worried for him and his family due to the news that he had gone missing. He was known as a kind presence whose loss was felt in our community, and we wish we had an opportunity to get to know him and his power for longer. Jordan is remembered for his work on political and social justice campaigns in Spring Valley, Nyack. He studied political science and Black studies at SUNY New Paltz and was deeply involved in the Black Lives Matter movement. Alton, his brother, describes him as being “big into community outreach and grassroots efforts.” We honor your life, the positive changes you have made and would have continued to make, Jordan, and we walk across the stage today carrying you in our hearts.



Kay Escobar (she/they)
1992–2024

Kay was a beloved and well-known member of the CUNY Law community. During the fall semester of her second year of law school, she unexpectedly passed away, leaving behind a gaping hole. Kay was the founder of one of CUNY Law's newest and most active student organizations, REFORMA, which brought together an incredible cohort for the sake of disrupting systems of oppression through organizing, direct action, and civil disobedience, in solidarity with Latinx and all marginalized communities. In Kay's own words: “make no mistake, as long as CUNY Central (and therefore CUNY Law) holds millions of dollars invested into weapons manufacturers, engineering firms, and other companies complicit in genocide, if we do not fight back, there is blood on our hands as well.” Today, we disrupt business as usual in your memory, Kay.

As she signed every email:

In Peace and Everlasting Resistance,

Kay Escobar (she/they)
CUNY Law Class of 2026

It is absolutely essential that the oppressed participate in the revolutionary process with an increasingly critical awareness of their role as subjects of the transformation. — P. Friere

Divest from Death



Endnotes:

1. Lyndal Rowlands et al., Live: Israel Bombs Gaza Café, Killing 6; US Bombs Yemen's Sanaa, Al Jazeera (Apr. 28, 2025).

2. Id.

3. B'Tselem, From Declaration to Action: Israel Is Carrying Out Ethnic Cleansing in Gaza (Apr. 3, 2025).

4. Application of the Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide in the Gaza Strip (South Africa v. Israel), Int'l Ct. Just., (Apr. 3, 2025); Amnesty Int'l, Amnesty International Concludes Israel Is Committing Genocide Against Palestinians in

Gaza (Dec. 2024); Human Rights Watch, Israel Not Complying with World Court Order in Genocide Case (Feb. 26, 2024).

5. See Jeremy M. Sharp, Cong. Rsch. Serv., RL33222, *U.S. Foreign Aid to Israel* (Mar. 1, 2023).

6. U.S. Campaign for Palestinian Rights, *U.S. Military Funding to Israel Map* (2024).

7. See Not On Our Dime, Ending NY Funding of Israeli Settler Violence (advocating for legislation to prohibit New York nonprofits from funding Israeli settler violence).

8. BDS Movement, *What Is BDS?*

9. UNRWA, *Resolution 194*.

10. Students for Peace in the Middle East, BDS Resolution (Nov. 29, 2021).

11. Id.

12. Eduardo R.C. Capulong, Interim Dean, Statement on Palestinian Activism, CUNY School of Law (June 30, 2021).

13. Center for Constitutional Rights, *Center for Constitutional Rights Condemns Chancellor's and Board of Trustees' Dangerous Attack on CUNY Law Student Over Graduation Speech*.

14. Muslim Advocates, *CUNY Law Students Sue University for First Amendment Repression of Graduation Ceremony*.

15. Id.