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Academics Turkey



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# My Resignation from the *Advocate*

Dadland Maye

When I began my tenure as the Editor-in-Chief of the *Advocate*, a faculty member advised me to balance my time wisely. He emphasized that I should not allow the labor at the newspaper to swallow up my scholarly ambitions. He provided this counsel after observing patterns in which the strength of many student leaders becomes their weakness. These student leaders stood at the forefront of activist movements that have reformed the Graduate Center in ways that benefited newly admitted students. Yet many of these leaders have been unable to balance their activist work with their scholarly commitments. This leaves them open to criticisms such as, "You are not doing the scholarly work you signed up for. Your lack of progress validates misassumptions that campus activism and scholarship are incompatible."

Since the conversation with the faculty member, I never forgot why I arrived at the Graduate Center. I arrived after the admissions committee saw my application and decided to invest in me because I convinced them that my sponsored scholarship would benefit marginalized people of color, immigrant populations, and groups disabled by sex and sexuality. I had to always try and remember that I am here to write a dissertation, to graduate, to continue my life as a scholar. Frequently contemplating on these reasons, I theorize that my greatest gift as a student leader to marginalized communities is to graduate. Deeply weighing these concerns against the demands of continuing as the Editor-in-Chief, I offered my letter of resignation to the DSC leadership. While I learned a lot in this position, I have to know when to say, "Enough is enough! Time to close this chapter before this chapter closes my ambitions!"

#### The Challenges at the Advocate

I know that our community reads and loves our paper. Hence I think you would like to know about the stress that goes into producing the paper so that you may be a bit more tolerant when we make errors in the publication. Did you know that we have only three staff members? Do you know of any other college that has only three persons running the main student publication that puts out a 32-48-page issue three times a semester? Consider that these persons are expected to brand and market the paper beyond the Graduate Center community. These three persons, in the imagination of many members of our community, are expected to do the very same thing the NY Times does with its publication: Edit the publication to perfection. Keep analytical tabs on its readership trends. Design and display pages using high industry standards. Do more with less money.

Of course the *Advocate* is understaffed and underfunded. The budget was even radically cut recently. If writers are not paid well, there will be fewer good writings to publish. Nevertheless, we had to always find a way to continuously seek excellent contributors, edit their submissions through several time-consuming editing processes, repeatedly correspond with writers who fail to account for our suggested edits, market the work by foot and announcements, attend college events to stay abreast of what is going on so we can write about it, read extensively in order to remain updated, run a website, fight amongst ourselves to arrive at consensus, attend meetings each semester with the Advisory Committee, liaise with other departments such as the library's administration to ensure the publication is archived correctly on academic databases, satisfy the administrative reporting demands of the DSC, and all the while, be successful doctoral students with stress-free lives.

### What was Accomplished During my Tenure as Editor-in-Chief?

Notwithstanding the above concerns, many members of the DSC have been supportive and appreciative of the paper's progress and each semester's goals. Indeed, I have had some tensions with the new DSC leadership, mostly regarding funding. What I can say, however, is that the leadership has never told me what political or administrative positions I must advocate for in the paper. And though I have disagreed with some of the positions they took on several issues, we have maintained a professional and respectful relationship that always resolved issues. In a nutshell, it was easy to work with the DSC leadership. So I trust that they will hire a new Editor-in-Chief who will be bold enough to guestion and challenge them rather than rubber-stamp their decisions.

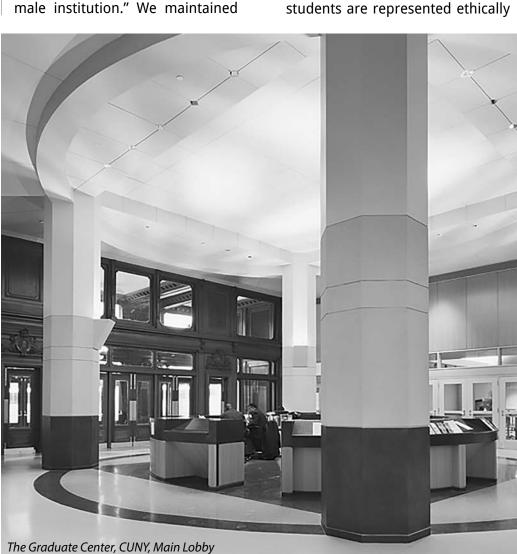
As I see it, the *Advocate* should not be the DSC's mouthpiece. If the DSC has something to say in the *Advocate*, they are constitutionally allowed a number of pages per issue to say it. The *Advocate* should fearlessly represent student concerns — both PhD students and the neglected Master's student

population. At the same time, I do not think it will benefit students if the *Advocate* maintains a perpetually hostile tone towards the DSC leadership. That open division would only play into the hands of the administration. Thus, the new Editor-in-Chief must be blunt, bold, competent, and willing to battle not just the administration, but challenge the DSC leadership on issues of principle, objectivity, and ethics — and particularly in moments when the DSC leadership is making decisions without consulting student groups and organizations that will be most affected.

The overall support from the DSC at large has helped the paper claim certain successes. We have a technologically smarter online product that has resulted in more visits to the website due to the brightness of the design, the additional navigable options available, and the ease with which the site now interacts with the social media technologies of the day. We also created a more aesthetically pleasing product in terms of layout stylistics and logo branding. And we developed a QR code that can be found on the first and last page of the physical paper. Furthermore, we have observed the faster rate at which the GC readership has been picking up the publication from the stocking locations in the lobby, in some departments, and at the entrance of each floor.

And we have energetically led with activists who have encour-

aged the administration to move away from the "defer-defer-defer — talk-talk-talk" strategy and actually do something about the diversity epidemic at this "all-white male institution." We maintained



a strong presence in the student community by attending every DSC meeting, where we held DSC leaders accountable with our questions and commentaries at the risk of being misunderstood as overly combative. Again — that is to say,

and objectively. Among our other accomplishments, the paper represented a wider genre of writing styles like letters from members of our community, features of art works and reviews, photo essays. Furthermore, we have paid particu-

under my leadership, I held the

view that the paper does not exist

to rubber-stamp the DSC, which

funds the *Advocate*, but to support

the DSC's work by ensuring that

lar attention to incorporate diverse images based on gender, race, and geography. We also developed new designs to present DSC news in ways that captured wider student attention. And while the paper remained firmly rooted in the social and political landscape of the Graduate Center, it actively expanded the ambit of its content to include marginalized stories from

#### My Advice to the Student Community and Student Leaders

not just the US but also South Asia,

the Middle East, and Latin America.

As we labor, we need to always remember to take care of ourselves. Engaging revolutionary self-care is critical. We do a disserve to ourselves if we are running around doing student service vet we fail to take the time to eat healthy, to slow down and catch a good breath, to exercise in order to look and stay physically, emotionally, and mentally well. Importantly, too, I would argue that one of the greatest things we could do as student workers is to complete our master's thesis or our doctoral dissertation while keeping balance in our lives.

#### Let us Graduate!

We need to know when a phase of our life is complete and make the moves to begin the next. Otherwise, we could be problemati-

cally colonizing space, polluting space, and denying space to others who need to occupy our residences to serve the community, to heal, and to grow. I doubt anyone will disagree with me here, and so it still surprises me that I rarely hear members of our community having this kind of a conversation. Everything seems so politicscentered! In fact, sometimes I talk about overall wellness with some colleagues and I get the sense that such a conversation is tolerated but not welcomed. In essence, my observation is that a large part of academic culture is concerned with the question of how to give visibility to marginalized politics, communities, and knowledge without egual attention to how we can discover knowledge about ourselves in order to maintain the wellness needed to serve others.

Let us continue to serve,
but we will
take care of our thoughts,
our bodies,
our confidence,
our boldness,
our fears,
our tongues.

# **Trump's Immigration Policy Strikes CUNY**

Gordon Barnes

#### Saira Rafiee's STATEMENT ON FACEBOOK:

Saira Rafiee, Ph.D. student of political science at the Graduate Center, City University of New York, was among god knows how many citizens of Iran, Iraq, Syria, Sudan, Somalia, Libya and Yemen that have been denied entry to the US. I was on a vacation, going back to my country to see my loved ones, like many other students. I was about to check in at the airport, when Donald Trump signed the EO, banning people from the above-mentioned countries from entering the US. I got on the flight to Abu Dhabi, but there at the airport was told that I would not be able to enter the US. I had to stay there for nearly 18 hours, along with 11 other Iranians, before getting on the flight ■ back to Tehran. I have no clue whether I would ever be able to go back to the school I like so much, or to see my dear friends there. But my story isn't as painful and terrifying as many other stories I have heard these days. I know an Iranian student in the US, who was planning to go back to Iran to see her sister who has cancer probably for the last time, but had to cancel her trip because of this order. A dear friend of mine, a Columbia Ph.D. student, went to Canada on Friday to be with his fiancée for the weekend, and is not able to go back to his studies and work, back to his scholarly life. I know many students who are outside the US, doing fieldwork for their dissertation, and have no clue whether they can finish their studies after studying for many years. And these stories are not even close in painfulness and horror to those of the people who are fleeing war and disastrous situations in their home countries.

The sufferings of all of us are just one side of this horrendous order. The other side is the struggle against racism and fascism, against assaults on freedom and human dignity, against all the values that even though are far from being realized, are the only things that would make life worth living. As a student of sociology and political science, I have devoted a major part of my scholarly life to the study of authoritarianism. The media has published enough statistics during the past few days to show how irrelevant this order is to the fight against terrorism. It is time to call things by their true names; this is Islamophobia, racism, fascism. We, the 99% of the world, need to stand united in resisting the authoritarian forces all over the world.

I want to thank all my dear comrades, classmates and professors at the Graduate Center, who have been following my situation since yesterday and have spent a great deal of time to help me and many others in the same conditions. This is a fight for all of us, and I am sure the people, united, will never be defeated.



Above: Saira Rafiee

Donald Trump's executive order banning immigrants and travelers from seven Muslim-majority countries – Iran, Iraq, Lybia, Somalia, Sudan, Syria, and Yemen – has affected one of CUNY's own. Saira Rafiee, a doctoral student in the Political Science Program at the Graduate Center, CUNY, was visiting family on holiday in Iran when the ban came into effect. After boarding a plane bound for New York in Dubai, Rafiee was removed

from the flight, held for eighteen hours, and then ferried back to Tehran.

It is unclear at this point if Saira or the innumerable other people caught in travel limbo will be allowed back into the United States. If there was any doubt about who is targeted by Trump's executive order, Rafiee's case should make it clear. She already went through the onerous vetting process demanded by the US government.

But she, like other visa and green card holders who were abroad at the time the immigration ban came into effect, was prevented from traveling back to the US.

The Muslim ban has nothing to do with security and terrorism. It has everything to do with a racist and xenophobic move by the White House to control immigration. The specter of terrorism is used solely to convince Americans that the ban benefits them. Thankfully, it seems the vast majority have utterly rejected such repugnant rhetoric and have seen the new immigration policy for what it is, an acute manifestation of racism and islamophobia veiled as some nebulous concern about American "freedom" and safety.

Coming off the tailwinds of massive and spontaneous demonstrations at JFK international airport - as well as many other airports nationwide - and Battery Park over the weekend, a small but vocal rally was held outside of United States District Court, Eastern District of New York, on Monday, January 30. Vociferous in their support for refugees and other immigrants barred from entering the United States, Rafiee was the focus of this demonstration-cum-press conference.

Speakers from the Professional Staff Congress, Rafiee's union at CUNY, SUNY Dreamers, the

CUNY University Student Senate, amongst others, expressed solidarity with Rafiee and the whole host of people adversely affected by this draconian legislation. The PSC, CUNY Contingents Unite, and a wide range of university affiliated groups attended. They expressed solidarity with Rafiee and decried this new pivot by Trump's administration, one which harkens back to nineteenth and twentieth-century immigration bans targeting specific ethnic groups.

### What Can the CUNY Community Do?

CUNY specifically, and New York more generally, must mobilize to defend the rights of Rafiee and all immigrants. This is particularly imperative given the scope of the ongoing migrant crisis, stemming from imperialist war in the Middle East and economic dislocation in Africa. Rafiee is also just one of many who continue to suffer from Trump's xenophobic and

anti-Muslim politics.

While the current ban is slated for ninety days, it is ninety days too long. And the indefinite prohibition of Syrians entering the US is even more disturbing. This is the first foray, alongside the proposed expansion and consolidation of the US-Mexican border wall, led by the elite in this country to not only curb immigrant rights, but to spurn "non-Americans" and prevent them from engaging with the body-politic. We must not only de-



Donald Trump signs executive orders in the Hall of Heroes at the Department of Defense on January 27, 2017 in Arlington, Virginia. Credit: Olivier Douliery-Pool/Getty Images



Demonstrators chant against President Donald Trumps executive order temporarily banning immigrants from seven Muslim Source: http://abcnews.go.com/Politics/president-trump-replace-halted-travel-ban-executive-order/story?id=45545474

nounce such a process as the one which is underway, but we must combat it and defeat it.

As it relates to Rafiee specifically, we should demand that she is immediately allowed to return to the United States. Considering that the federal government will not acquiesce to such demands and the local Democratic government will only offer paltry gestures towards achieving this goal, we must agitate for a more direct approach. This means we must call on the PSC to mobilize the labor power of CUNY to bring Rafiee back.

This would include a physical take-over of not only the Graduate Center, but all CUNY campuses and facilities by students, faculty, and staff. That is to say, we must

call for a sit-down strike in concurrence with student sit-ins across the twenty-four CUNY campuses. We must also liaise with other labor and activist networks in New York in order to bring labor's pressure to bear on the entirety of the recent implementation of the executive order.

In the spirit of not only expressing solidarity with Rafiee – whose scholarly pursuits revolve around the study of authoritarianism – but with all migrants and refugees, we must move beyond just advocating for her (and them) in the halls of CUNY. We must mobilize the labor power of New York City, and indeed the entire country to push back against the white-supremacist and misogynistic capitalist state, now helmed by one of the

obscene members of the ruling class in Donald Trump, to smash the power of the elite and to lay the foundation of a social system under which oppressed groups are not roundly ostracized on the one hand, or held up as tokens on the other.

The strike by the New York Taxi Workers Alliance in response to the Muslim Ban is an excellent example, but it is not enough. We must call on all laborers, particularly those who are socially close enough to the ongoing issue and wielding sufficient power to influence its material application. To this end then, we must call on airport workers, pilots, baggage handlers, and air traffic controllers – the latter of whom no longer have a union due to their historic

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Demonstrators chant against President Donald Trumps executive order temporarily banning immigrants from seven Muslim Source: http://abcnews.go.com/Politics/president-trump-replace-halted-travel-ban-executive-order/story?id=45545474

defeat in 1981 – to strike. They wield the requisite social power necessary to directly confront the tyrannical legislation and politics now being brought to the fore in earnest, without its usual window dressings.

It is not enough to convey solidarity in word. Action is needed. We must wholly obliterate the Muslim ban, prevent the proposed expansion of the border wall, and indeed tear down what already exists. We must proclaim that we are for full citizenship rights for all immigrants and refugees. These battles, in conjunction with other ongoing social struggles, serve as the basis for the foundation of political and social movements, which have the power to break the mass of

people in the United States away from the disastrous politics of both the Republicans and the Democrats and the political blind alley of bourgeois electoralism.

While Saira Rafiee's struggle is not our only cause, we must champion it in order to enact changes on behalf of the vast majority. It is through struggling on her behalf and fighting for those in similar positions that we will challenge the new status quo under Trump. Finally, and again, we must not only proclaim the following slogans, but also act on them. By advancing these slogans, rhetorically as well as via political praxis, and by mobilizing labor power to combat oppressive legislations and practices, we can shatter

the dominance of the elite echelons in society and realize the power of the people.

Let Saira Rafiee Return!

No Ban, No Wall, Citizenship Rights for All!

No Hate, No Fear, Refugees are Welcome Here! Rafiee has been allowed entry into the US and has now resumed her academic engagements at the Graduate Center. The advocacy of the unions, including the PSC, and the mass mobilization of people against the immigration ban were instrumental in this victory. However, the dangers posed by Trump's executive order to immigrants, refugees and the marginalized still persist, and there is a pressing need for a grassroots social movement to resist what promises to be only the first of many impending assaults on our civil liberties.



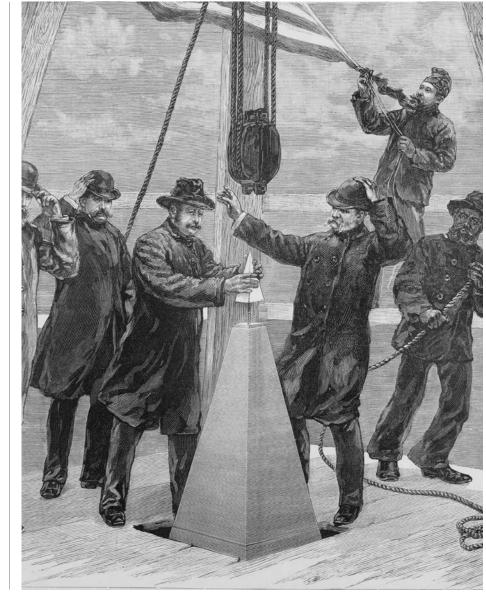
Protestors Rally At JFK Airport Against Muslim Immigration Ban – Credit: Stephanie Keith/Getty Images

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# **Undergraduate Capstones and CUNY**

Leah Light

About a month ago, I was asked to do some research on capstone courses for undergraduates at CUNY. Frankly, I'd heard the term before but barely knew what it meant. It's a beautiful word, "capstone," literally signifying a large, flat stone that mounts and bolsters a wall, or bridges two pillars over a tomb, or the top triangular stone on a pyramid. It entails hardness, specificity, completion – a crowning achievement. In the academic context, which is now the more common usage, a "capstone" is usually a project that occurs at the end of an academic program, makes coherent the overarching trajectory of study, and brings together different skill sets, methodologies and content areas with an exploration of their possible applications. A capstone is supposed to be interdisciplinary, student-driven, integrative, and may or may not differ significantly from a senior thesis or senior seminar, depending on who you're talking to. The feasibility and utility of such a project is much debated, I found, after asking anyone I could about capstone



P. H. McLaughlin setting the capstone (aluminum apex) on the Washington Monument. Colonel Thomas Lincoln Casey has his hands up. Source: "Harper's Weekly", December 20, 1884, page 839.

courses and other "exit-point" experiences for undergraduates at CUNY.

Let me clarify first that it's dif-

ficult to talk about capstones without limiting the conversation to a particular discipline or set of related disciplines. This is somewhat counterintuitive because capstones are supposed to be integrative, often encouraging "realworld" or professional applications of skills that show an ability to apply materials and methods from one field to another and to demonstrate critical abilities that connect different disciplines. Capstone projects (or required senior seminars, or capstone courses) are rarely required for most majors in an undergraduate program at CUNY. They are more common in the applied sciences and preprofessional programs than in the social sciences and humanities, although there are some notable exceptions. They are frequently required in the honors colleges, and alternately, some departments offer them as part of departmental honors. Departmental honors (which vary with department) can often replace a capstone requirement for a particular honors college or program, and these programs may entail a research project, paper, or an honors course. Speaking with Lev Sviridov of the Macaulay Honors College at Hunter, I mentioned that I was having difficulty discern-



ing what did and didn't qualify as a capstone experience. "Welcome to the story of my life," he laughed.

The Macaulay Honors College, a CUNY honors program for students in different CUNY schools, has a capstone project required for all students in their senior year, but this project can be replaced by departmental honors work of equivalent scope. Their capstone, called the "Springboard" project, is intended to be integrative, and also aims to provide its students with some "real-world" experience. Its website details this project as work that "builds on a student's earlier work and displays and reflects that work," "proposes new directions, asks unanswered questions, poses unresolved dilemmas...proposes specific research and learning pathways, providing a plan with clear goals and defined next steps," and "is presented to, and open to the interaction of, a wide public audience."

The Springboard project aims to be "a multidirectional communication" -that "faces outward," and focuses on process rather than product. However, if students take an honors seminar or otherwise achieve departmental honors, the requirement is waived. The Verrazano School, an honors school located at the College of Staten Island, also requires a capstone for all majors. According to the handbook, their project entails: "work[ing] closely with a professor to create a scholarly or otherwise significant project that builds on their knowledge and interest in a field, or fields, of study." It acknowledges that "every field is different, so there is not a singular definition for the Capstone... The departmental thesis/project associated with honors in the major will fulfill the Verrazano cap-

The City ollege of New York BIC's portfolio-driven curriculum culminates in two collaborative capstone courses involving real life projects for industry and non-profit partners – Source: https://www.ccny.cuny.edu/adpr/masters-in-bic

stone project requirement; Verrazano students who are eligible to complete honors in the major are strongly encouraged to do so."

To find out more, I spoke with Cheryl Craddock, the Associate Director of the Verrazano School. She feels that a capstone, like Verrazano's, should be "student-driven, involving substantive interaction with faculty," and one that "brings together various critical methodologies." I asked her if there was a distinctive difference between a senior thesis project and a capstone, and she replied that yes, there was, but in the undergraduate case at CUNY, the difference is not substantial as long as the above criteria were sufficiently met.

Professor Craddock's emphasis

on "substantive interaction with faculty," of course, made me raise an eyebrow. In my discussion with Sarah Chinn, Chair of the English Department at Hunter College, she remarked that with over 900 students in the major it would be nearly impossible for each student to do an independent project under close faculty supervision. Nonetheless, she is thinking about implementing a kind of capstone, or required senior seminar course for Hunter's English majors. What she envisions is not exactly an individualized project, but a required 400 level course for all majors, a "culminating experience, with a significant research component and a final senior thesis."

It would be an opportunity for

students to reflect on their entire course of study, and to see the ways in which various acquired skills (close reading, research, theory) can come together towards comprehensive work, giving students a sense of what graduate work in literature is like. Also, importantly, it would provide a way for university-wide assessments to look at the majors and draw meaningful conclusions about what English students are actually learning, and how that learning is being applied.

Hunter's history department has HIST 300 or 400, "Historical Research," a required exit-point course for all majors which involves "supervised individualized student work under faculty direction in planning, preparing, and polishing a history research paper," but when pressed, a representative preferred to call it "keystone," or merely a research course. There are capstones offered in the humanities at Baruch, including one in philosophy, there is a senior seminar in English at Lehman, and there is a capstone for Linguistics at Brooklyn College. Capstones are more prevalent in business, urban affairs and political science, and are common in computer science.

The computer science major at Hunter seems to be the only one that mandates a capstone requirement for all students. One of the challenges faced there, according to Eric Schweitzer, is keeping the capstone "fresh," because the

department wants to produce employable computer science majors who will be competitive for relevant jobs. The curriculum then is accountable as much to opinions in academia as to markets and trends in commerce and IT. Schweitzer noted that in the early to mid-2000s, when smartphones were still burgeoning into the mainstream (with products like Treo, Sidekicks, Blackberry and iPhone in 2007), computer science undergraduates frequently reported gainful employment directly resulting from work showcased in their capstone projects.

Those days, says Schweitzer, are pretty much gone. The computer science capstone, also, isn't strictly cumulative as the professors stip-

ulate certain requirements in each instance that may exclude or limit the way a student can use certain areas of study that were previously important to her. For example, the capstone may require work on a backend project while a student may have previously focused on technology for smartphones. Another variable that is introduced in this capstone is the group dynamic, as all the projects in CSCI 400 are collaborative. The course intends to acclimate students to working with others - developing interactive programs while collaborating with other IT professionals and laypeople, an awkward but necessary component of "realworld" computing. Because of the various (and specific) criteria laid



Source: https://macaulay.cuny.edu/eportfolios/springboard15/

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out by professors (which change depending on who's teaching it), students are not always able to do the project that they had anticipated, despite the assumption that they should begin conceiving the project (before forming their group) during their junior year. The single-semester, contained nature of the project also limits the way in which computer science's capstone can be called truly cumulative or integrative.

I also asked Professor Schweitzer about the relationship between capstones and assessment. Capstone projects, senior seminars, and other exit-point courses are often implemented in part (if not in whole) for assessment purposes. University admin-

istrators (and the Middle States Commission on Higher Education, the organization that manages accreditation for the US Secretary of Education in New York and several other states) want to know what students are actually learning in their majors, and they want proof. Schweitzer expressed frustration on two related points. First, he noted that the capstone project is expected to be consistent with departmental learning outcomes. The department's intended learning outcomes should be consistent with those of the college (and because of initiatives like Pathways, to some extent with CUNY's as well) and yet, to his knowledge, no such university-wide learning outcomes have been published. He

argued then that it's hard to engineer a curriculum, or a capstone, to meet a set of expectations that have not been clearly delineated, and that students, professors and department-level administrators are in some sense struggling to adhere to standards and protocols that are unclear if not outright unavailable. He also mentioned that "student success" is typically measured by student retention and graduation rates. "It's trivial," he said, "to achieve close to 100 percent retention and graduation rates by only collecting tuition and giving out 'A's...that's not success, that's not teaching. But that's what the administration is looking for when they're looking for 'student success." He mentioned that he'd like to perform an assessment of assessment - do a study that assesses to see whether students under assessed curricula came out better educated, adjusted and prepared for employment.

Despite its limitations, the capstone, he felt, often succeeds in doing what it purports to: that is, simulating "real-world" work experience, motivating student initiative and creativity, integrating different skills and methods, and giving students an opportunity to reflect on their overall course of study in relation to their professional aspirations. Professor Stan Altman of the School of Public Affairs at Baruch expressed other concerns about undergraduate capstones. The undergraduate

major in public affairs is based in what was originally a master's program, and this is in part why it retains a capstone. Public affairs is, by nature, integrative: it includes engineering, political science, economics, communications, etc., and all the different faculty in public affairs are continually in touch with one another about their curricula and students. Nonetheless, Altman feels that senior capstone courses or projects (in their case PAF 4401) do not sufficiently inculcate in the students those critical abilities that such demand; or at least, they unfairly put the onus on the student, rather than the faculty and overall curriculum, to show abilities at the end of her undergraduate career that she should have been developing consistently and continually, with ongoing supervision, from her sophomore year.

Altman also invoked Bernard Baruch, the economic advisor to Presidents Woodrow Wilson and Franklin D. Roosevelt and a graduate of City College in 1889, who had claimed that his most rewarding course in college was political economics. This course covered a range of different subjects which now fall within the purview of at least five or six different disciplines. Altman feels that education is structured too narrowly along disciplinary lines, and that integrative and cumulative learning (and the principles of application, interdisciplinary study, and student initiative) should not be left until the end of an undergraduate career to be addressed.

Many undergraduate institutions, including the Gallatin School at NYU and Sarah Lawrence College, agree with Altman's perspective and are similarly invested in blurring the borders between subjects earlier rather than later in undergraduate study. Altman also cited the case of Ithaca College, where students in their freshman year take a cluster of general education requirements that are organized around a theme (whether its technology or diversity or urban planning). Here, even in their first semester, students are encouraged to see how different disciplines can be collaboratively oriented towards one particular issue or problem. This encourages students to start thinking early across disciplinary lines and forming critical connections throughout their coursework. Altman feels that students would benefit greatly from such an effort to create effective vehicles that enable them to not only learn but apply their knowledge throughout the course of their study, rather than be asked to do it all at once in a single project at the end. However, he notes, tenure is not based on excellence in undergraduate teaching but on publications, which leaves little incentive for innovation in undergraduate teaching. He also noted that K-12 teaching is still largely oriented towards standardized exams, and that students are rewarded for memorization and regurgitation rather than critical thought. Like Schweitzer, Altman indicated that there is a dissonance be-



Computer Science lecturer, Eric Schweitzer caught during an animated discussion of the theory of computation, logics of knowledge and probablistic reasoning.

Source: http://www.csi.cuny.edu/verrazanoschool/index1.html

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Mats Eriksson, The Thinker



tween what teachers feel is quality education at the classroom level and the characteristics and statistics sought by assessment committees.

Some central questions obviously remain about undergraduate capstone courses. Some faculty I spoke with felt that while entry-points in a major can be structured, upper-level courses should be taken laterally, and the student should be able to decide which 300 and 400 level courses to take and when to take them. These professors felt that laterally structured (or less structured) majors do not preclude integrative or critical thinking, and that capstone courses are too difficult to implement, manage, and grade. Underpinning such a perspective is also the question: to what extent are undergraduates supposed to specialize? And does specialization indicate deep study in one area, or does it emphasize the interconnectedness of that area with others? Beyond the many logistical issues, including class size, faculty to student ratio, grading (particularly in group-work situations), reporting and records, it can

also be asked how a capstone can be implemented across a major in a uniform way, especially outside the sciences. Additionally, it seems that capstone and exitpoint courses are too often mandated for assessment purposes, and therefore are not sufficiently geared toward principles of student initiative and integration associated with capstone learning. And finally, there is the critique that these principles should be implemented throughout undergraduate instruction rather than jammed into a cursory course supposed to mark the end of a major. While many of the opinions I encountered at CUNY are consistent in maintaining that vertically structured learning and capstone experiences are a very good idea for students, a great deal of dissatisfaction underlies these contentions. While some capstone experiences are, I'm sure, as effective as they are made to sound, it seems a lot more could be done towards emphasizing critical ability, integration, individual supervision, and student initiative at all

On behalf of the faculty, administration, and students of Baruch College, Altman offers congratulations to the talented and inspiring Class of 2010 – Source: http://www.baruch.cuny.edu/news/altman\_commencement.htm

# The Problem of Black History Month



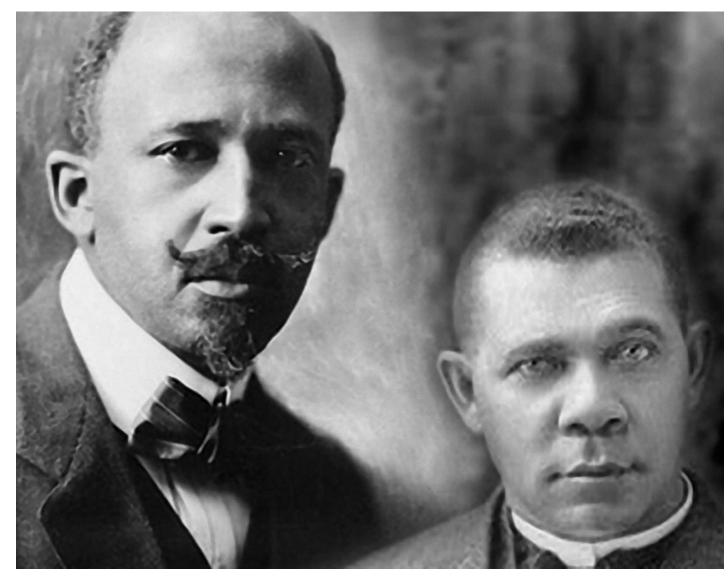
observance of Afro-American achievement centered around the birthdays of Abraham Lincoln and Frederick Douglas – which was promulgated by Carter G. Woodson. On its surface, the celebration of Black History Month presents no moral or political issue that any ostensibly liberal-minded person would have qualms with. There exists, however, a gross set of socio-political contradictions accompanying the extant manifestation of Black History Month.

The contemporary debates around the merits of Black History Month in the US are often framed in Black and White, that is, through a simplistic racial vernacular, one which either posits the celebration as antithetical to so-called American values for focusing on a specific racial group or one which articulates the necessity of such observance due to the historic, as well as modern-day, oppression of Afro-Americans in the country. For as the well-known axiom goes, "If February is Black History Month, White history 'month' is the rest of the year." Those in US society who claim Black History Month as problematic more often than not do so in covertly (and sometimes overtly) racist terms. This is often evinced in the ridiculous opining about the United States as a colorblind society - anyone paying attention over the past two decades will notice that the US is very far from any "post-racial" bliss. And at other times, the attacks on Black History Month amount to blasphemous assaults on the histories of Afro-Americans, eliding or disavowing the many contributions of peoples of African descent in the US. These arguments, as those who propagate them, are pure rubbish and very much the result of the decrepit state of racial relations in the country.

But what about those on the other side of this dichotomy, those who extol the achievements of Afro-Americans? It seems, at least amongst popular commentators, that the champions of Black History Month tend towards hero worship and sanitized historical reconstructions of various Afro-American figures. With little nuance and an appalling lack of historicity, black figures are revered as titans for this brief period and are included in the national narrative around black history only when their legacies are deemed appropriate (or whitewashed) for liberal political agendas. While there have been moves in recent years to celebrate more radical Afro-Americans as part of Black History Month, the commemorative aspects of the month, on a national and popular level, are reserved for those figures whose history does not unsettle the current status quo.

It should come as no surprise then that in 1976 President Gerald Ford officialized Black History Month during the bicentennial of the first American Revolution. And it was likewise convenient for the elite stratum of society that the celebration of Afro-American history came only a year after the cessation of the US imperialist venture in Indochina and during the zenith of the Black Power movements. In effect, Black History Month, as an official remembrance, was born out of a problematic duality. On the one hand, people (black and otherwise) had been organizing ad hoc celebrations of black historical achievement and desired official recognition. On the other hand, this state recognition could only come about if such a celebration of Afro-American history served the interests of the ruling elite of capitalism.

Essentially, the making of Black History Month occurred in such a way that while at one register it did uplift many Afro-Americans to the national pantheon, it did so only insofar as their legacies could serve the continuity of bourgeois politics. This dualism has been the cornerstone of other "history months" for oppressed groups as well. Women's History Month (March), National Hispanic Heri-



tage Month (September-October), Native American Heritage Month (November), and Asian American and Pacific Islander Month (May) became official state-observed commemorations in 1986, 1988, 1990, and 1990, respectively. The fact that only on the women's front is there "history" is worth taking stock of. True to its form, US capitalism, particularly emanating from the liberal corridors of civil society, co-opts and appropriates such observances to its own ends when it deems necessary. Like Black History Month, the aforementioned celebratory periods do not, at a popular level, tend to eulogize those persons whose histories challenge the na-

tional imaginary or cannot be grotesquely altered so that they do.

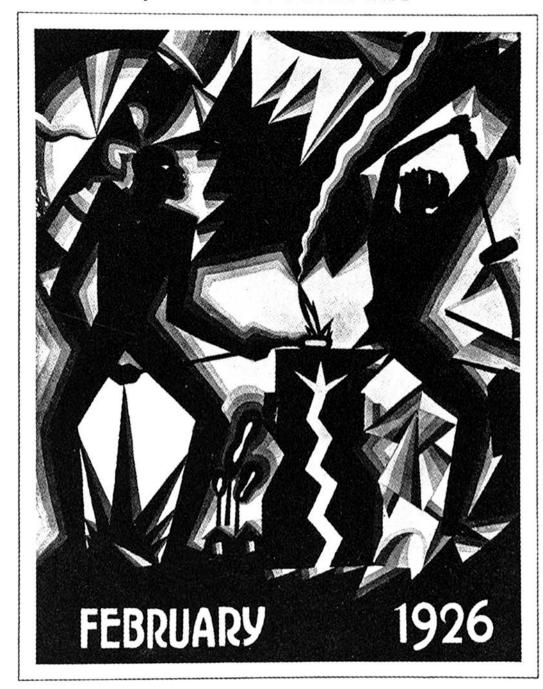
Black History Month, therefore, is as much a tool of the ruling class as it is a space for remembrance and reverence amongst the oppressed. This is particularly true due to Barack Obama's presidency from 2009 to 2017. Carter G. Woodson's proposition for Ne-

Booker T. Washington and W.E.B. Du Bois leaders of the early, post-slavery-era black civil rights movement Source: http://ace.mu.nu/archives/337395.php

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# **OPPORTUNITY**

JOURNAL OF NEGRO LIFE



INDUSTRIAL ISSUE

Opportunity Journal of Negro Life, February 1926 Industrial Issue – Source: https://thecharnelhouse.org/2014/08/03/afrofuturism-aaron-douglas-and-w-e-b-du-bois-1920s-1930s/opportunity-journal-of-negro-life-february-1926-industrial-issue/

gro History Week in 1926 was specifically meant to affirm that Blacks in the US did indeed have a history. Comparing Afro-Americans to indigenous peoples, Woodson articulated that part of the reason why Amerindians in the US were so ill-treated was due to the lack of a perceptible historical narrative (as seen by elites). For Woodson, if Blacks were to survive in America they were to demonstrate that they did in fact have a vibrant history. And indeed, lest they be viewed in broader society as G.W. Hegel viewed Africans in his *Philosophy* of History, that is, without a past, without a future, forever in a social morass and statis. Contemporarily, Afro-American history is deployed in such a way as to placate and dissuade more radical social elements from pursuing substantive social changes within society.

More often than not, Black History Month in the US is observed by running through a veritable laundry-list of Afro-American achievements. Person *x* was the first black person, against all odds in a deeply racist society, to accomplish this, person y was the first black person to make this, person z was the first black person to discover this, and so on and so forth. While this is clearly a very simplistic rendering, it remains the skeletal structure of what constitutes Black History Month in the US today. When it comes to the question of civil rights and the struggle against oppression, Black History Month, on its surface, seems like a perfectly sound way to remember and celebrate the forebears of this continuing struggle. But the superordinate elite in this country, in conjunction with politically-allied middling layers, push forth a narrative of black resistance which is contrived and obfuscates the more militant histories and achievements of Afro-Americans.

This is the reason why Harriet Tubman, for example, is often portrayed as a meek and diminutive woman helping her fellow slaves to freedom. What the masses of people do not learn during Black History Month is that she was engaged in armed resistance against the slavocracy in the South. She had commanded a Union raid to liberate slaves during the Civil War and would have been involved in John Brown's raid on Harpers Ferry had it not been for illness. Much like Tubman, the level of socio-political appropriation that has gone into casting Martin Luther King, Jr. as the emblem of protest is apparent. Despite the very reformist nature of his politics, the liberal (as well as conservative) elite in the United States holds his legacy up as one which should be emulated if there is to be social change. By this logic, figures and groups like Malcolm X, Mabel and Robert F. Williams, the Black Panthers, the Deacons for Defense, and countless others have been effectively erased from popular consciousness. This erasure, which is commonplace in the teaching of American history, is made particularly acute during Black History Month. Had the civil rights movement been composed purely of the likes of Rosa Parks and Bayard Rustin, the piecemeal concessions won from the US government would have been even more paltry than what has been achieved.

This watered down and highly managed rendering of history during Black History Month doesn't stop there. We are told to remember the debate between W.E.B. Du Bois and Booker T. Washington but rarely are we called upon to remember what was at stake in this debate. While the former insisted on full unequivocal citizenship rights, the latter agitated for gradual integration whilst bending to White-only political rule and ensuring Afro-American passivity. Furthermore, Black History Month fails to highlight Du Bois' socialistic politics, his eventual renunciation of his US citizenship and his selfimposed exile to Ghana. These are but a few examples of how the selective retelling of Afro-American history plays into the hands of the oppressors even as it elides all radical underpinnings of those it claims to represent. Black History Month, if not imbricated with more radical and "unconventional" historical narratives, not only serves as a tool of the ruling class but as an ideological fetter in the struggle for mass liberation.

All of this is not to say that Black History Month should be consigned to oblivion. As it stands now, at the very least it offers a space to contest dominant historical narratives. And while the cacophony of voices, the most powerful of which prop-

FEATURES

up the more simplistic narratives of black history, serve elite renditions of history, those engaged in socio-political movements aimed at transforming the social order must exploit this space. It is only when the social basis of society is drastically altered that these divergent histories can come to the fore on a popular platform. Until that time, Black History Month, while problematic in innumerable ways, must continue to exist and be defended – and not only from the egregious racists and right-wing attacks but also from the liberals who see tokenism and black docility as the only appropriate modes of representing and remembering the Afro-American past.

Any student of American history, be they neophyte or professional, cannot fail to see the immense impact that Afro-Americans have had on US society since the colonization of the North American continent. But this legacy must not and cannot be reducible to a simple tallying of achievements, nor can it be understood in a way that only strengthens a (White) liberal worldview. Black History Month must be contested against all those who seek either its erasure or its opportunistic appropriation. This is true now more than ever with the rise of right-wing populism and the emboldened nature of the socalled "alt-right," an overwhelming majority of which is composed of white nationalists and incipient if not outright fascists. Moreover, this struggle over history also can-



Segregated fountain - Source: https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/thumb/4/4a/%22Colored%22\_drinking\_fountain\_from\_mid-20th\_century\_with\_african-american\_drinking.jpg/1200px-%22Colored%22\_drinking\_fountain\_from\_mid-20th\_century\_with\_african-american\_drinking.jpg

not simply be centered on the Afro-American experience. The histories of all oppressed peoples in the United States must be contested lest the elite appropriate and retool them to quell dissent or the more unsavory forces of racism and reactionary politics attempt to do away with them altogether.

Black history will be synonymous to American history only at a point in time when the race question is remedied, and this is not only a far way off but unachievable given existent socio-economic, political, and cultural realities. The

same holds true for other marginalized histories. The death of American history as that of elite, white property owners isn't nigh; so, however problematic the current manifestation of Black History Month, it must be defended and expanded. And not just during the month of February when the government approves it but always—and purged of the contemptible features of liberal historical interpretation. Contesting Black History Month – and history more generally – is not sufficient to bring to fruition a more fruitful and emancipatory understanding of America's past. Though it is merely the smallest of insurrections against the behemoth of normative historical understanding and popular knowledge, it is necessary. When Black History Month starts to become moribund, it will either be because the present socio-political milieu will have been done away with or the forces of human emancipation and liberation have suffered a historic defeat vis-à-vis the organized right. It will be through continual advocacy for understanding Black history (and other marginalized histories) on radical grounds in conjunction with broader social movements aimed at toppling the status quo that the former, and not the latter, will come to pass.

**FEATURES** 



DEBATE

# The Purge of Academics in Turkey

Eylül Fidan Akıncı



By the state of emergency Statutory Decree No. 686, 330 academics in Turkey were dismissed from their positions on February 7. Half of these educators were signatories to the "Academics for Peace" ("Barış için Akademisyenler") petition. Although this statutory decree represents another wave in the larger purge that has been ongoing for more than six months, its scale and significance render it more shocking. With 72 academics expelled from Ankara Univer-

sity alone, the oldest university in the history of the Turkish Republic, the decree deeply affected the Political Science and Communication faculties and decimated the Theatre department. The police attacked a protest organized by Education and Science Workers' Union. And under assaults by teargas and batons, academics who had worked at the campus for years were denied entry to the campus. A photo captures the anti-intellectualism that pervades the unlawful attacks

on academic freedoms: the policemen stomping over the scholars' gowns. Shockingly, it is the rector of Ankara University, Erhan İbiş, who allegedly provided the names of academics for dismissal, sanctioned the police presence, and accommodated the harassment on campus for months.

Immediately after the failed coup on July 15, 2016, the president Recep Tayyip Erdoğan declared a three-month state of emergency, which remains in effect today. The total number of academics who have lost their jobs by such decrees since then hits 7,316 with the latest one. The dismissals not only expel these academics from their current positions but also ban them from taking another job in any public or private institution, deprive them of retirement rights, and in most cases, suspend passports. This means that these academics cannot take jobs or fellowship opportunities abroad, or attend conferences. Since there is no legal accusation levelled against these academics, they are not indicted or acquitted, but "condemned to a civil death," as Professor Candan Badem, one of those dismissed in the first wave



Source: https://onedio.com/haber/11-fotograf-ile-ankara-universitesi-ndeki-khk-protestosuna-polis-mudahalesi-755583

of the "academicide" on September 1, wrote for University World News

To contextualize the political atmosphere in which these purges are happening, a summary of the nauseatingly complex events of the past couple of months would be helpful. The government held "Gülenists" (also known as "parallel state" or "Fethullah Terrorist

Organization") responsible for the July 15 coup attempt, although the proceedings of the investigation are to this day kept very obscure. The ruling party AKP (The Justice and Development Party) and its founder and leader Erdoğan had, for decades, openly collaborated with and vocally defended Islamist cleric Fethullah Gülen against those who criticized his followers'

infiltration into the state organs. Due to their conflicts of interest, the AKP and the Gülenist collaboration started to show signs of rupture in late 2013.

As they began to disavow their past alliance, the AKP and the mainstream media framed the Gülenist organization as a terrorist group. This point is important, because as Turkey went back to war with PKK

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DEBATE



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(Kurdistan Workers' Party), and as ISIS attacks by suicide bombings shook the country deeply, the AKP and its affiliated media channels indiscriminately used the "terrorist" umbrella to incite a constant state of fear and conspiracy in their constituents. It was not until after the failed coup attempt that allegations and massive investigations against the Gülenists began. In the meantime, the immunity afforded to parliament members was also lifted in November, but only to effectively arrest the leaders and members of the pro-Kurdish

opposition party HDP (People's Democratic Party). While the AKP supervised this inordinately disproportionate response to the failed coup, augmenting its already overwhelming hegemony, it opted for a series of state of emergency decrees to detain, arrest, and sack thousands of state officials, bureaucrats, security forces, academics and teachers, instead of bringing those responsible for the coup attempt to court. This way, the AKP is amassing indiscriminate power to suppress any source of opposition during this massive recon-

DEBATE

figuration of key institutions. The "Academics for Peace" signatories as well as other scholars who were critical of the antidemocratic regulations are victims of this expanded purge.

Those peace signatories had nothing to do with the Gülenists. In fact, many of them, as secular and democrat scholars, have been against this organization and its coup attempt. Their "crime" is to have signed a brief petition back in January 2016. The petition was addressed to the Turkish State and entitled "We Will Not Be a Party to This Crime" With a total of 1,128 signatories, including international academics and intellectuals such as Noam Chomsky, Judith Butler, David Harvey, and Immanuel Wallerstein, the petition criticized the dirty war in southeast Turkey that has caused hundreds of civilian deaths, razed whole towns to the ground, and displaced more than a million citizens in the Kurdish region.

Against these inhumane operations conducted under curfews ongoing since August 2015, the signatories issued a call for the restitution of peace negotiations. Soon enough, the petition and its signatories were publicly attacked by Erdoğan, the AKP members and supporters, and the media, framed as "so-called intellectuals," "traitors," "terror supporters." A declaration in defence of the first petition and a second round of signatures followed up by emphasizing the importance of this call for peace against the shocking public smear campaign. Immediately, five hundred academics ranging from graduate assistants to tenured professors faced disciplinary investigation. Many others were suspended from their duties. More than fifty were taken into police custody in violent and humiliating conditions. And four of them were held under pre-trial detention for more than a month. Those detained were released after the first hearing, and there were several court decisions in favour of reinstating them. Moreover, the ones who had



Source: https://onedio.com/haber/11-fotograf-ile-ankara-universitesi-ndeki-khk-protestosuna-polis-mudahalesi-755583

kept their positions were denied promotions, conference supports or national funds for research by Council of Higher Education (YÖK) and Scientific and Technological Research Council (TÜBİTAK).

In a way, the decrees made it easier to punish the peace signatories and other leftist, pro-Kurdish, dissenting voices in academia. So far, a total of 372 signatories have been removed and banned from public service by the decree laws. This excludes the number of forced resignations and retirements. The latest decree is significant. It created the highest number of dismissals related to the "Academics for Peace" petition in one go. Currently, Turkey is on the verge of passing a referendum for a constitutional change that will establish a highly authoritative presidency system. The latest purge, which included experts of constitutional law and political scientists, is painfully symbolic of what awaits the country if the referendum grants Erdoğan the unprecedented one-man rule he seeks. Although academics have historically been targeted and oppressed by the ruling powers in Turkey, as exemplified by the dismissals in the aftermath of the 1980 coup, the extent of the recent attacks to intellectual and scientific freedom is by no means comparable. Yet, the dismissed academics are resilient. Several protests, boycotts, and sit-ins are being organized at various universities across the country. A donation fund provides support to academics who lost their jobs. In Ankara, the "Street Academy" is holding public lectures on Sundays in different spots, especially encouraging workers and oppressed communities to attend. As one of the victims of the February 7 decree, Professor Funda Şenol Cantek, firmly asserts, "the government should worry more now that they expand academia to the streets."

# **Responses to the Trump Regime**

Ashley Marinaccio

he inauguration of Donald J. Trump as the forty-fifth President of the United States mobilized millions of people across the country and the globe to resist the new administration's policies, which promise to have devastating effects on refugees, immigrants, people of color, and marginalized communities. On January 21, 2017, close to 500,000 marchers descended upon Washington D.C. for the Women's March. Women and allies in other major cities and small towns across the country also held their own marches, taking to the streets to show broad support for the statement of principles that include accountability and justice for police brutality, freedom from sexual violence, ratifying the Equal Rights Amendment, reproductive rights, LGBTQ rights, and worker's rights. Solidarity protests erupted across the world, including London, Berlin, Nairobi, Cape Town, and Paradise Bay, Antarctica.

In his first week in office, Donald Trump suspended the US refugee admissions program, refused entry to refugees, immigrants and visa holders from Sudan, Libya, Syria, Somalia, Yemen, Iran and Iraq, and instructed the Department of Homeland Security to begin construction of a US-Mexico border wall. Trump issued an executive order to end funding to NGOs

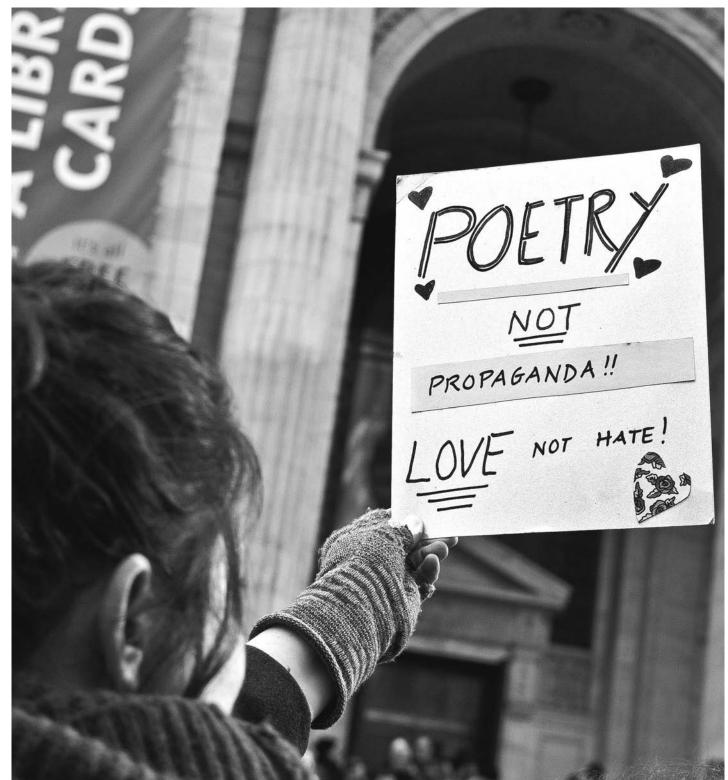
that provide abortions. Additionally, he proposed cutting the NEA (National Endowment for the Arts), NEH (National Endowment for the Humanities) and privatizing the Public Broadcasting Corporation.

The photos in this essay are a small compilation of the issues, fears, and ultimately, visions that people have for this country. These photos were taken at several actions, including PEN's Writers Resist (January 15, 2017), The Ghostlight Project (January 19, 2017), Women's March (January 21, 2017) and an emergency rally in solidarity with immigrants and refugees, taking place on January 29, 2017. For further information on upcoming protests, rallies, and actions, visit justduckling.blogspot.com.



"Trump's policies will directly affect me, but also affect women, people in my family, and people of my heritage. It's important that we don't let them come to be," says Emilio at the Writer's Resist action on January 15th, 2017, outside of the New York Public Library.







Over 2000 writers, poets, performers and artists attended the Writers Resist action on the steps of the New York Public Library, which was organized by PEN America. Suzanne Nossel, Executive Director of PEN America, proclaimed to the crowd, "Today is just the first of many PEN America efforts to come. We will resist." More than 90 Writers Resist events took place across the country, each ending with protesters pledging to defend freedom of speech and press against the Trump administration.



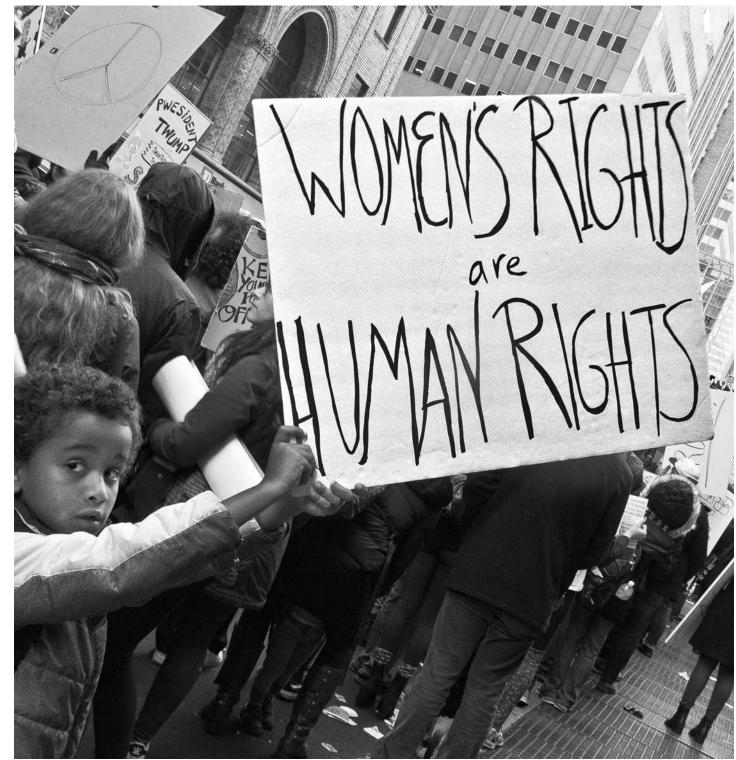
Youth activists leading chants demanding access to reproductive healthcare outside the New York Public Library during the Women's March.



Protesters dropped their signs outside of the main branch of the New York Public Library on 42nd street, creating a collage of issues being addressed at the Women's March. Museums and libraries across the world used Twitter and social media organizing to help collect signs, buttons, posters, and flyers for their future collections, archives, and exhibits about the march.









Images from the New York Women's March. It is estimated that over 400,000 people were in attendance. Speakers at the New York rally included Whoopi Goldberg, Cynthia Nixon, and Helen Mirren.



On January 19 at 5:30 pm, theaters and theatre artists across the country, from high school and community theatre groups to regional theaters and Broadway, joined in a grassroots movement and protest called "The Ghostlight Project," a creative "coming together" of artists to create light for the challenging times ahead. Inspired by the tradition of leaving a "ghost light" on in a darkened theatre, artists took a pledge to stand in solidarity with oppressed people, and protect values of inclusion, participation and compassion for all people.





Above: "We're here to stand up for women's rights. We would have been in D.C., but we live in New York, and it's nice to be with other New Yorkers, standing with this many people who believe in the same thing. We are all in the arts, and are afraid of our funding from the NEA (National Endowment for the Arts) being cut. Also, the fact that [Trump] doesn't believe in climate change is alarming," Maya Orcan, Sheina Dunkelman and Sarah Blumfeld at the New York Women's March.

On the left: "I'm out here for love and acceptance. I'm half Puerto Rican, and I'm scared for how this administration's policies will affect my family and their immigration statuses," Zach Tique at the New York Women's March.



# RESOLUTION AGAINST THE PROPOSED POLICY ON FREEDOM OF EXPRESSION AND EXPRESSIVE CONDUCT

(This resolution was unanimously adopted by the DSC at its November 18 2016 Plenary)

Whereas, the administration at CUNY Central continues to work on a CUNY-wide proposed policy on 'Freedom of Expression and Expressive Conduct' proposed earlier this year; and

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GRANTS

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EDLAB

STUDENT TECH FEE

Whereas, the proposed policy advocates for policing and prohibiting what is alternately called "expressive conduct" or "expressive activity" by placing restrictions on time, manner and place for such conduct; and

Whereas, the proposed policy will curtail the ability of students, faculty, and staff to disseminate information, gather in shared CUNY spaces, engage in peaceful protest, and participate meaningfully in their campus life; and

Whereas, the proposed policy will have deleterious and dangerous effects on CUNY students of color, working class populations, queer communities, and women, because of its insistence on further policing student activism by involving "external law enforcement authorities" (section 2.3 in the current version of the proposed policy); and

Whereas, the motivation behind this proposed policy reproduces the racism that students of color face when organizing for a better university; and

Whereas, similar proposed policies have met with resistance and widespread criticism from CUNY students, faculty and staff, which resulted in tabling those proposals twice - once in Fall 2013 and once in Summer 2016; and

Whereas the Doctoral Students' Council unanimously adopted a resolution in support of CUNY student activism on Sept 27, 2013; and

Whereas, the Doctoral Students' Council believes that free speech and the right to assembly without interference are inalienable human rights; and

Whereas, the proposed policy will actually undermine freedom of expression and free speech at CUNY, instead of protecting and expanding it.

It is resolved that, the currently proposed policy on 'Freedom of Expression and Expressive Conduct' is an assault on the inalienable rights to free speech and assembly that CUNY students (who are predominantly of color, and working-class) should enjoy; and

It is finally resolved that, the Doctoral Students' Council condemns any iteration or version of the proposed policy on 'Freedom of Expression and Expressive Conduct' and calls on the Board of Trustees to withdraw it from any future consideration, and vote no if it comes before the full Board of Trustees.