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# Bard Free Press





### Welcome to the Free Press.

This publication was founded in 2000 by an insurgent group of editors from *The Observer*, another Bard newspaper. They were disillusioned by the decaying state of campus journalism and sought to reinvigorate it with genuine reporting. We've embraced their legacy. This semester, we are an entirely new editorial team.

We are the New Regime.

As many of you know, the *Free Press* has failed to deliver reliable, relevant reporting over the past few semesters. The publication lost its niche by diversifying into art, creative writing, and lifestyle puff pieces. Bard has enough of that. The new *Free Press* will once again be a journalistic publication dedicated to hard-hitting, honest reporting.

Quality journalism is essential to a free, vibrant society. You have a right to know, and we have the privilege of informing you.

We also want to publish you. The voice of the *Free Press* should be diverse and include divergent perspectives. However, we will never provide a platform for bigotry under the guise of "free speech."

We believe that journalists should oppose those in power, even, at times, their editors.

Sit back, relax, and enjoy the new Free Press, and if you hate it, or you need to start a fire, go ahead and burn it.

Sincerely, Hayden FW Hard Editor-in-Chief

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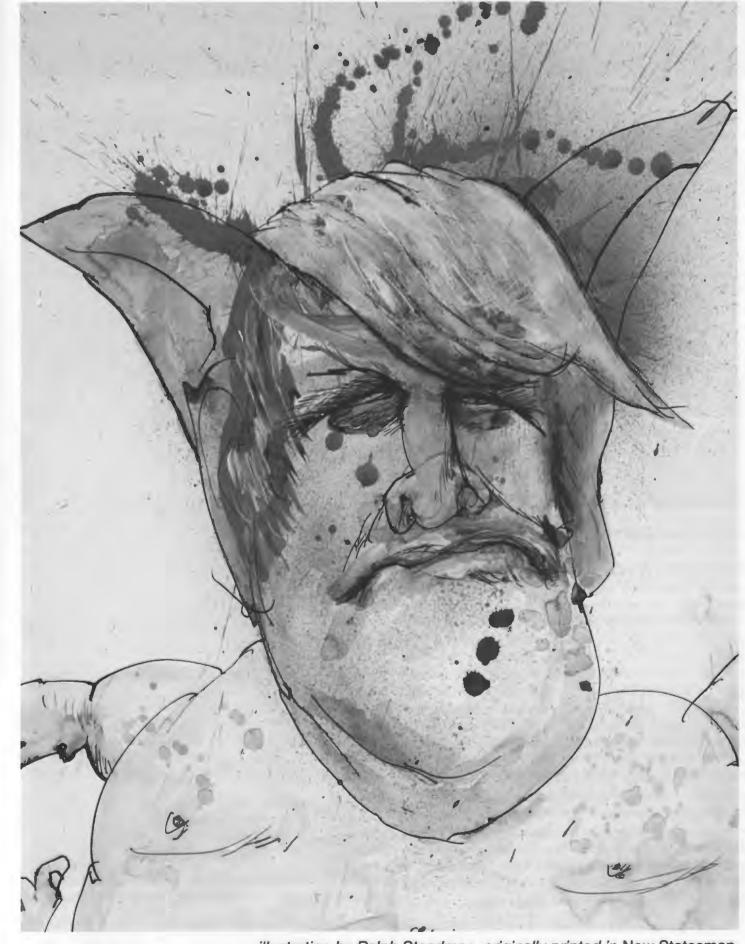


illustration by Ralph Steadman, originally printed in New Statesman

### An Era of "Megachange?" Investigating the Rise of Donald Trump By Medora Jones

In his talk "Megachange during the Time of Trump and Technology," Darrell West set out to explain the rise of Donald Trump and the recent political turbulence sweeping the globe. West, the former head of Brown's Taubman Center for Public Policy and current vice president of the Brookings Institution, began with a discussion of the vast economic, technological, and political transformations that have brought about our present era of "megachange."

This is not the first time the United States has experienced a period of massive upheaval. West points to the abolition of slavery, the transition from an agrarian to an industrial economy, and the creation of post World War II globalizing projects, such as the UN and the World Bank, as other major phenomena that redefined the United States and international order. He argues that the megachange we are currently undergoing hinges on an economy moving from "the industrial to the digital," "a massive distrust of elites," and governments with "slow institutions at a time of fast change." The insecurity created by megachange shapes a climate fertile for political disruption. West believes that Trump's mastery of "identifying these long-term trends and twisting them to his political advantage" won him the election. Trump's protectionist economics, his appeal as an outsider, and his hardline stance on immigration attracted a group of ardent supporters eager to find a leader willing to combat a rapidly changing world.

Extremist political communities, such as the alt-right, have agitated this megachange by uniting behind Trump's use of social media. West further described this dynamic, explaining, "It used to be in small towns there would be one neo-nazi, but that person couldn't find the other neo-nazis, and a social movement could not emerge. But in a time of digital technology that one neo-nazi in one rural community can find the 5,000 neo nazis in other areas." West admits that new technology can build a vast array of communities, not just those based upon hate. However, he still worries about new forms of media, which could drastically reduce civility and increase polarization.

Despite Trump's extremism, West believes the possibility of impeachment remains a progressive fantasy. Removing a sitting President from office requires a majority in the House and 2/3 vote in the Senate, both under Republican control. He quipped that for impeachment to occur, "It would take something really extraordinary like an audio tape of Donald Trump talking to Putin in the summer of 2016 saying, 'Hey, let's fix the election." But Trump isn't invulnerable, and West presents several ob-

stacles that could impede his ambitious agenda: the senate's thin Republican majority, Trump's unpopularity, and discontent in civil society. What could truly be the president's undoing, however, is a weakened economy. Trump ran on his experience as a wealthy businessman, and if average Americans begin to see their pocketbooks shrink, West thinks Trump's fervent base might abandon him.

Megachange breaks down the existing international order. As West emphasized in his talk, throughout this period of tremendous change, "We have to understand that each of us play a crucial role." During turbulent times many voices can emerge, not just those of fearful, exclusionary nationalists who rely on volume in place of tact. By embracing our modernizing economy, protesting unjust policies, and refusing to live in fear, we have an opportunity to be leaders of a new era.



pictured, Darrel West in 2006



### **New LiNK Between Bard and North Korea** By Stephanie Kim

Liberty in North Korea (LiNK) is a national human rights organization that provides practical, financial, and emotional support to North Korean refugees. Josh Kim, a Bard student, recently founded a chapter of the organization in Annandale. Through fundraising events and guest speakers, Bard's chapter will inform the community about current events and human rights issues in Korea.

The funds raised will help refugees escape through a secret network akin to the Underground Railroad. But it's not overafter they cross the border. LiNK helps them assimilate into an entirely new culture, which can be traumatizing.

When settling down, refugees are often overwhelmed by their sudden independence, the accompanying identity crises, and financial problems that follow. Through the help of LiNK and its participants, refugees will receive support and become independent individuals.

But supporting these vulnerable people is beset by challenges. The Chinese government refuses to recognize the North Koreans as refugees, and if caught, they're

deported back to North Korea where they are either imprisoned in camps or publicly executed. Because of this, many North Koreans are still hiding in China, where their vulnerability is exploited by human traffickers.

Bard's help and participation is imperative to the cause. Liberty in North Korea has two missions: spread awareness about North Korean refugees at Bard, and raise money to help their escape. According to LiNK, \$3000 helps approximately one refugee escape and assimilate.

Josh Kim expresses his long term goals, "I hope to see the Bard community get to know about the North Korean refugee issue, because many are not aware of what is going on." By the time he graduates, he would like to see four North Koreans rescued-one for each academic

# 100 Days Connects Students to Local Community, Unites Hudson Valley Activism

By Rachel Hodes

The First 100 Days Initiative is a coalition of students and faculty that started at Bard as a response to the presidential election of Donald Trump. It seeks to unite otherwise disparate activist groups on campus and in the Hudson Valley. On February 19th, the Initiative held a symposium at Bard in the RKC to give these groups an opportunity to connect.

Although a sizable number of Bard students attended, the audience mostly consisted of galvanized community members looking to get involved. The seats in the auditorium quickly filled, leaving people to cram together in the back and in the aisles. Some cupped their ears, straining to hear the panel speakers.

The goals of The First 100 Days Initiative are diverse within the realm of politics and justice. After the election, mobilized students and faculty quickly created a campaign to prepare for the oncoming period of intense civic action as the new administration takes office. These activists selected a few issues that they felt passionate about and created specified working groups to tackle a variety of subjects, including climate change, women's rights, and education reform.

The Initiative's role in the symposium was to bolster support for civic projects already in motion in the community. "We really need to connect to all the local action here in the Hudson Valley," explained Erin Cannan, Dean of Civic Engagement at Bard. The Initiative's goals mirror those of local organizations, and they believe a collective effort will be more effective under a united front.

This was clear from the symposium's beginning when Cannan, addressing the room, described the Initiative as an effort to "organize a public media infrastructure." This method would bring otherwise atomized organizations together to pool knowledge and resources. To do that, the team repeatedly encouraged the groups to be in contact with 100 Days and share their events and projects to create a collective calendar composed of local civic engagements. This can be found on The First 100 Days Initiative's website.

100 Days was founded by energized activists from multiple disciplines. The leadership team is composed of Erin Cannan, Ariana Stokas, the Dean of Inclusive Excellence, and Danielle Riou, the Associate Director of the Human Rights Project. Additionally, ten specialized student media fellows are working together and applying their vast areas of expertise to this extensive project.



photo by Keegan Holden

### Interview with Erin Cannan, Dean of Civic Engagement, on 100 Days By Rachel Hodes

I recently got the opportunity to speak with Erin Cannan about her involvement in 100 Days.

Rachel Hodes (RH): I was hoping that you could talk a little bit about your role as Dean of Civic Engagement and how it led you into this collaboration of 100 Days.

Erin Canaan (EC): Sure. Let's see. We have been involved over the years with connecting community organizing to students, and students have gone out into the community through TLS and other areas. I think that after the election, a lot of people were feeling like there was a vacuum in understanding how government works and what is the role of each branch, and how does each government office influence what happens in all these different areas that we think about-- climate, civil liberties, reproductive rights, all those things. And I think what we're trying to do is harness the local community as well in connecting around the kind of activist work that students do on campus. It was all these different projects bubbling up; we often work with the Human Rights Project and they have Human Rights Radio, so Danielle Riou does a lot of radio work. We were sort of thinking about how to take student-led work, and we were thinking about the public media aspect of things, and we wanted to create a sort of infrastructure so students who were interested in media could connect to that. After the election we thought, let's take all these different pieces and try to organize them into one thing. And I think that's how 100 Days developed, sort of taking all these things that were happening prior to the election, and just creating more of a laser beam, so that there could be a better understanding of what we were trying to do, and working together makes sense because it just builds your capacity. So, I think lots of the work that was being done prior just seemed to make sense in doing it this way.

RH: It seems like a multifaceted project in that it has lots of different intentions and the people involved have so many different backgrounds. I visited the website yesterday and I feel like it's such a manifestation of what you guys are doing, like all of this media infrastructure being put into one place.

EC: Trying to. Part of it is, I think, students have been feeling like they want to have more media experience, and so having more media is a good thing as long as it's good media. And I think that one of the things we wanted to do is create an umbrella so that people can learn how to work with media. Ariana came up with the [100 Days slogan] "Investigate. Inform. Act." And we really want action too. We have all of these bubbling grassroots organizations locally, so it makes more sense for us to connect with local activists. In the same way that students want to learn about media they want to learn about activism, and there's a lot of expertise in the student body for both, which is why we hired the media fellows. So even when something is organized by Bard students, it makes it a better event if you have your local activists involved too, like the MSO pulling together that rally in Poughkeepsie, which was amazing because they got connected to local organizations that offered support. I don't think we've had that level of collaboration around something like that before. It just seems to hit a sweet spot where there's all this interest everywhere, and really we want to emphasize that it's about capacity building, skill building, exploration, and opportunity. Those are important to me, because participatory democracy is important regardless of who's in the presidency. Some people are motivated now because of who the president is, but really this is the kind of thing that needs to go on regardless, because students can have this on their resume, or it can become part of the work they want to commit themselves to doing with the rest of their lives, how they participate in community once they leave Bard. These are all takeaways that will live beyond these first hundred days or the next.

Visit www.100daysinitiative.com to learn more the Initiative and get involved.

### **Student Labor Dialogue Efforts and Updates**

The Student Labor Dialogue recently published a newsletter discussing issues facing workers on campus. The Free Press supports their efforts and believes that workers are entitled to a fair wage and the right to unionize. In solidarity, we've selected the following update from their newsletter.

### **Update on CCS Security Guards Unionization**

The security guards at the Center for Curatorial Studies (CCS) have been attempting to form a union since August 2016. The 13 part-time guards are excluded from the Bard Security union due to a clause in their contract. Last fall, Bard Security guards petitioned the administration to override the clause and allow the CCS guards to join their existing bargaining unit, but the administration adamantly refused.

The CCS guards are currently petitioning the NLRB (National Labor Relations Board) to join the existing Bard Security union. The good news is that this is a strong and unified step forward in the direction of unionization. The bad news is that the NLRB moves at its own bureaucratic pace, so we cannot tell exactly when a decision will be reached.

On March 8th, the Free Press attended a panel hosted by the SLD.

### **Workers' Rights at Bard: Student Labor Dialogue Discusses** the Ongoing Contract Negotiations

By Juliet Hadid

The opening salary for Bard Environmental Service workers is \$14.85 an hour. By comparison, the starting wage for custodial workers at Vassar and Marist is \$18.42 and \$22.19, respectively. Originally the college argued that the cost of living in Poughkeepsie is higher, and the approximate \$5 hourly gap reflected that. A quick glance at rental listings should be enough to dispel this myth—the cost of living in Red Hook is unquestionably higher. In past years, during recent contract negotiations with Buildings and Grounds workers, the college has admitted this, and acknowledged that B&G workers should be paid comparably to their counterparts at Marist and Vassar.

Presently, Environmental Service contracts are undergoing the same kind of negotiation. Their goal is a five-dollar hourly increase in pay, bringing their wages closer to their peers in Poughkeepsie. The business agent for the union warns us that a simple five-dollar hourly increase won't be enough. Based on his work with the Vassar and Marist unions, he thinks it's safe to say that their hourly wages will be increased during their next contract negotiations, and a fair wage for our Environmental Service workers is a "moving target." However, this is excludes benefits such as child care, which haven't been discussed during these negotiations. The five-dollar hourly increase is just a place to start.

### The Responsibility of Civic Engagement

By Miranda Whitus

In 2007, Republicans targeted local elections and took control of the majority of counties in New York State. This gave them jurisdiction over the drawing of new district lines, which cultivated future Republican success on the local level.

Here's how that happened: New York State, like many other states, has a four-year election cycle. Within that cycle are two echelons of power, elected on either odd or even years.

State and federal elections are held on even years. These include higher platforms of government such as the president, governor, state attorney general, the state senate and assembly members, and state congressional members.

The president, governor and attorney general hold office for four years while the senate, assembly and congressional members go up for reelection every two years.

Local elections are concentrated on the "off," or odd, years. These include county executive races, town elections, and principal village appointments. Historically, most voters concentrate only on big, national elections and often don't vote in critical local elections.

In New York State, Republicans are master grassrooters. They dug deep in small community systems and garnered support from the people who do turn up to the polls on off year elections. As often as you've heard it, the movement starts from the bottom up.

Being a responsible voter means paying attention to more than just Bernie Sanders or Hillary Clinton. It means learning who (R) John Faso (congressman for district 19), (D) Kevin Cahill (NYS assembly member) and (R) Sue Serino (state senate member) are, their platforms, and what policies they support. It means joining town committee and school boards and voting on bonds. It means checking your registration status and memorizing local election calendars.

However, we're college students, and most of us are not and may never be permanent residents of Dutchess County. But as young students, we have some of the strongest and most opinionated voices in this district.

This highlights a problem, though. It's one many communities home to college campuses face: when and where should students' opinions on local politics matter? Should we be responsible for changing policies in a county where we hold no property, pay little taxes and have no connection to the primary education system?

Understanding your political stance in a community is only one aspect of civic engagement. Here's what I recommend: find something you're passionate about (campaign finance reform, education policy, civil rights, etc.) and dig deep. These campaign platforms can be found anywhere. As of right now, this very moment, we are a part of the Dutchess County community. Find your niche and fill it.



photo by Keegan Holden





reporters pursue Mitch Mconnel, photo by Jacquelyn Martin from AP

The Trump administration's unprecedented exclusion of major media outlets such as *The New York Times* from a presidential press briefing may not be the assault on truthful reporting that many suppose but a catalyst for journalistic independence and integrity. That's because the institution of 'access journalism' has undermined the press' accountability and independence. A reporter gains access by currying favor with powerful sources who provide micro-scoops in exchange for favorable coverage or for promoting the source's agenda in some subtle way.

It's a quid pro quo. Journalists get insider access to politicians, CEOs, or other powerful people, who then gain a platform to disseminate their message.

Access journalists daren't risk their hard-fought relationships by reporting unflattering stories about their sources.

This method of creating news can hardly help but distort the narratives we subscribe to and call our own. When a report is written, there are always elements that are excluded or down-played. This is a general fact of storytelling, and what's excluded tells us just as much as what's actually written in an article.

The privileging of access journalism has subtly suppressed investigative reporting and stories that hold power accountable. For instance, articles like Jackie Calmes' New York Times piece "It's Called a Vacation. But for the Obamas, It's Not That Simple" presents the former president as hard-working and the criticism leveled against him for vacationing ill-founded. The president's team used Calmes' pen at the Times to spin a positive image of the president while presenting it as neutral fact. Obama's time spent on Martha's Vineyard is of little consequence to most people, but it's good publicity.

A harmless puff-piece is one thing, but the stories written by access reporting can have dire consequences. Judith Miller, writing for *The New York Times*, falsely reported in 2002 that Iraq possessed weapons of mass destruction. Her sources were unnamed members of the Bush administration. After one story in the series circulated, about some metal tubes that supposedly demonstrated the Iraqis' intention to develop nuclear weapons, Bush officials Condoleezza Rice, Colin Powell, and Donald Rumsfeld cited Miller's article as justification for the invasion of Iraq.

In a 2003 piece on Judith Miller's questionable reportage, Editor and Publisher cited multiple off-the-record sources at the Times. "[Miller] cultivates senior officials using the importance of the Times. The officials give her a story, she reports it uncritically (she may note opposing views, which she overrides with friendly sources without reporting out the discordant objections), and it appears prominently in the newspaper of record. Miller's happy, her editors are happy, her sources are happy."

Iraqis are not happy.

In the event, Judith Miller paid a price. She went to jail for three months rather than reveal one of her sources, and her biased reporting also cost her her job at the *Times*. Meanwhile, another beneficiary of access journalism, the conservative columnist Robert Novak, was not hounded to reveal his sources and was not charged, even though he revealed the identity of Valerie Plame, an under-cover CIA officer who was the wife of a State Department official critical of the Bush Administration. Thus do the powerful protect their own.

The Trump administration's war on the mainstream press has partially destroyed this age-old convention. Instead of disseminating propaganda through respectable media organizations, the new administration favors only those news organizations that curry his favor.

This turn of events might actually benefit the legitimate press. It gives them, as official, certified, outsiders now, the opportunity to abandon the dog and pony show niceties and double down on hard-hitting, investigative reporting that exposes abuse and malfeasance. This is an ethical imperative and one that could reestablish the press' authority as truth-tellers.







photos by Hayden FW Hard and Jack Lustig

### **Report from Disrupt J20**

By Jack Lustig

On the morning of January 20th 2017, my hometown of Washington DC felt like the morning before a funeral. It was 40 degrees and foggy; the ground was damp. It felt like the city itself had lost itself in the doldrums.

A group of friends and I walked down 16th street towards McPherson Square, two miles from the site of the exchange of executive power. We reviewed our plan: find a buddy to stick to, make an impromptu mask from a black t-shirt, and steer clear of the (armed and armored) Boys In Blue. All standard fare for an organized, anti-fascist group action.

When we arrived at Mcpherson Square, we found a protester's base camp of sorts—free vegan food, coffee, anarchist literature, and know-your-rights pamphlets. This would be the departure point for many of the day's protests.

At 10:00 am, the most widely reported-on protest started. It began as a relatively calm march, but once the group's numbers passed the couple hundred mark, the property destruction snowballed. Infamously, a few demonstrators smashed the windows of a Starbucks. I saw the police shoot many black-clad demonstrators with what what amounts to a super-soaker filled with pepper spray. This seemed to be the riot cops' weapon of choice. They also threw tear gas grenades, but they weren't afraid of bashing skulls with their batons.

At the corner of 12th and L Street, the police trapped over 200 black-bloc protesters in front of a building, and they arrested people one-by-one. Many were slapped with felony rioting charges, which carry a maximum sentence of ten years in prison and a fine of \$25,000.

After departing from the site of this morose exercise in state power, my group found ourselves among another march, albeit one of a different character. This one had a permit, and instead of clashing with the police, it was escorted by them. There were hundreds of signs, all vying for internet celebrity. The clever ones made me chuckle, but I couldn't stop shaking my head in disappointment at signs like "I'm Still With Her."

The most notable trend in the signs though, was the plethora of Trump/Russia signs. Ranging from Neo-McCarthyian red-baiting to outright homophobia, these signs were representative of the wave of Clintonite liberal hysteria that hung over the protests, and to a larger extent, the Women's March the following day. Any act of resistance is admirable when opposing the white-nationalist theocratic hell-state we live under, but it is imperative that this resistance embody a search for substantive change in the current political order, not shortsighted nostalgia for the liberal status quo emblemized by the Clinton campaign.

I was most disheartened by the hordes of hooting, hollering MAGA hat-clad knuckledraggers, infesting the city, walking around with their chins up in the air. On multiple occasions, I witnessed these pricks harass and heckle cis women, trans-women, and trans-men. Feeling emboldened by the electoral victory of the Trümpenfuhrer, his horde of bootlicking morons crossed the line from being a public nuisance to provoking violence.

While walking towards the metro at around 5:00 or 6:00 pm, a friend and I ran into a pack of four or five Trump-bros. One of them filmed, while another got up in my friend's face, saying "fuck Muslims" and "get out of our country!" In reaction, my friend spat in his face. Two of the chuds retaliated with fists, and I ended up in the scuffle.

After this incident, both of us were incredibly upset. Both lifelong residents of the DC area, we couldn't help but feel helpless while these morons paraded around downtown.

January 20th was a bad day. However, it afforded a learning opportunity—if we are to make it through this administration and make a meaningful change in the world, we must engage in direct action and confront bigotry, ignorance, and hate at every opportunity. Coordinating a mass movement is paramount to freeing the world of capitalist greed and exploitation.

### **Report from Disrupt J20**

Submitted Anonymously

Washington D.C, January 20th 2017, 1200hr. They had shields, batons, mace, and flashbangs. I had an inhaler and a black skimask.

Over one hundred protesters, lawyers, and journalists were surrounded by riot police at the corner of 12th and L. They had been cordoned against a wall, known as a "kettle," after a black bloc march charged a police barricade. Black blocs are a tactic favored by anarchists in which the participants of a direct action don all black attire and masks in order to remain anonymous.

Hundreds of protesters surrounded the rigid membrane of shields and gas-masked cops, demanding that the detained be set free. Chants of "you're protecting fascists," "this is what America looks like," and "we love you black bloc" echoed off the faceless concrete and brick buildings. The detainees formed human cubicles so people could piss and shit with a modicum of privacy. A masked riot officer videotaped the crowd to use as evidence and facial recognition data. Occasionally, the police would arbitrarily choose someone from the kertled mass and arrest them. The standoff lasted two hours.

Another march of protesters joined the crowd via K street. It popped off. The police attacked anyone in range: blacked out anarchists and white liberals, trying to reason with both sides, alike. A disabled man and an elderly woman were repeatedly pepper sprayed and bashed with a riot shield until two activists stepped in to protect them with their bodies. A toddler was maced and incapacitated. The police threw flashbang grenades, 170 decibel blasts that blind and disorient with a possibility of maiming anyone in range. A cop tossed a flashbang into the tightly packed cordon they had already detained. A plainclothed man was shot in the face with a rubber bullet and volunteer medics rushed him to a safer location. The crowd scattered, and a handful of anarchists retaliated by throwing rocks.

The atomized bodies congealed on K street by Franklin Park. The police formed a phalanx and blocked any eastward movement by the demonstrators. Everyone dug in. Medics and lawyers set up operating bases in the park, and a few protesters burned piles of detritus in the streets. A limo was smashed and later incinerated.

The demonstrators controlled a three block radius on K street for at least four hours. The stench of sulfur and melted plastic clung to the air. Two helicopters hovered overhead while punk rock blared from the park's PA system. Protesters declined to comment. People ate pizza.

The stretch from 2:30 to 6:00 pm was relatively calm, barring a few skirmishes. Occasionally one of the protestors would stand too close to the police line, prompting a round of pepper spray, flashbangs, and retaliatory rocks. The police were the first to use violence in every tit-for-tat I witnessed.

At roughly 6:00 pm, I linked arms with some protesters standing three feet in front of the police force. We were a line of only 20 people. The dense mass that previously held back the cops was now two blocks behind us, huddled around a dumpster fire.

A police officer announced that they planned to push us back to extinguish the fire, which had been raging for hours. The woman next to me responded that we were going to comply and move back with them. The police flicked open their batons and smacked their shields in rhythm, chanting "get back, get back, get back," After three steps, a cop bashed the face of the young woman to my left, knocking her on her back. Soon after, a concentrated stream of mace struck me directly in the eye.

My body snapped into fight-or-flight mode, and I bolted away screaming for a medic. My pepper-choked lungs could only produce frantic yelps, and my eyes had sealed shut. In the red darkness, a medic grabbed my hand and led me to the park where she flushed my eyes. A riot cop pushed us and ordered us to disperse while raising his baton. We ran west and hunkered down behind a hotdog cart.

After a few minutes of rinsing and gagging, the medic left to treat someone's head wound. I went home to take an agonizing shower.

I've been asked repeatedly what the efficacy of black bloc tactics are, and I'm unsure. But that's not what this report is about. The widespread idea that "this will stop Trump" didn't hearten me. Instead, I found solace in knowing that everyday people can perform heroic and courageous acts to help one another. The medics who dodged rubber bullets to save the injured, the reporters who withstood flashbangs to get the shot, and all of the bodies on the ground showed me hope.

12



photo by Keegan Holden



### **Room 319**

**Submitted Anonymously** 

the following piece deals with sexual assault and contains descriptions of rape

To me, hell is a Radisson Blu hotel room. It's July and I'm waking in a place I don't recognize. As I put the pieces together, I start to fall apart.

I was living and working in rural West Africa. Over the past few years, I'd spent many months living there. I learned the local language well, fostered relationships, and developed a sense of home. The summer of 2016, I was excited to return. I wanted to spend time away from my family, vocal Republicans who had become increasingly difficult to communicate with. Although I loved them, it was defeating to speak to them as they actively chose to ignore the implications of supporting Donald Trump. The groundwork in the village was challenging, but we made progress. Also, it always feels nice to be detached from social media, the news, and all the things that distract a millennial from one's own mind.

On this specific day, I was taking my friend to the airport. Before arriving in the capital city, I hadn't had access to any Internet or world news. After dropping her off, I decided to sit down at the Radisson Blu Hotel to check on current events and FaceTime some friends. When I finally got access to Wi-Fi, a flood of notifications alerted me that the United States seemed to be falling apart. I would learn of Philando Castile's brutal death and the protests that followed, Trump's hateful rhetoric and alliance with a dangerous demographic, Bernie Sanders's decline in the Democratic Party, and ISIS's increasing violence in pop-up terrorist attacks. My friends helped articulate the unease in America. I remember feeling very far from home, a place that seemed to become apocalyptic.

An American man in his fifties sat next to me. He said he heard me speaking English on the phone. He spoke with hyper-masculinity, and a rehearsed chivalry that made me nervous. He told me that he worked in the music industry and that he was in the country to search for African singers for "Kanye's new album." Shortly after, I would realize that this was a lie. I regret that I didn't leave when my intuition alerted me to. But there are moments that feel mundane after the enchantment of a foreign place wears, so I talk to new people, to hear their stories, hoping for something inspiring during the course of the conversation. He boasted about his career and told me of his "celebrity" friends. Waving his phone in front of me, he pretended to call Kanye, insisting I say "hi." I could see that he was talking to no one. He bought me a drink.

This was July 15th, the night of the attempted Turkish coup. That image on a TV would be the first thing I saw when I woke. Slowly, then quickly, I would find my body betrayed by him.

It's funny how the body can deceive the mind, how it had woken me from my sleep to a stranger inside of me. It's paralyzing. Every woman has feared this moment, but I thought I would be stronger if it ever arrived. I couldn't be strong at all. I cried and left. It was 2 AM and I was alone. In complete precariousness, I had nowhere to refuge at this hour. So, I bought a hotel room at the Radisson Blu to stay the rest of the night. I was just a floor away from my hell.

The lights in my room didn't work and that was fine. I wanted dark; I wanted a shower. I sat on the wet tile floor for an hour. I let the water run over me until it hurt. And I wondered if I would ever feel goodness again. Mosquitoes bit my legs and arms. I just let them, too tired to fight. Everything that made me proud before I woke was lost in this labyrinth as I wished for innocence. I wrote it all down.

I'd imagine it's a mother's worst fear, to get a call from her daughter as she weeps alone and explains she was just raped. There's no way to protect her once it's been done. She told me never to let this define me.

I came back to the United States four days later. This country was divided in ways I couldn't quite comprehend. As my hometown became a swing county, the polarization was stark. It was disappointing, but I was so happy to be home, just thankful that the people I love would never blame me for what happened to me.

I asked my mom not to talk to me about that night. She passed the message on to my family. We acted like it never happened. They went on with their lives, Fox News played in the evening, and they were ready to rally for Trump. Nothing I experienced would alter them, and in the face of such misogyny, I was an inconvenience.

Watching Trump's "grab 'em by the pussy" video upset me now in ways that I couldn't have understood before. It reminded me of being thirteen, uncomfortable with the development of my body. As men began to look at me, I wished they couldn't. I didn't get to choose their gazes and comments. I wanted to be unseen.

Reminiscent of that feeling, the leaked Trump video pulled me back. But at this point I was 21, and my fears as a thirteen-year-old had come true. This video shows a man who feels entitled to openly assault a woman, to make her powerless, to subordinate her so that a norm becomes acceptable and perpetuated. In this subordinate position, a woman is increasingly unable to combat a man's gaze, his

words, or his hands. When a presidential candidate does not hide his misogyny, others won't feel obliged to either.

I felt thirteen again: knowing that they are looking at me, wishing to feel innocent, understanding that I will not succeed. And it's burdening, this lack of innocence. It's a rite of passage; something felt by women, but curated by men, a byproduct of gender that women cannot control. It's talking to a stranger and trying to be friendly while trying not to give him too much; avoiding eye contact and managing the balancing act of politeness and protection.

Like so much else, this burden becomes something we carry. But they call it locker room talk. Women, in response, no longer feel that they can silence their stories of sexual assault. They emotionally and angrily share their darkest moments. Those who participate in "locker room talk" accept this as a norm. Sexual assault is no longer horrific but instead is something that "just happens" to women who aren't strong, and men should be forgiven for perpetuating it.

My dad was always my favorite person to talk to. He was an enigma to me: a gentle man surrounded by masculinity, he practiced law but loved painting and running, a self-proclaimed "libertarian" who never let that define him. He lost a piece of himself a few years back. The recession hit and the company he worked for was malicious in nature. They dug under his skin and broke him down. After four years of unemployment, he became an independent contractor, losing our family's health benefits and half of his former income. He felt dejected about how his life came to be. He was never the same. No one could pick him back up. And he couldn't pick up himself.

He was the perfect target for Trump: a man who was economically struggling, who couldn't find an immediate answer but was tired of being broken, who was ready to be angry. Trump's rhetoric appealed to him in a way that never truly fit him. After watching his speeches and Fox News, my dad became convinced that being gentle was no longer going to work. He became extreme in all of his interactions, frequently angry and ready to argue about the most innocuous things. I stopped interacting with him, consciously removing myself from situations when I had the capacity to.

While I was trying to come to terms with rape, he became defensive of Trump. I had my breaking point when I was in my parents' home. My dad started talking about Donald Trump. I asked my dad not to talk about him in front of me. I explained countless times that the President—a hateful man who normalizes sexual assault and oppresses minorities—makes me feel unsafe. "Oh, Jesus Christ," my dad responded. "Sexual assault happens to a lot of people." In response, I recited the details of everything that happened that night: the man, the bed, feeling scared, feeling humiliated.

His eyes told me that he was sad and felt helpless. I thought then that maybe our relationship would change. Maybe my dad would get it now that the story was told. I thought maybe he would realize how much it hurts. Then he responded: "What were the conditions? Why didn't you call the police? Did you know him?" All the right wrong questions. And now I know that nothing will really change.

Today I understand that Trump's election and propaganda has polarized and politicized the most basic violations of human rights. It has placed emphasis on one's identity as a suffering white man over the father of a sexual assault victim, and the two became mutually exclusive in this case. When it comes to allegiance to a political candidate, or his daughter, my dad chose Trump.

As a woman and rape victim, I do not agree with Donald J. Trump's values. But I know that really, he's just my scapegoat to the frustrations of a culture war that puts fragile white masculinity up against minorities and women.

I'm mad that Trump is a face of hate and that he is winning. I'm mad that my father responded with "what were the conditions?" when I shared my story. I'm mad that the conversation surrounding sexual assault has allowed individuals to excuse it as normal. I'm mad that people have such difficulty identifying or empathizing with sexual assault in the absence of violence or if it is not with a stranger. I'm jealous that my friends got to detest Donald Trump without their hearts breaking, as their relationships with their fathers deteriorated. I'm mad that the idea of a 'safe space' has become politicized. I'm mad that my dad isn't who I want him to be, who I needed him to be.

When Donald Trump became President of the United States, I remember feeling how important it was to stay angry, so as not to be complacent. He's made it easy to stay angry. On his inauguration and the day that followed, instead of protesting and marching in the Women's March, I spent the day at the Bard Prison Initiative commencement, in awe of my peers. It was a hard decision not to march, and I worried that it was a symptom of my own complacency. Today, I wonder if I'm doing enough in the months after my world changed. I worry about the responsibility that I have in keeping this hell silent or vocalized, and I have a desire to keep sacred the darkness that's followed me.

Over the past few months, I've struggled to accept that the same girl who lost a piece of herself that night could be the same person who feels moments of freedom, who does not constantly mourn her loss. After his inauguration, for the first time, I read aloud my journal entry from the night I woke. I let it hurt me again. I let myself cry again. For the first time, I accepted that all the good and bad, the wanted and unwanted, the fear, the dissociation, the loss, the confusion, all of these things are what I carry. All of them are mine.

### Sanctuary Efforts Hit Bard and the Greater Hudson Valley By Zoe Rohrich

With President Trump's crackdown on immigration making headlines almost daily, the term "sanctuary" has become a movement garnering many supporters. How it is applicable to campuses and cities, though, is still a point of confusion.

Liz Boyd, a senior at Bard, has been working to protect the rights of undocumented students since February 2016. She shifted her focus to the sanctuary campus movement after learning about it through friends she met while attending a protest in Atlanta. During the Q&A section of an election talk held by President Botstein and journalist Mark Danner, Boyd told Botstein about the movement and asked if he would declare Bard a sanctuary campus. He told her he would.

With help from members of *The Draft*, a campus-wide human rights publication, and the Organizing for Undocumented Students' Rights group, a few students organized to make Bard a more accessible place for undocumented students. Advocates of the sanctuary campus movement are now working to raise funds in support of undocumented students and refugees, "providing scholarship, living, legal and other necessary support while students are enrolled at Bard College," according to Boyd. However, these actions taken in support of undocumented students are specific to Bard itself. Sanctuary campus movements like these differ based on the policies of each school.

In an op-ed published in *The New York Times*, President Botstein argued that it is the duty of American universities to oppose an immigration ban barring a student from studying in the U.S. based on their country of origin. Again, how this opposition will be implemented will look different on each college campus.

"Everybody is a little confused about what sanctuary means," said Botstein, in an interview with Bard Watch. "My understanding of it is that it takes the inspiration from the way churches were traditionally understood as being barriers to which civil law enforcement could not enter. As I understand it, the idea of a sanctuary campus would be one where the university community takes, as one of its positions, that it won't participate—and will attempt to protect—people regardless of their immigration status."

Some American universities are not so open to the idea of declaring their campuses as sanctuaries, though, mainly due to a fear of being targeted by the Trump administration. In a letter to the student body, Reverend John P. Fitzgibbons, president of Regis University stated that, "the label sanctuary campus' does not have a legal or standard definition, but there are indications that the federal government

might seek to punish 'sanctuary campuses' by withholding federal funding that a large majority of our students rely upon, and without which Regis could not survive."

However, in response to a question on whether he fears "punishment" by the federal government, President Botstein did not appear to be phased, saying that most Americans are in support of universities continuing to admit students regardless of their immigration status.

"Most Americans have a romance with their own origins," Botstein said. "Millions of Americans had parents, grandparents, great-grandparents who came here, crawling over borders, in the bottom of ships, without papers. So I think most Americans have an implicit sense of fairness and no education institution, in my opinion, should choose not to educate an individual because of these kinds of considerations. It violates our fundamental mission. The same way that a church — to go back to the sanctuary idea — that if I'm saving souls, and I administer in a belief system by which I am saving souls, I don't ask for your passport to save your soul. You follow me?"

It seems that most Americans do "follow" this argument, the college's "fundamental mission," and as Botstein wrote in his op-ed, its commitment to "freedom and nondiscrimination." According to Bard's Director of Communications, Mark Primoff, the op-ed was "accepted very broadly and very well," and that "people, on most sides of the spectrum, basically seemed to agree."

The sanctuary movement also extends outside of Bard and into nearby cities such as Kingston, New York. On February 21, Bard held a panel to discuss the movement, inviting the mayor of Kingston, Steve Noble, to come discuss the recent resolutions Kingston has passed in light of President Trump's immigration reform. He said that the resolutions mainly have to do with building trust between immigrant communities and law enforcement. Immigrants should know that if they were victim or witness to a crime, there would be no immigration consequences in going to the police for help. "Our number one priority is to protect and serve anyone that lives within our borders, no matter who they are and how they got there," Noble said. Kingston joins Ithaca, Burlington and New York City in declaring itself "welcoming and inclusive."

Still, there is no legal definition of what sanctuary means. Andrea Callan, a lawyer at the Worker Justice Center of New York, also spoke at the panel about the legality of the term. "Sanctuary is not absolute," Callan said. "Federal authorities still have the right to come into our local communities to exe-

cute their duties, the duties that they are empowered to enact regardless of what the local police are doing. There is a difference between what local law enforcement agents like the Kingston police are able to do, versus what federal immigration agents are permitted to do." She later stated though, that sanctuary policies are "incredibly useful," because "even though they're not a complete bar or protection against immigration enforcement, it really just forces federal government agents to do all of the work of these federal enforcement regimes."

Because of the Tenth Amendment and the Municipal Home Rule, more power is given to states and local governments, which can enact their own laws of protection and security, so long as they don't conflict with state law and state constitutions. These two laws are "basically why sanctuary cities can exist," said Callan.

Bard College is also using the law in ways that will further protect undocumented students and refugees that extend outside of the United States. This past school year, Bard College Berlin, in coordination with the Program for International Education and Social Change and the Institute of International Education, provided four full four-year scholarships to three Syrian students and one Greek student. At the end of their four years, these students will receive both German and American academic accreditation. "It's not a loophole," said President Botstein, when asked about the program. "It's being imaginative and aggressive and courageous in the use of your own rights as an institution."

"This situation is not just an American situation," said Florian Becker, Managing Director at Bard College Berlin, though clarifying that the word "sanctuary" comes out of an American context. "We have a situation here where about a million Syrians have received in one way or another, sort of a refugee protection in Germany. The state is essentially supportive of us as Bard College Berlin and many other institutions that are helping people in that situation."

Due in part to generous donors, Bard College Berlin has been able to raise money for five more full four-year scholarships to students from Syria and other areas of crisis. "It's been really exciting to be a part of a project that's pushing back against the closures that we are seeing in the U.S.," said Kerry Bystrom, the Associate Dean at the college. "To say, well we're luckily in a context in which we can be open when certain other campuses and other contexts can be closed. We're ready to help out however we can, given our German location and given what happens with the U.S. travel ban etc. — to play the best role we can for the Bard network in providing places for people."

Right now, it looks as though immigration restrictions in the U.S. will continue. On February 21st, President Trump unveiled new policies to enact immigration laws more forcefully, which includes finding, arresting and deporting illegal immigrants,

even if they have not committed any crimes. White House Press Secretary Sean Spicer said that Trump wanted to "take the shackles off" immigration agents, allowing them more freedom in the ways in which they go about looking for illegal foreigners.

In response to a question about how Bard should proceed with its protection of undocumented students and refugees, Liz Boyd responded, "we are being very careful, but also fear is not our friend. We need to be diligent, yet unapologetic." This statement reflects the attitude held by many within the domestic and international Bard network, as well the local Hudson Valley community.

This article was originally published in Bard Watch, an investigative online newspaper at Bard. You can find them at https://bardwatch.com/ Please contact bardwatchmanaging@gmail.com with any questions or contributing articles. Like them on Facebook @bardwatch and follow them on Instagram @bardwatchannandale.

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photos submitted by Bard Watch



	SCHEDULE S						
	Monday	Tuesday	Wedneeday	Thursday	Friday	Saturday	Sunday
10:00 AM		teen bible, slug dog	time this time that, Sleuuth		Happy Hour w/ Big Tuna, Big Tuna	Sounds & Poetry, Mowwns	
11:00 AM		M Anastasi	Victoria Wayland		Abby Avital	Mana Taylor	
12:00 PM					rabble-rousing radio hour, Joseph Sheehan	The Boy Problems Block, Teddy Rae Jepsen	
1:00 PM					Joseph Sheehan	Teddy McKrell	
2:00 PM					goofin w the bees, dj damp ankles	Kenna Kleer, DJ WHY & DJ LaLe	
3:00 PM					Miranda Whitus	Kate Williams, Anne McEvoy	Slavic Disco, Okie & Vladmir Poutine
4:00 PM	melomania, lolo		Dumpster Dive, DJ Mouse		misplaced planet, DJ Duderonomy, DJ Genesister	Jewel Tones, J COOL, Ticklish Singer	Louise Fulkerson, Sld Smith
5:00 PM	Loey Gregory-Wiley		Emma Houton		Aaron Krapf, Zoe Terhune	Jewel Evans, Rachael Gunning	Moving in Stereo, DJ Wessel: Luisa Barbosa
6:00 PM	The Unknown Hour, DJ RiffRaff	salient songs, Charlotte	wade <3	Around the World in 80 Tongues, DJ Pidg, DJ Hold the Mustard	From Bard to Berlin, Madi	The Polyphony Hour, Vitamin T	The Love Shack With Lh and Alie, MC Cunnilingus, DJ Doggy Style
7:00 PM	Raphael Lelan-Cox	Charlotte Foreman	meeting time	Charlie Miller, Cullen Drissell	Madeleine Johnsson	Tristan Geary	Ailie Strauss, Olivia Berkey
8:00 PM	Untitled, Matthew	Songs to Shave Your Legs To, Bel	Keeping Up, Iced tia, Scarlett Sinay	Ms. Oprah Winfrey Regrets, Dilly Dizznazz McBiznazz, Slickey Goodbitch	Spam Filler, Ham Fists	Tunes/Miscelleny, frizz	Interwoven Sounds, Zepol
9:00 PM	Matthew An	Bel Simek	Tia Greefield, Scarlett Sinay	Dylan Ahunhodjaev, Mickey Goodrich	Jay Rosenstein	Rachel Hodes	Sophia Lopez
10:00 PM	WHO'S AT THE WALL, DJ VAS XXX	DUUUUHI, Seuly G, Summer-Grace Flemister, 10-12 mon, wed thurs	The Good Hard Listening, Dj \$peEd RaCeR		Things We Notice, Tsy- Oiney, Action Jackson	bake sale, Nikolai	mood ring radio, Scarlet Begonias
11:00 PM	Basil Pemberton	Saúl G Amezcua, Summer-Grace Flemister	Sam Harmann		Tayler Butier, Elijah Jackson	Nikolai Alexander	Sophia France
12:00 AM		Subject to Change, DJ Turpentine	Jerk Ranch, lemon dj & dar williams		Organ Donor, HeavenSmile: Steven Ricaurte		
1:00 AM		Jack Lustig	Sophie Turok and Julia Kunze				

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You're welcome to join us at any of our meetings, which are usually Tuesdays at 6:00 pm in Olin 101. Contact us directly at bardfreepress [at] gmailcom or the editor-in-chief hh5684 [at] bard.edu



