

# OUT<sup>®</sup> FOR SAFE SCHOOLS

## LGBTQ+ History Lesson

**Inquiry Question:** How did Bayard Rustin's identity shape his beliefs and actions?

**Standard:** 11.10



**Inquiry Question:**

How did Bayard Rustin's identity shape his beliefs and actions?

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**Content Standards**

11.10 - Students analyze the development of federal civil rights and voting rights.

4. Examine the roles of civil rights advocates (e.g., A. Philip Randolph, Martin Luther King, Jr., Malcolm X, Thurgood Marshall, James Farmer, Rosa Parks), including the significance of Martin Luther King, Jr. 's "Letter from Birmingham Jail" and "I Have a Dream" speech.

**CCSS Standards:**

History/Social Science, Grade 11-12

- CCSS RH 11.1 Cite specific textual evidence to support analysis of primary and secondary sources connecting insights to such features as the date and origin of the gained from specific details to the text as a whole.
- CCSS RH 11. 3 Evaluate various explanations for actions or events Key I a process related to history/social studies a text; determine whether earlier events caused and determine which explanation best accords with textual evidence, acknowledging where the text leaves matters uncertain.

Speaking & Listening, Grade 11-12

- CCSS SL 12.3 Evaluate a speaker's point of view, reasoning, and use of evidence and rhetoric, assessing the stance, premises, links among ideas, word choice, points of emphasis, and tone used.
- W.1 Write arguments to support claims in an analysis of substantive topics or texts, using valid reasoning and relevant and sufficient evidence.

**Overview of Lesson**

In this lesson, students will examine primary sources to understand how Bayard Rustin's identity shaped and influenced his actions as a Civil Rights leaders. They will participate in whole group discussions and small group work to deepen their knowledge on who Bayard Rustin is and how his identity as a gay man affected his life as an advocate. They will demonstrate their learning by writing an argumentative essay answering the inquiry question.

**Sources**

- Interview
- Biography
- News Articles
- Flyer

**Procedures**

1. [Alphabet Brainstorm](#) to determine what prior knowledge students have about the topic:



- a. Have students write the alphabet down the left-hand side of their paper. Instruct them to fill in one thing they know about the Civil Rights Movement for each letter. Give them a timeframe suitable for your student needs.
  - b. Project a document with the alphabet listed vertically and call on students to fill out the list as a class. Students can use this collective list to fill in blanks with a different color pen. <https://www.facinghistory.org/resource-library/teaching-strategies/alphabet-brainstorm>
2. Do a [Close Viewing Protocol](#) to introduce Bayard Rustin via video clip [“Bayard Rustin: They Gay Man Behind the March on Washington”](#) (13 min, 43 sec) to address the multiple intelligences in the classroom.
- Show students the questions both before and after viewing the video clip so that they are able to anticipate what the debrief conversation will be and have time to process their own contribution.
1. *What is the purpose of this film? Is it to teach, entertain, or do something else? How well is it doing this?*
  2. *Who/what is left out of the message?*
  3. *Whose interests are served by telling/showing the message in a particular way?*
  4. *What motivations might the filmmaker have? How are these manifested in the film?*
  5. *What do you already know about the topic? How might your prior knowledge of the topic change how you experience the film?*
- <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=LoDkLMIbcSs&t=618s>  
<https://www.facinghistory.org/resource-library/teaching-strategies/close-viewing-protocol>
3. Lead a Jigsaw Activity to review the documents:
- 1) Number students off #1-6 and assign each group one of the six documents. “Randomly” assign the readings (lower reading level → more complex) students based on their lexile level.
  - 2) Give students 10-15 mins to meet with their “expert group” and read and annotate through the document while completing the [graphic organizer](#).
  - 3) Regroup students so that each reading is represented by one student. Have them share out the information gathered in the graphic organizer and record it into their own.

### Readings:

1. “An Interview with Bayard Rustin”, pg. 3-7 *Journal of the Reconciling Congregation Program*, Spring 1987
2. Bayard Rustin biography, *Uncited Source*
3. “The only way I could be a free person...”, *Washington Blade*, February 7, 1986
4. Bayard Rustin Flyer
5. “Bayard Rustin: The Gay Struggle As Viewed By A Lifelong Fighter For Nonviolent Change” *The ADVOCATE*, September 29, 1987
6. “Black, Gay Rights Linked in History”, *Liberal Opinion Week*, March 1, 2004

<https://www.facinghistory.org/resource-library/teaching-strategies/jigsaw-developing-community-and-disseminating-knowledge>

### Assessment

Using the information gathered from the film clip and written primary sources, have students individually write a response to the inquiry question:

*How did Bayard Rustin's identity shape his beliefs and actions? Be sure to cite textual evidence to support your argument.*

See sample CCSS Argumentative Writing rubric.

### Bibliography

All primary sources courtesy of the ONE National Gay and Lesbian Archive, <http://one.usc.edu/>

#### *Primary Sources*

- "An Interview with Bayard Rustin", pg. 3-7 Journal of the Reconciling Congregation Program, Spring 1987
- Bayard Rustin biography, Uncited Source
- "The only way I could be a free person...", Washington Blade, February 7, 1986
- Bayard Rustin Flyer
- "Bayard Rustin: The Gay Struggle As Viewed By A Lifelong Fighter For Nonviolent Change" The ADVOCATE, September 29, 1987

#### *Teaching Resources*

- Facing History and Ourselves - Teaching Strategies



Source A: "An Interview with Bayard Rustin," Journal of the Reconciling Congregation Program, Spring 1987.

# An Interview with Bayard Rustin

PHOTOGRAPHS BY MARK BOWMAN



**B**ayard Rustin is one of the outstanding human rights proponents and strategists of our day. Usually working out of the public spotlight, Rustin's socioeconomic analysis, commitment to nonviolent social change, and tactical organizing have been integral to the civil rights, pacifist, and trade union movements of the mid-20th century.

Born March 17, 1912, in West Chester, Pennsylvania, Rustin's early life was influenced by the Quaker pacifism of his grandmother and his personal experiences of a segregated society. After studies at Wilberforce College, Cheyney State College, and the City College of New York, Rustin became race relations director for the Fellowship of Reconciliation. At this time Rustin also began his long-time association with A. Philip Randolph, president of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, serving as youth organizer for Randolph's march on Washington.

Standing firm to his convictions on justice, nonviolence, and human equality, Rustin served more than two years in Lewisburg Penitentiary as a conscientious objector during World War II and, thereafter, served 30 days on a North Carolina chain gang for his participation in the first Freedom Ride in the South.

In 1955 Rustin became a special assistant to Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. He helped organize the Montgomery bus boycott and drew up the plans for the Southern Christian Leadership Conference. At the behest of King and Randolph, Rustin was the chief organizer of the 1963 March on Washington. Rustin's influence expanded the agenda for this gathering of 250,000 people beyond demands for integration to include fundamental economic and social reforms.

Rustin founded the A. Philip Randolph Institute in 1964 to build coalitions for social change between the labor movement, the black community, and other groups. While serving as executive director there, he has become increasingly well-known as a commentator on human rights and social change.

As a gay man, Bayard Rustin has been subjected to private and public castigation throughout his career. While, in his own words, he "never came out of the closet with flags flying," Rustin has not compromised his position as a social pioneer who happens to be gay. In this interview with Open Hands, Rustin addresses this part of his life most often ignored in other public forums.

**Starting back at the beginning, in West Chester, Pennsylvania, what did you absorb, spoken or unspoken, about homosexuality in your upbringing?**

My early life was that of being a member of a very, very close-knit family. I was born illegitimate. My mother was about 17 when I was born, and, consequently, my grandparents reared me. The family members were largely Democrats, long before most other Black families. My grandmother was one of the leaders of the NAACP; she had helped found the Black Nurses' Society and the Black community center.

There were two homosexual boys in high school that were rather flamboyant, and the community, I think, looked down on their flamboyance much more than on their homosexuality. But, in general, the question of homosexuality never emerged as a social problem until I got to college. What I heard in high school was: Why don't those guys behave themselves? Why are they always doing something outlandish?

As far as my early life is concerned, there was one other incident. There was one young man who was very highly respected in the community that I can remember as a child hearing whispering about. But I never could put my finger on what it was that made him, in the eyes of people, different. One of the reasons that this was confusing to me was that he was highly respected—he was a member of the church, sang in the choir, played the organ, and seemed to be such a responsible, talented, and charming person that I could never get quite what it was that was being whispered about him. I asked my grandmother once, and she said "Oh, well, he's just a little different from other people and I wouldn't pay any attention to it." On one occasion this fellow was visiting our home, and when he was leaving he put his arms around me and kissed me (which had never happened to me with a man before). Later when I was discussing him with my grandmother, I said "You know it's very interesting, but this is the second time that he has hugged me and tried to kiss me." My grandmother simply said, "Well, did you enjoy it?" And I

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said "No, I felt it very peculiar." And she said, "Well, if you don't enjoy it, don't let him do it." That's all she said. And that was the extent of it.

Now it was in college I came to understand that I had a real physical attraction to a young man.

### This attraction was to a particular young man?

Oh yes, very definitely. He lived in California. We were both at Wilberforce College in Ohio. He used to come home with me for the holidays. I had a bedroom of my own, but it had twin beds in it—he slept in his bed and I slept in mine. We never had any physical relationship but a very intense, friendly relationship. At that point, I knew exactly what was going on, but I did not feel then that I could handle such a physical relationship. But I never went through any trauma about coming out because I realized what was going on. I was also strong and secure enough to be able to handle it. But I have always sympathized with people who, for one reason or another, go through the great trauma that I never experienced.

### Can you say a little more about how you handled your coming out?

There was one young man at home who was interested in me when I came back from college. (This is what makes me know that my grandmother knew what was happening.) My grandmother called me into the kitchen one Saturday morning (we always had sort of weekly talks on Saturday morning in the kitchen while we were preparing lunch), and she said, "You know I want to recommend something to you. In selecting your male friends, you should be careful that you associate with people who have as much to lose as you have." And I said, "What do you mean, as much to lose as I have?" She said, "Well, you have a very good reputation, so you should go around with people who have good reputations. You are being educated; you must make friends with people who are being educated. You have certain values, and you must make certain that people you go out with hold those values. Otherwise you could find yourself in very serious trouble. Because very often people who do not have as much to lose as you have can be very careless in befriending you because they are careless in befriending themselves." I think that a family in which the members know and accept one's lifestyle is the most helpful factor for emotional stability. They were aware that I was having an affair with my friend from college, and they obviously approved it. Not that anybody said, "Oh, I think it's a good thing." But they would say, "Friends have invited us over for dinner tonight, and we told them that your friend is here, and they said it's quite all right for you to bring him

along." There was never any conflict. And yet there was never any real discussion.

### A few years later you moved to New York City. The clubs in Harlem in the 1930s and 1940s were known as meccas for gay men and lesbians. Did you interact in that world?

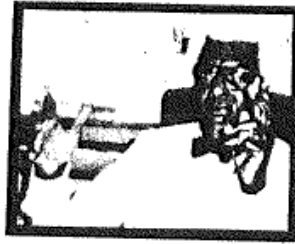
Well, Harlem was a totally different world than I had known. When I came to New York, I lived with a sister (really my aunt) who lived on St. Nicholas Avenue, which was at that time the main thoroughfare of Black New York aristocracy—it was called Sugar Hill. That's where the Black doctors, the lawyers, the professionals, and ministers lived. In the Black upper class there were a great number of gay people. So long as they did not publicize their gayness, there was little or no discussion of it. A number of the poets, artists, musicians were gay or lesbian. And the clubs paid little attention. In that early period there were few gay clubs because there didn't need to be. The gay clubs came later, with World War II and after. I think that the Black community has been largely willing to accept its gay elements so long as they were not openly gay. It was later when the gay clubs came, and gay men and lesbians wanted the right to come out of the closet, that I think the Black community became quite as intolerant as the white community.

### Why is that, in your estimation? What caused the resistance to acceptance?

Well, I think the community felt that we have, as Blacks, so many problems to put up with, and we have to defend ourselves so vigorously against being labeled as ignorant, irresponsible, shufflers, etc., there's so much prejudice against us, why do we need the gay thing, too? I remember on one occasion somebody said to me, "Goodness gracious! You're a socialist, you're a conscientious objector, you're gay, you're Black, how many jeopardies can you afford?" I found that people in the civil rights movement were perfectly willing to accept me so long as I didn't declare that I was gay.

### During those years in New York were there any gay or lesbian role models for you?

Hall Johnson, leader of the Hall Johnson Choir, was gay and one of the most important Black musicians of his time. He was probably the key role model for me. He was responsible for helping train people like Leontyne Price and all kinds of other opera singers, and was the inspiration for many other musicians. I used to go to his



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apartment. It was never a hangout for gay men and lesbians; it was a hangout for musicians and artists. And if you were gay or lesbian (and there were many of us) you were there too.

**As you began working for the Fellowship of Reconciliation, did it seem like you were leading a double life—moving in the artist and musician circles in New York and becoming involved in the different sphere of human rights activists?**

It was amongst the Fellowship people that there was hypocrisy—more so-called love and affection and non-violence toward the human family, but it was there that I found some of the worst attitudes to gays. I experienced this personally after I'd been released from working with the Fellowship when I was arrested in California on what they called a "morals charge." Many of the people in the Fellowship of Reconciliation were absolutely intolerant in their attitudes. When I lost my job there, some of these nonviolent Christians despite their love and affection for humanity were not really able to express very much affection to me. Wherein members of my family (a couple of them had actually fought in the war) were loving, considerate, and accepting. So there are times when people of goodwill may find it difficult to maintain consistency between belief and action. This can be very difficult for some people when faced with a homosexual relationship.

**Later, in the early '60s, Adam Clayton Powell threatened to expose you, and J. Strom Thurmond did make accusations against you. Did you experience many other incidents like these?**

Yes, for example, Martin Luther King, with whom I worked very closely, became very distressed when a number of the ministers working for him wanted him to dismiss me from his staff because of my homosexuality. Martin set up a committee to discover what he should do. They said that, despite the fact that I had contributed tremendously to the organization (I drew up the plans for the creation of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference and did most of the planning and fundraising in the early days), they thought that I should separate myself from Dr. King.

**When was this, the late 1950s?**

This was about 1960 actually. This was the time when Powell threatened to expose my so-called homosexual relationship with Dr. King. There, of course, was no

homosexual relationship with Dr. King. But Martin was so uneasy about it that I decided I did not want Dr. King to have to dismiss me. I had come to the SCLC to help. If I was going to be a burden I would leave—and I did. However Dr. King was never happy about my leaving. He was deeply torn—although I had left the SCLC, he frequently called me in and asked me to help. While in 1960 he felt real pressure to fire me, in 1963 he agreed that I should organize the March on Washington, of which he was one of the leaders.

**During those tumultuous times when your private life was threatened to be exposed, how did you deal with that? Whom did you find support from?**

In June of 1963, Senator Strom Thurmond stood in the Congress and denounced the March on Washington because I was organizing it. He called me a communist, a sexual pervert, a draft dodger, etc. The next day Mr. A. Phillip Randolph called all the Black leaders and said, "I want to answer Strom Thurmond's attack. But I think we ought not to get involved in a big discussion of homosexuality or communism or draft dodging. What I want to do, with the approval of all the Black leaders, is to issue a statement which says: 'We, the Black leaders of the civil rights movements and the leaders of the trade union movement and the leaders of the Jewish, Protestant, and Catholic church which are organizing this march have absolute confidence in Bayard Rustin's ability, his integrity, and his commitment to nonviolence as the best way to bring about social change. He will continue to organize the March with our full and undivided support.'" He said, "If any of you are called, I do not want any discussion beyond that—Is he a homosexual? Has he been arrested? We simply say we have complete confidence in him and his integrity." And that's exactly what happened.

Someone came to Mr. Randolph once and said, "Do you know that Bayard Rustin is a homosexual? Do you know he has been arrested in California? I don't know how you could have anyone who is a homosexual working for you." Mr. Randolph said, "Well, well, if Bayard, a homosexual, is that talented—and I know the work he does for me—maybe I should be looking for somebody else homosexual who could be so useful." Mr. Randolph was such a completely honest person who wanted everyone else also to be honest. Had anyone said to him, "Mr. Randolph, do you think I should openly admit that I am homosexual?," his attitude, I am sure, would have been, "Although such an admission may cause you problems, you will be happier in the long run." Because his idea was that you have to be what you are.

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**You were involved in many civil rights groups in the '40s, '50s, '60s, '70s. Did any of them at least begin to internally think about lesbian/gay rights?**

After my arrest (in California in '53), I tried to get the Black community to face up to the fact that one of the reasons that some homosexuals went to places where they might well be arrested was that they were not welcome elsewhere. I wanted to get people to change their attitudes, but they always made it personal. They would say, "Well, now, Bayard, we understand—we know who you are and we know what you are, but you're really different." And I'd say, "I don't want to hear that. I want you to change your attitudes." But there was little action, and even now it's very difficult to get the Black community doing anything constructive about AIDS because it is thought of as a "gay" problem."

**Looking back over your whole life, in what ways did your being a gay man affect the person that you are, the person you have been?**

Oh, I think it has made a great difference. When one is attacked for being gay, it sensitizes you to a greater understanding and sympathy for others who face bigotry, and one realizes the damage that being misunderstood can do to people. It's quite all right when people blast my politics. That's their obligation. But to attack anyone because he's Jewish, Black, a homosexual, a woman, or any other reason over which that person has no control is quite terrible. But making my peace and adjusting to being attacked has helped me to grow. It's given me a certain sense of obligation to other people, and it's given me a maturity as well as a sense of humor.

You were asking about role models earlier—I think one of the best, most helpful, Black men in the '20s and '30s and '40s was a professor at Howard University whose name was Alain Locke. I got to know Alain Locke very well. He was gay and held open house for the literati and for young people like young Langston Hughes and Richard Wright. I suspect that he was probably more of a male role model for me than anyone else. He never felt it necessary to discuss his gayness. He was always a friend to those who were aspiring to be writers. Therefore, he universalized his affection to people. And he carried himself in such a way that the most people could say about him was that they suspected he was gay, not that he was mean or that he was in any way unkind. So I find that it's very important for members of a minority group to develop an inner security. For in that way we become fearless and very decent human beings.

I shall never forget once at a meeting, a chap from the Fellowship of Reconciliation accused me of impairing the morals of minors and stated that the organization should

not permit me to associate with all the youngsters in the organization. A young man stood up at this meeting and said something which was so amazing I have never forgotten about it. He said, "I want this group to know that I am now 22, and I went to bed with Bayard Rustin last year. And it was a culmination of five years of the most profound and deep friendship and love that I have ever known. And I am *not* homosexual, and I will marry, and I promise you now, if my first child is a boy, I'm going to name him Bayard. I learned so many important and good things from him. That's why I want my firstborn named Bayard." Now that took a tremendous amount of nerve on his part. Four years later he named his firstborn Bayard.

**If you had to do it all over, if you had to live life knowing what you know now, would you want to be gay?**

I think, if I had a choice, I would probably elect not to be gay. Because I think that I might be able to do more to fight against the prejudice to gays if I weren't gay, because some people say I'm simply trying to defend myself. But that's the only reason. I want to get rid of all kinds of prejudices. And, quite frankly, one of the prejudices which I find most difficult is the prejudice that some Black homosexuals have to white homosexuals, the prejudice that Oriental homosexuals have to everybody but Oriental homosexuals, and certainly the tremendous amount of prejudice that some white gay men and lesbians have to Blacks. And the reason this is sad to me is not that I expect homosexuals to be any different basically than any other human being, but it is sad because I do not believe that they know that it is not prejudice to any one group that is the problem, it is prejudice itself that is the problem.

That brings me to a very important point—people who do not fight against all kinds of prejudice are doing three terrible things. They are, first of all, perpetuating harm to others. Secondly, they are denying their own selves because every heterosexual is a part of homosexuality and every homosexual is part of this so-called straight world. If I harm any human being by my bigotry, I am, at the same time, harming myself because I'm a part of that person. And, finally, every indifference to prejudice is suicide because, if I don't fight all bigotry, bigotry itself will be strengthened and, sooner or later, it will turn on me. I think that one of the things we have to be very careful of in the gay and lesbian community is that we do not under any circumstances permit ourselves to hold on to any indifference to the suffering of any other human being. The homosexuals who did not fight Hitler's prejudice to the Jews finally got it. Now they may have gotten it anyhow. But when the Gestapo came up the stairs after them, they would have died knowing that they were better human beings if only they had fought facism and resisted when the Jews were being murdered.





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**Are you hopeful for the human race? Do you think prejudice will be overcome? Do you think it's improved during your lifetime?**

Oh, I think, it's improved some places; it's gotten worse in others. But I have learned a very significant lesson from the Jewish prophets. If one really follows the commandments of these prophets, the question of hopeful or nonhopeful may become secondary or unimportant. Because these prophets taught that God does not require us to achieve any of the good tasks that humanity must pursue. What God requires of us is that we not stop trying. And, therefore, I do not expect that we can do anything more than reduce prejudice to an irreducible minimum. We have the responsibility to try to improve economic and social conditions which I believe may well reduce human problems. As long as there's this much unemployment amongst Blacks and poor Hispanics and poor whites, they will prey on each other. Secondly, we can try to deal with problems of injustice by setting up a legal structure which outlaws them and causes people to be punished if they violate them. There's a third way, and this is what I call the way of reconciliation. If you can get enough law and you can get an economic structure, then you can get people to live together in harmony, to go to school together, and they will cooperate in the work force. Then there is a deep learning process in which new stimuli will create new responses. Now these are three of the ways in which I believe we can try to reduce prejudice.

I want to say a word while I'm on this, about the uniqueness of the gay and lesbian community today. The gay community now becomes the most important element when it comes to answering the question that you have raised about hope. Because the gay community today has taken over where the Black community left off in '68 or '69. In those days Black people were the barometer of social change; Black people were the litmus paper of social change. At that time if a person was prepared to accept Blacks then it followed that that person was prepared to look at Jews, Catholics, and other persons. Today gay men and lesbians have taken over that social role. Because theirs is now the central problem and, if you are to go to the bottom line, if people cannot accept gay men and lesbians, they may not be able to accept anybody who is different.

That is what makes the homosexual central to how much progress we can make in human rights. That means there must be among gay men and lesbians themselves tremendous political activity. And that means now that we have an additional good reason for coming out of the closet. We cannot really respect ourselves unless we're willing to state quite honestly who we are. Beyond this there's now another reason why we must come out of the closet, and that is to help carry on the real political struggle for acceptance. Because if you do not fight for

yourself in a very vigorous way, you cannot expect anybody to join in a fight with you.

**Do you have any observations, looking historically, at the Black civil rights movement and the lesbian/gay civil rights movement—where have there been similarities; where have there been differences?**

Well, I think the moral question is similar. But after you get beyond that question, I think there are not many similarities. The gay and lesbian community is not a community which looks any one way; it is not a community which behaves in any one way. Wherein Blacks all look Black (which is not true, but people think so) and they have certain things you can point to—they were once slaves, they were once uneducated—gay men and lesbians tend to belong to a more educated, college-trained group. Gay men and lesbians are not all in that group, by any means, but the visible ones are.

The prejudice to gay men and lesbians is much deeper. Those who fight against gay men and lesbians carry a propaganda which is designed to strike deeply at the most fundamental concerns of our society. Antigay/lesbian proponents will argue that humanity must have the family and gay men and lesbians are anti-family. The society advances only as there are children. Gay men and lesbians will not produce children. The society will only exist as long as there is a high standard of moral behavior. Gay men particularly are pictured as running around having sex with everybody in sight and not concerned with anything other than their own immediate pleasure and satisfaction. Now you and I know that much of that is decidedly untrue. But gay men and lesbians are looked on as being an unstable element when what you need in the society is stability. As I said this propaganda has been carefully designed.

Beyond all this, the bigots argue that segments of both the Old and the New Testament have denounced homosexuality as an abomination. If one goes through the scriptures and picks out little pieces of this and that, it's possible to distort. You know, those who believe you shouldn't have anything to drink find the little place in the Bible that justifies that attitude. Those who want to drink will quote St. Paul and say "A little wine is good for thy stomach's sake." People will pick out what they want rather than seeing the scriptures as a growth in spiritual insight. The people who want to carry on racial prejudice will no longer talk about this as the way that God wants it. But people will still tell you that homosexuality is ungodly and destructive. That's what I mean when I say that gay men and lesbians have now become the barometer and the litmus paper of human rights attitudes and social change. □

Source B: Bayard Rustin biography, Uncited Source.

Rustin, Bayard (b. March 17th, 1910, West Chester, Pa. -)  
Civil rights leader

An illegitimate child, Rustin was raised by his grandparents in West Chester. His grandmother belonged to the Society of Friends, and he was influenced by the Quakers pacifist principles. Rustin later recalled that when traveling with his high school football team he was physically ejected from a restaurant because of his race; Rustin decided at that point never to accept segregation.

Rustin joined the Young Communist League in 1936 because he believed that it was committed to peace and to equal rights for blacks. He came to N.Y.C. as an organizer for the League in 1938 and attended the City College of N.Y. Rustin left the YCL in 1941 when after the Nazi invasion of the Soviet Union the Communists abandoned their opposition to World War II and called for the subordination of all social protest to the cause of defeating Germany.

After leaving that group he became a socialist and joined a pacifist, orig nondenominational religious group, The Fellowship of Reconciliation, which opposed the war and racial injustice. In 1941 Rustin worked with

A. Philip Randolph, President of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, in planning a march on Washington to demand fair employment practices in the U.S.'s rapidly growing defense industries. The march was canceled when President Roosevelt issued an executive order banning racial discrimination by defense contractors. During the 1940's Rustin became one of the founders of CORE (Congress of Racial Equality). In 1947 he helped plan and participated in CORE's first Freedom Ride into the South. At about the same time he became director of Randolph's Committee Against Discrimination in the Armed Forces, which played a major role in securing President Harry S. Truman to issue a executive order prohibiting discrimination in the armed forces in 1948.

During World War II, Rustin was a conscientious objector and served more than two years in jail. In 1953, he became executive secretary of the War Resisters League, and in 1958 went to England to assist the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament in the first of the "ban the bomb", peace marches.

In the 50's, he became one of the leading strategists of the civil rights movement. In 1955 he played a key role in organizing the Montgomery, Ala. bus boycott led by Rev. Martin Luther King, Jr. and Rustin drafted the plan for what became the Southern Christian Leadership Conference. In the late 50's he served as an adviser to King.

"as a consequence" because of his past". Some of (A. Philip) Randolph's comrades objected when he proposed to send Rustin to Montgomery. According to Rustin, Norman Thomas, leader of the Socialist party and a member of the Fellowship of Reconciliation, said "This young King is doing very well. Bayard is considered a homosexual, a Communist and a draft dodger. Why do you put such a burden on King?" Rustin said the consensus seemed to be to keep him at home, until Randolph phoned King himself. King answered that he knew of Rustin's reputation within the movement, and that his need for help superseded his concerns. So Rustin went to Montgomery and became a member of King's inner circle where he remained off and on through the rest of King's life." (2) a. In 1958 King chose not to offer him the directorship of SCLC because of the homosexuality issue." (3) "In 1960, King, under attack from conservative Baptist churchmen, decided he did not need Rustin, among his advisers at all. Even SNCC snubbed Rustin, ... in order to obtain a grant from the AFI & CIO. Rustin continued his practice of free-lance consultations, but he busied himself mostly with the pacifist concerns of the War Resisters League, and remained in the twilight on civil rights!" (4)

Also in 1960 Rustin acting on behalf of King and Randolph, organized civil rights demonstrations at the Democratic and Republican national conventions. Because Rep. Adam Clayton Powell, Jr. (D.N.Y) informed King that he would publicly denounce Rustin for his radical background and alleged homosexuality unless King fired him. Rustin agreed to leave the project in the interest of harmony. Randolph, with whom he had established a close working relationship over the previous two decades was the only leader who kept up his ties with Rustin. (5) During the winter of 1962-63 Randolph asked Rustin to draw up plans for a mass march on Washington. Originally Rustin believed that the demonstration should concentrate on demands for federal action in the areas of jobs, housing and education. The original plans for the march reflected Rustin's views, but other leaders shifted its emphasis from economic and social reforms to traditional civil rights objectives in order to secure the support of moderate blacks such as Roy Wilkins of the NAACP. Randolph had planned to make Rustin the director of the march, but Wilkins felt that Rustin's radical background might expose the project to unnecessary attack. Randolph agreed to be the official director of the march, but he appointed Rustin to serve as his deputy, and the latter was the actual organizer of the demonstration. "Rustin was put in charge of organization, though he was considered too controversial to be listed publicly as director." (6) The march was called Araley on May Prayer Pilgrimage which drew 25,000 people, held May 17th, 1963. In the next two years Randolph had Rustin organize demonstrations, The Youth March for Integrated Schools; These rallies were important as a test run for the great March on Washington of 1963. In 1963, Randolph became the director of the march, and he appointed Rustin as his deputy and Rustin was the actual organizer of the March. Rustin was successful in gaining the support of approximately 100 civil rights, religious and labor organizations for the march, altho the AFL-CIO, fearing possible disorders, declined to endorse the march. On Aug. 28, 1963, 200,000 to 250,000 persons had a well-ordered March On Washington For Jobs and Freedom.

Rustin whom Ra

As Rustin recalled a leadership meeting in late June, 1963, Roy Wilkins complained that he, Rustin, "had too many scars-all the talk about his sex life, his political life, and his being a draft dodger. I just think he would be too much of a liability." ( )

In the mid-60's Rustin believed that coalition politics within the framework of the Democratic Party was the only feasible means by which blacks could gain economic and social justice. He urged an alliance of blacks with the established AFL-CIO leadership. In 1964 Rustin became Executive director of the Philip A. Randolph Institute, a position he still holds.

*1. Book, Fair In The Study, Walter H. Hays, Simon & Schuster, NY 1980 P 210-212*

Source C: "The only way I could be a free person...", Washington Blade, February 7, 1986.

## Black History in the making

### 'The only way I could be a free person...'

The following is the first in a series of profiles celebrating Black History Month.

by Peg Byron

Veteran civil rights activist Bayard Rustin discovered Gay pride one day in 1947 on a bus in a southern town. It was a revelation that would change his public and private lives for many decades to come.

"I was prepared to do what I'd always done in the South," Rustin recalled, "and take a seat in the rear." But as he walked down the aisle, a small, white child playfully grabbed for his red necktie. The child's mother quickly reprimanded, "Don't touch a nigger!"

"Something happened," Rustin said during a recent interview in his New York office. "I thought, 'If I go and sit quietly in the back of the bus now, that child... is going to end up saying, 'They like it back there. I've never seen anybody in the South protest against it.' That's what people in the South said." When Rustin realized that his acquiescence to prejudice made him a party to it, it was a double epiphany. Not only did he stay in the front of the bus for that trip, but shortly afterwards, he told each of his friends that he was Gay. "The only way I could be a free, whole person was to face the shit," Rustin said.

That same year Rustin was forced to serve a month on a chain gang in North Carolina, after he was arrested in a demonstration that would be a model for the Freedom Rides of the 1960s. Rustin's



Bayard Rustin

account of that experience was serialized in the New York Post and helped bring about the abolition of chain gangs in North Carolina.

As a young man, Rustin had always been tough. He loved sports and won four varsity letters in high school. He already knew he was Gay then.

"It was all extremely romantic," he said, "but the consequences of being Gay didn't really strike me until I got to college." There, he said, he felt so conflicted that he quit college after a year and a half and never got his degree. "I must have 25 or 30 honorary degrees,"

Rustin chuckles, "but no earned one."

Since then, Rustin, a wiry and energetic man, has faced and fought prejudice against him for being Gay as well as black many times. Most famous is Sen. Strom Thurmond's (R-SC) attempt to discredit the 1963 March on Washington, which Rustin coordinated, by Gay- and red-baiting the activist in a public tirade before the Senate. But the sponsors of the historic March stood behind Rustin.

"Nobody should have to earn the right to be defended," noted the veteran of human rights campaigns in South Africa, Southeast Asia, Central America, as well as the U.S. "But the reality is, if you defend the rights of others, they will almost automatically defend your rights."

But only the year before, Rustin was "dumped" by Dr. Martin Luther King Jr because of fears among civil rights strategists that then-FBI director J. Edgar Hoover would use Rustin's homosexuality to discredit King.

"Hoover began circulating all kinds of stories about King, one of them hinting that there might be a homosexual relationship between us," Rustin said. Although King would steadfastly support Rustin after Thurmond's tirade, "I just wish he had showed that strength in '62. It was painful, I will admit it," Rustin said. But, he quickly added, "It didn't hurt our friendship."

Rustin's 1947 experience on that

Continued on page 6

WASH BLADE 2-7-86

## BLACK HISTORY

# Rustin: 'It was painful...'

*Continued from page 1*

southern bus had another major effect on his life. Then, at 35 years of age, after telling his friends he was Gay, Rustin's life opened up to having more serious relationships.

"There was a period when I was promiscuous," he said with a small smile. "I don't mean I was running out every night, but I had a series of one-night stands. Not until I declared myself could I build these associations," he said. "If you are hiding things, you can't get too close to people, even Gay people. Therefore you set up false relationships."

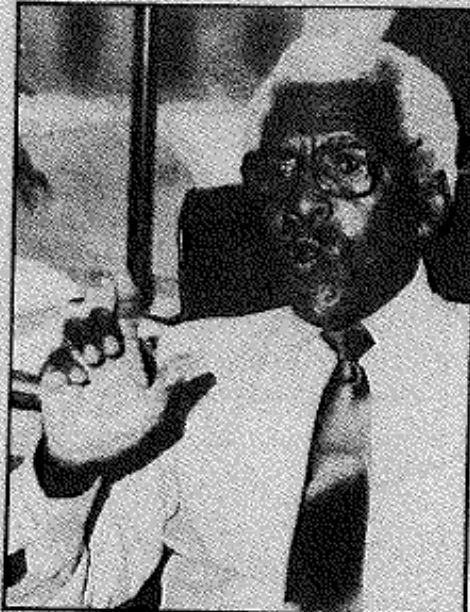
Rustin said it was hard to meet other Gay men in those days, especially because any involved in the civil rights movement were in the closet.

"I found out later that many of the people I'd known over the years were in fact Gay," Rustin said, shaking his head. "That's the reason I want as many young Gay people to declare themselves. Although it's going to make problems, those problems are not so dangerous as the problems of lying to yourself, to your friends, and missing many opportunities."

Although for many years, Rustin found it difficult to make what he calls "appropriate friends," he now knows many Gay people who are leaders in organizations like the Urban League, the NAACP, and 100 Black Men. And while in his sixties, he fell in love with a man with whom he has lived ever since.

His lover, Walter Naegle, works closely with him, traveling along as Rustin's work takes him to all parts of the globe. Rustin said he has met more of Gay society through Naegle, and the two even go out dancing at an upper West Side bar once in a while.

"Until this last relationship which is now going into its 10th year," Rustin said with obvious pleasure. "I really didn't know what it was to have a relationship... with absolute, total confidence, no lies, no pretenses, no defenses." Smiling again, he added, "It takes time to do that, and it took



Bayard Rustin

more time with me than with most, I hope."

Rustin's civil rights efforts haven't slowed down yet either, although he will be 74 next month. He recently returned from a meeting in India and will travel soon to Trinidad and South Africa. He is co-chair with actress Liv Ullmann for the International Rescue Committee, which concentrates on refugee affairs and runs the A. Philip Randolph Institute, a group which coordinates civil rights and labor movement activities. He is also chairman of the executive committee of the Leadership Conference on Civil Rights. He claims the variety of his projects is "rejuvenating." And although a talented guitar player and tenor in his pre-activist days, [he performed with Leadbelly in New York's Cafe Society] Rustin shows no regret over his vigorous path in life.

"Once in a while, when I hear Segovia or a classical guitar, I wish I kept on," Rustin says, admitting that life as a musician would have kept him in much Gayer company over the years. "But it passes with the next trip to Africa," he laughs.

photo courtesy Walter Naegle

Source D: Bayard Rustin Flyer.



# Bayard Rustin

March 17, 1912 – August 24, 1987

"The barometer for social change is measured by selecting the group which is most mistreated ... the new 'niggers' are gays."—Rustin, 1986.

The great unsung hero of the Civil Rights Movement, Rustin was a Quaker, a leftist, a pacifist, an activist, and a charmer with a lovely tenor singing voice. During World War II, the charismatic orator chose prison over the draft, after learning that the camps in which conscientious objectors served were little better than Manzanar. He thereupon set about desegregating the prison facilities.

But Rustin was also unrepentantly, promiscuously homosexual, which got him into trouble again and again. In prison, it landed him in solitary. A 1953 lewd-conduct arrest in



Pasadena hounded him for the rest of his life. In later years, he was repeatedly discredited or swept under the rug, even as he mentored Martin Luther King Jr. in Gandhian nonviolence, helped to organize the 1955 Montgomery bus boycott, cofounded the Congress on Racial Equality (CORE) and later the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, and organized the triumphant 1963 March on Washington.

Yet Rustin continued to view his homosexuality as a private matter and did not involve himself with the gay movement until near the end of his life.



Source E: "Bayard Rustin: The Gay Struggle As Viewed By A Lifelong Fighter For Nonviolent Change" *The ADVOCATE*, September 29, 1987.

## BAYARD RUSTIN: THE GAY STRUGGLE AS VIEWED BY A LIFELONG FIGHTER FOR NONVIOLENT CHANGE

Bayard Rustin's abiding quest for equal justice began in the 1940s and continued uncompromised until his death Aug. 24 at the age of 75. A student of India's Mohandas K. Gandhi and a close political associate of Dr. Martin Luther King Jr., Rustin's entire life spoke eloquently of his passionate conviction that nonviolence was the only way to effect major social change.

Rustin's beliefs were forged from personal experience. A Quaker and a pacifist, Rustin spent 28 months in prison for refusing to serve in World War II. In 1947, he spent weeks on a North Carolina chain gang for violating segregationist bus-seating laws. He was arrested more than 20 other times in connection with his civil rights activities.

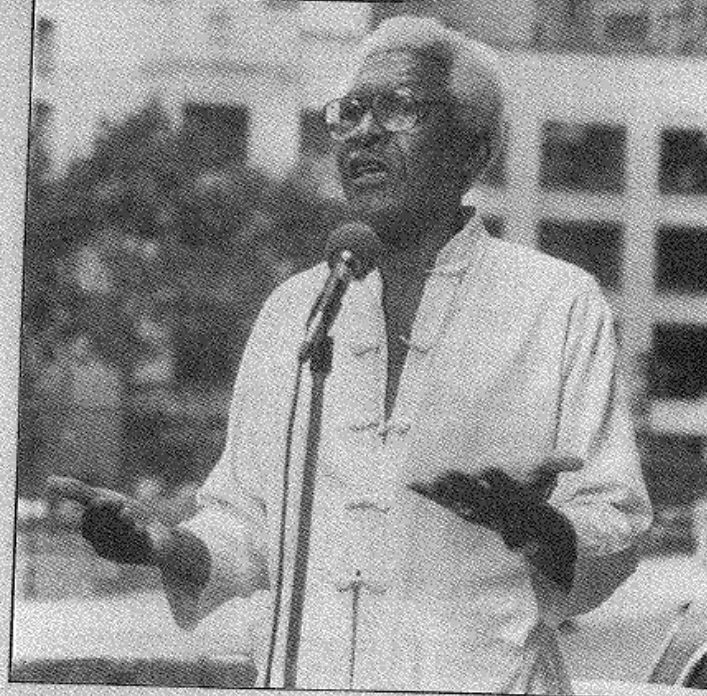
A leader of the first Freedom Rides, Rustin is best remembered for organizing the historic 1963 march on Washington, at which King delivered his famous "I Have a Dream" speech. Less well-known was the fact that Rustin was gay.

In an interview with *The ADVOCATE* two weeks before his death, Rustin drew comparisons between the black civil rights struggles of the '50s and '60s and the present-day gay rights movement. Here's part of what he had to say:

**In your opinion, what are the most important lessons for gay rights activists, or for AIDS activists, from the experiences of Dr. Martin Luther King Jr.?**

The most important thing to Dr. King was not just to get rights for black people, but rather to struggle by nonviolent means to get them — so that the attitudes of white people in the society would be changed. So that whites would not turn back and make the same mistakes again. If Martin Luther King Jr. had acted in a way that got civil rights for blacks *without* changing the attitudes of white people, nothing would really have been gained.

In the same way, in California, where gays may control a good deal of the political apparatus, they may feel that they can use any old tactics, because they have the numbers and the political clout. But that's simply not the case, because the objective ought to be to get rid of the prejudice as well as the mistreatment.



**How do you do that?**

You have to get people to believe that you are sincere, that you have a concern for them, and that you are willing to pay a price — even willing to go to jail — to get your rights. Then you leave it up to the people on the other side of the issue — people who believe in the laws as they are — to say that they're *so* sure they're right that they are happy to see you in jail. But they won't say that unless they are very, very sure of their position.

**You seem to view civil disobedience more as a process than as a specific political technique.**

Civil disobedience is an effective political strategy only when it springs from a moral concept. I think people have a right to do what they want, but if they're attempting to deal with the very serious problems that gays are now facing, they have to go very deep and make certain that they are using strategies and tactics that can win over the majority. They must adhere to the *true* principles of nonviolent civil disobedience.

**Is civil disobedience as important for empowering the individual as it is for gaining a group's goals?**

Yes, definitely. Ultimately, it did not matter to Dr. King or Gandhi whether or not people went along with them. On many occasions, people did *not* go along with them. But King and Gandhi continued doing what they felt was in the best interest of themselves and society.

**True civil disobedience demands a certain attitude of dignity on the part of those demonstrating, does it not?**

That's the most important thing. If people are standing and watching me get arrested, and I am calm, I have respect for the police, I do not force them to pick me up and carry me off, people will begin to scratch their heads and say, "These aren't just bums. These are human beings who are behaving in a very dignified manner even while they're being arrested. Maybe I'd better think about what it is they're saying." And that's what it's all about.

—Mark Vandervelden

SEPTEMBER 29, 1987 49

**“People feel up against the wall. [Gays and lesbians] just have no constitutional standing right now.”**

**—Susan Cavin**

(CONTINUED FROM PAGE 48)  
physically.

“When you decide to engage in civil disobedience,” Krone continues, “you are deciding to cross over a line in your life, so you need a lot of faith and a lot of strength. In a sense, you are physically giving yourself over—in a sacramental way—to the very authority you are defying, an authority that you feel is unjust. Spiritually and mentally, you do not believe in that authority’s power.”

Civil disobedience is not an invention of the 20th Century. In one form or another, the use of civil disobedience has been debated since the time of Socrates more than 2,400 years ago. It has also been put into practice for more than two millennia.

The intellectual father of modern-day civil disobedience was Henry David Thoreau, the 19th-Century American transcendentalist (who allegedly was gay). Thoreau said, “Unjust laws exist: Shall we be content to obey them, or shall we endeavor to amend them, and obey them until we have succeeded, or shall we transgress them at once?” His answer: It is sometimes right and necessary to break the law. Both Mohandas K. Gandhi and Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. turned to Thoreau to find their bearings as they confronted

laws and governments they judged to be immoral.

History shows that mass civil disobedience—properly executed in the spirit of nonviolent non-cooperation, as expressed by Gandhi and King—can be an extraordinarily effective means of advancing the claims of a morally aggrieved people. Both Gandhi and King successfully used the method, not only to better the conditions of their people but also to transform the consciousness of the world in the process.

But nonviolent civil disobedience, at least as Gandhi and King understood and practiced it, transcended mere political tactics. In a fundamental sense, they experienced nonviolence as a part of a deeper process of life—a spiritual process, where the principle of nonviolence resides at the very core of one’s being and actions.

Not until recently have gays drawn from the experiences of Thoreau, Gandhi and King, and applied that knowledge to their own forms of civil disobedience action. Sometimes, however, action has preceded a deep understanding of theory.

“I think gays need to focus more on just what nonviolent civil disobedience is all about,” Cavin remarks. “Civil disobedience is not just about gaining media attention; it is really about converting the heart and soul of your opponent—as well as the





# Black, Gay Rights Linked In History

DAVID L. RUSTIN

Rustin, Bayard

**THOSE African-American** ministers in Massachusetts who deny any link between the black civil rights movement and the movement toward same-sex marriage are running back into a dank closet of yesterday. These ministers who want to stuff today's gay and lesbian couples into separate and unequal compartments of commitment have forgotten how the civil rights movement forced Bayard Rustin, one of the movement's greatest theorists, to make himself invisible because he was gay.

During the Montgomery bus boycott, the Rev. Martin Luther King Jr. was constantly worried about Rustin's presence in the movement, especially among ministers "among whom tolerance for homosexuals was shunned as the wedge of evil," wrote Taylor Branch in "Parting the Waters." On one occasion, King invited Rustin down to Dexter Avenue Baptist Church for a strategy session.

But King's "desire to hide Rustin from practically everyone was so strong that he asked him to fly into Birmingham instead of Montgomery. Bob Williams met Rustin there and put him face down in the back seat of his car. King's instructions were that Rustin was not to raise his head until the car was parked safely at the Dexter parsonage."

Rustin paid his dues in the movement. He

was arrested off a freedom ride in 1947 and put on a chain gang. He was jailed and lost some front teeth in a beating in New Orleans. A true disciple of Gandhian nonviolence and Quaker pacifism, Rustin reacted to a man who threatened to beat him with a stick by handing the man an additional stick. Rustin invited the man to commence the beating. The stunned man ran off to beat someone else.

But his **sexual orientation** resulted in beatings on his persona. He was kicked out of one group after he was arrested on morals charges in 1953 with two other men in the back of a car in Pasadena, Calif. During a point in 1959 where King's Southern voter registration drives were faltering, he wanted to hire Rustin to be the publicist for the Southern Christian Leadership Conference. But the hiring was postponed indefinitely when King also brought up that he wanted to quell friction between the SCLC and the national NAACP, headed by Roy Wilkins.

"King wanted to bargain with Wilkins," Branch wrote, "but the SCLC preachers were quick to point out that he would reduce his leverage if he hired Rustin, whose background was well known to Wilkins. As always, it seemed, one of King's goals was hostage to another."

In 1960, Adam Clayton Powell held King

hostage with Rustin. King threatened to picket the Democratic National Convention. Powell, the New York congressman, wanted no distractions as he was aiming to be the first African-American to chair a major congressional committee. Powell sent a message that if the picketing were not called off, he would tell the media that King was having an affair with Rustin. Soon afterward, King, despite his "loyalties of principle and personal feeling for Rustin," sent an emissary to tell Rustin that he was too much a liability to have further direct contact with King.

Yet Rustin's skills were so valuable the debate of who would organize the 1963 March on Washington revolved around him. Roy Wilkins of the NAACP still did not want Rustin. King lauded Rustin's skills but worried about his "liabilities." A. Philip Randolph, the great labor leader who went back two decades with Rustin, agreed to lead the march only if Rustin could be his deputy. "You can take that on if you want," Wilkins told Randolph, "but don't expect me to do anything about it when the trouble starts."

Senator Strom Thurmond did try to start trouble by taking a J. Edgar Hoover wiretap and blasting Rustin for sexual perversion on the Senate floor. The attack was ignored by the media. Rustin went on to organize

one of the greatest events in U.S. history, from transportation and crowd control of the 250,000 people to cooling tempers backstage as arguments erupted among the speakers. Rustin even ran the volunteer cleanup after King sent them home with "I Have a Dream."

When Wilkins personally told Rustin that he did not want him organizing the March on Washington because of his past, Rustin challenged Wilkins by saying, "If you stand up and have some courage, it will do no damage." Without Rustin, the March on Washington might not have crystallized into a symbol of the nation's courage. Had the black ministers and politicians of yesterday accepted Rustin all along, the civil rights movement might have made even more progress than it did.

**Rustin was living proof** that there was a link between the black civil rights movement and homosexuality. Unfortunately, it was a link that should never be repeated. If today's ministers stood up with courage to acknowledge their link to the cause of gay civil rights, they will find out that it will do no damage. They might find out that it will give them even more allies in their own fight for equality in America.

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Inquiry Question: How did Bayard Rustin's identity shape his beliefs and actions?

**Bayard Rustin\_jigsaw Reading**

Source	Two of the most important things from the reading are:	Something new I learned from the reading was:	Two questions I have after reading the document are:	One way this document addresses the I.Q. is:
1. "An Interview with Bayard Rustin", pg. 3-7 <i>Journal of the Reconciling Congregation Program</i> , Spring 1987				
2. Bayard Rustin biography, <i>Uncited Source</i>				
3. "The only way I could be a free person..." <i>Washington Blade</i> , February 7, 1986				

Handout: Jigsaw Reading Graphic Organizer.



Inquiry Question: How did Bayard Rustin's identity shape his beliefs and actions?



Source	Two of the most important things from the reading are:	Something new I learned from the reading was:	Two questions I have after reading the document are:	One way this document addresses the I.Q. is:
4. Bayard Rustin Flyer				
5. "Bayard Rustin: The Gay Struggle As Viewed By A Lifelong Fighter For Nonviolent Change" <i>The ADVOCATE</i> , September 29, 1987				
6. "Black, Gay Rights Linked in History", <i>Liberal Opinion Week</i> , March 1, 2004				



Handout: CCSW Argumentative Writing Rubric.

COMMON CORE STATE STANDARDS WRITING RUBRICS (GRADES 11-12)

ARGUMENT

ARGUMENT						
Description	5 Exceptional	4 Skilled	3 Proficient	2 Developing	1 Inadequate	
<p><b>Claim:</b> The text introduces a clear, arguable claim that can be supported by reasons and evidence.</p>	<p>The text introduces a compelling claim that is clearly arguable and takes a purposeful position on an issue. The text has a structure and organization that is carefully crafted to support the claim.</p>	<p>The text introduces a precise claim that is clearly arguable and takes an identifiable position on an issue. The text has an effective structure and organization that is aligned with the claim.</p>	<p>The text introduces a claim that is arguable and takes a position. The text has a structure and organization that is aligned with the claim.</p>	<p>The text contains an unclear or emerging claim that suggests a vague position. The text attempts a structure and organization to support the position.</p>	<p>The text contains an undefinable claim or vague position. The text has limited structure and organization.</p>	
<p><b>Development:</b> The text provides sufficient data and evidence to back up the claim while pointing out the strengths and limitations of both the claim and counterclaim. The text provides a conclusion that supports the argument.</p>	<p>The text provides convincing and relevant data and evidence to back up the claim and skillfully addresses counterclaims. The conclusion effectively strengthens the claim and evidence.</p>	<p>The text provides sufficient and relevant data and evidence to back up the claim and fairly addresses counterclaims. The conclusion effectively reinforces the claim and evidence.</p>	<p>The text provides data and evidence to back up the claim and addresses counterclaims. The conclusion ties to the claim and evidence.</p>	<p>The text provides data and evidence that attempt to back up the claim and unclearly addresses counterclaims or lacks counterclaims. The conclusion merely restates the position.</p>	<p>The text contains limited data and evidence related to the claim and counterclaims or lacks counterclaims. The text may fail to conclude the argument or position.</p>	
<p><b>Audience:</b> The text anticipates the audience's knowledge level, concerns, values, and possible biases about the claim. The text addresses the specific needs of the audience.</p>	<p>The text consistently addresses the audience's knowledge level, concerns, values, and possible biases about the claim. The text addresses the specific needs of the audience.</p>	<p>The text anticipates the audience's knowledge level, concerns, values, and possible biases about the claim. The text addresses the specific needs of the audience.</p>	<p>The text considers the audience's knowledge level, concerns, values, and possible biases about the claim. The text addresses the needs of the audience.</p>	<p>The text illustrates an inconsistent awareness of the audience's knowledge level and needs.</p>	<p>The text lacks an awareness of the audience's knowledge level and needs.</p>	
<p><b>Cohesion:</b> The text uses words, phrases, and clauses as well as varied syntax to link the major sections of the text. The text explains the relationship between the claim and reasons, between reasons and evidence, and between claims and counterclaims.</p>	<p>The text strategically uses words, phrases, and clauses as well as varied syntax to link the major sections of the text. The text explains the relationships between the claim and reasons as well as the evidence. The text strategically links the counterclaims to the claim.</p>	<p>The text skillfully uses words, phrases, and clauses as well as varied syntax to link the major sections of the text. The text identifies the relationship between the claim and reasons as well as the evidence. The text effectively links the counterclaims to the claim.</p>	<p>The text uses words, phrases, and clauses as well as varied syntax to link the major sections of the text. The text connects the claim and reasons. The text links the counterclaims to the claim.</p>	<p>The text contains limited words, phrases, and clauses to link the major sections of the text. The text attempts to connect the claim and reasons.</p>	<p>The text contains few, if any, words, phrases, and clauses to link the major sections of the text. The text does not connect the claims and reasons.</p>	
<p><b>Style and Conventions:</b> The text presents a formal, objective tone that demonstrates standard English conventions of usage and mechanics while attending to the norms of the discipline (i.e., MLA, APA, etc.).</p>	<p>The text presents an engaging, formal and objective tone. The text intentionally uses standard English conventions of usage and mechanics while attending to the norms of the discipline (i.e., MLA, APA, etc.).</p>	<p>The text presents a formal, objective tone. The text demonstrates standard English conventions of usage and mechanics while attending to the norms of the discipline (i.e., MLA, APA, etc.).</p>	<p>The text presents a formal tone. The text demonstrates standard English conventions of usage and mechanics while attending to the norms of the discipline (i.e., MLA, APA, etc.).</p>	<p>The text illustrates a limited awareness of formal tone. The text demonstrates some accuracy in standard English conventions of usage and mechanics.</p>	<p>The text illustrates a limited awareness or inconsistent tone. The text demonstrates inaccuracy in standard English conventions of usage and mechanics.</p>	