

Brown and the Reserve Officers Training Corps: Past, Present, and Future

A REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON THE RESERVE OFFICE TRAINING CORPS (ROTC)

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INTRODUCTION: THE COMMITTEE ON THE ROTC

The Reserve Officers Training Corps, or ROTC, is a program of military instruction based in American colleges and universities and designed to produce officers for branches of the U.S. military. Students accepted into the program participate in a two- or four-year military science curriculum leading to a commission as an officer. In exchange, they receive scholarship aid and are required to complete a period of military service following graduation. The Army, the Air Force, and the Navy support ROTC training programs that together produce about forty percent of the commissioned officers in the U.S.¹ Practically speaking, as a form of instruction associated with civilian universities, the ROTC has been seen by the Pentagon as a cost-saving program, especially by comparison to the more expensive service academies. It has also been seen, in more ideological terms, as a way to preserve the ideal of the “citizen-soldier” within America’s military.²

This report addresses the status of the ROTC at Brown University, which has not had an on-campus program since 1972. The history of ROTC at Brown mirrors the story at many peer institutions. While ROTC was flourishing on Ivy League campuses by the mid-1950s, a number of such units came to an end during the 1960s in the wake of protests against the war in Vietnam. The Brown faculty passed a set of resolutions in 1969 that would permanently limit the authority of the military in matters of instruction. The Air Force responded by immediately removing its ROTC detachment from the Brown campus; the Navy program ended a few years later. Since then, Brown students have been able to participate in the Army ROTC program at Providence College, although they receive no credit for these courses. Since 1988, approximately 50 Brown graduates have received a commission through the Providence College program.

Some alumni veterans have expressed concern about Brown’s diminished role in officer training; and special interest groups such as the American Council of Trustees and Alumni have also put pressure on elite institutions to reinstate their ROTC programs.³ More recently, President Obama, in his State of the Union address, challenged all campuses to “open their doors to the ROTC.” The exhortation followed Obama’s signing into law the repeal of “Don’t Ask Don’t Tell,” controversial legislation from the 1990s that allowed for gays and lesbians to serve in the military but prevented them from doing so openly.⁴ It was in the context of this national conversation about military service that Ruth Simmons decided, in January 2011, to convene a committee that would review Brown’s policies on ROTC instruction, listen to campus opinion, and formulate a set of recommendations for the future.

Chaired by the Dean of the College, the Committee on the ROTC included seven faculty members from across the disciplines, two undergraduates, one graduate student, and a senior staff member from the

1 The remainder come from Officer Candidate School (OCS) and the four service academies: the U.S. Military Academy at West Point (Army), the U.S. Naval Academy, the U.S. Air Force Academy, and the U.S. Coast Guard Academy.

2 Michael S. Neiberg, *Making Citizen Soldiers: ROTC and the Ideology of American Military Service* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2000). See also Donald A. Downs, “ROTC and the Future of Liberal Education.” *The Chronicle Review* (May 15, 2009).

3 On the calls by the American Council of Trustees and Alumni for Brown to lift its ban on an on-campus ROTC unit, see Nicole Friedman, “National Trustee Group Wants Trustees to Reinstate ROTC” *Brown Daily Herald* (15 October 2008). ACTA’s own press release on the issue can be accessed at <http://www.goacta.org/press/PressReleases/2008PressReleases/08-10-07PR.cfm>. The Defense Business Board, a group of private sector executives that advise the Secretary of Defense, has also been outspoken on the need for Ivy League campuses to reinstate ROTC units on campus. See “At Ivy League Schools, ROTC, Long Banned, Plans a Comeback,” *Wall Street Journal* (16 December 2004).

4 On the history of the military’s policy concerning homosexual servicemembers before DADT, see Margot Canday, *The Straight State: Sexuality and Citizenship in Twentieth-Century America*. Princeton: Princeton, 2009.

Dean's office. It began work in early February on three broad tasks: first, to learn the history of the ROTC at Brown and determine how the 1969 faculty resolutions should be understood today; second, to become better informed about the nature of ROTC programs in general, the Providence College program in particular, and the conditions under which Brown might host its own unit; and third, to gather feedback from faculty, students, and alumni in order to gauge the level of interest in establishing an on-campus ROTC unit at Brown.⁵

According to our charge, we conducted a very open process. When the President announced the committee to the Brown community, her letter included a link to a website that we had created to bring the campus into the conversation, with readings from archives, newspapers, and other online sources.⁶ We ran meetings of the full committee like a seminar, in which we sought to educate ourselves not only about ROTC, but also about faculty governance, financial aid, and other University policies, while considering some of the very limited academic scholarship dealing explicitly with ROTC. We consulted colleagues at peer institutions to learn about their ROTC programs. We attended forums and held discussions with a wide variety of student groups, including the Queer Alliance, the Queer Political Action Committee, the Coalition Against Special Privileges for ROTC (CASPR), Brown Students for ROTC, the University Council of Students, and the Graduate Student Council, and the Brown University Community Council. We produced a "Frequently Asked Questions" document that we distributed to faculty and students and had printed in the *Brown Daily Herald* to help inform the campus of basic facts. With the support of the Brown Alumni Association and the Undergraduate Council of Students, we conducted an informal survey of Brown alumni and issued a questionnaire to Brown undergraduates.⁷ And, with the help of the Faculty Executive Committee, we had two occasions to hear directly from the Brown faculty, first through a Faculty Forum in April, and then at a full faculty meeting in May. In total, committee members attended twenty-five meetings over the course of three months.⁸

In this report we offer an account of everything we learned. As expected, the debate on campus was lively, and the range of opinion expressed broad. A number of the faculty—and many alumni—with whom we spoke had direct experience with the ROTC; some had been at Brown during the termination of our on-campus ROTC programs. The history is outlined in greater detail in the next section of the report. This is followed by a discussion of the arguments for and against ROTC that we heard in our meetings with various campus groups and in letters and commentary from students, faculty, and alumni. After a brief overview of the status of ROTC programs at peer institutions, the report ends by reviewing the specific questions in the committee's charge and offering a set of recommendations.

1. THE HISTORY OF THE ROTC AT BROWN

Brown's relationship with the military is almost as old as its relationship to the Baptist church; it began with the onset of the War for Independence in 1776. A dozen years after the college was founded, Brown sent its students home—or to war—and converted present-day University Hall into a military hospital. This decision established a precedent that anticipated the college's response to U.S. military engagement

5 The committee's charge is included in the appendix to this report.

6 <https://sites.google.com/a/brown.edu/committee-on-rotc/>

7 These were opt-in, non-randomized polls and therefore should not be considered as a statistically reliable pictures of the opinions of either of these populations as a whole; however, they were one venue for expression of opinion among those interested enough in the issue to respond.

8 A full roster of committee meetings can be found in the Appendix to this report.

for almost two centuries. During the Civil War the campus halted instruction and used its dormitories to billet Union soldiers. In both World Wars the campus similarly put itself at the disposal of wartime mobilization. In fact, according to one study by Sheila Prasad, Brown “transformed itself into a military base no fewer than six times prior to 1950.”⁹

Officer training at Brown, however, has had a more fitful existence. In 1862, the acceptance of Morrill land-grant funds mandated that the college offer military instruction (along with mechanical arts and agricultural training), but it was not until the 1890s, leading up to the Spanish-American War, that Brown first introduced military science into its curriculum. Such instruction was short-lived, though, abruptly suspended when the one professor of military tactics was reassigned to join the conflict in the Philippines.

Rise of the Officer Training Corps, 1917-1972

The outbreak of the Great War in Europe sparked discussions about reintroducing military education at Brown. At the same time, a controversial “preparedness movement” supported by wealthy corporate sponsors aimed to increase the size of the armed forces by significant numbers.¹⁰ After the U.S. declared war on Germany in 1917, the University established its first official Reserve Officer Training Corps and a Department of Naval Science, while the college adopted a wartime curriculum under the supervision of the Navy and War Departments. As soon as the nation demobilized in 1918, the training units were dismantled but Naval Science lived on as the Department of Nautical Science, moving into new offices on the third floor of Maxcy Hall.¹¹

As war loomed again in 1940, the Naval ROTC was reconstituted and Brown became host to the Navy’s new V-12 program.¹² Freshmen dormitories, fraternity houses, and the dining hall were adapted for military use; the lower Main Green became an obstacle course; and the student body itself transformed as the campus embraced over a thousand military trainees and support personnel. Participation rates in the reserve officer corps naturally subsided with the end of the war, but even after 1945 Brown continued to field a well-attended Naval ROTC program. In 1951, in the context of mobilization for the Korean War, President Wriston took steps to add an Air Force ROTC unit to the campus.

During the following decade, growing involvement in Vietnam by the U.S. military incurred the need for more, and more cost-effective, officer training.¹³ In 1964, Lyndon Johnson signed the ROTC Revitalization Act with the aim of producing more active-duty officers.¹⁴ The act authorized flexible two- and four-year options for students, along with new criteria for military officers and their courses. According to its provisions, military science instructors on college campuses were to be recognized as professors and the

9 Sheila K. Prasad, “Fire in the Multiversity: The ROTC Phase-Out at Brown University, 1967-1972,” Senior Honors Thesis, Department of History, Brown University, 2004, 12. The account that follows draws primarily on Prasad’s thesis, which itself drew on library and newspaper archives, and on Martha Mitchell, “Military Education,” *Encyclopedia Brunoniana* (Providence: The Brown University Library, 1993).

10 Finnegan, *Against the Specter of a Dragon: The Campaign for American Military Preparedness, 1914-1917*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1975.

11 Mitchell, “Military Education.”

12 This program, established in 1943, relocated experienced officers and college students from around the country to designated sites, where they practiced military drills and studied military tactics and pre-medicine.

13 For the most recent comparison of government expenditures associated with the different commissioning programs, see *Advanced Management Program for the Naval Supply Corps School, Comparative Analysis of ROTC, OCS and Service Academies as Commissioning Sources*. November 19, 2004.

14 Prasad, “Fire,” 21.

military science curriculum itself adopted as part of the university degree.¹⁵ By the end of the decade, as the U.S. presence in Vietnam escalated, student and faculty dissent also grew, based on a number of critiques of the war. It was at this time that many university faculties began to reconsider the place of the ROTC on their campuses.

This is essentially what transpired at Brown. By the end of 1967, student groups were pressing the University to take a stand, and President Heffner appointed a committee to review Brown's ROTC programs. In the meantime, a local chapter of the American Association of University Professors (AAUP) had submitted its own report to Brown's Curriculum Council. The report raised questions about the awarding of academic credit for military science courses and recommended raising standards within the ROTC programs overall, in order to "create an ROTC curriculum commensurate with the educational goals and philosophies of the University." Some members found the AAUP report too reformist, and agitated for more radical change. In response, Brown's Curriculum Council called for another committee to consider alternative measures.¹⁶

The new committee grappled with the same question that had confronted the AAUP, namely, the academic free rein afforded to ROTC programs on campus.¹⁷ They, too, recommended withdrawing credit from ROTC courses but stopped short of denying ROTC instructors faculty status, largely because this was required under federal law. For some students on the committee, however, this second report did not go far enough, either, and they attached minority opinions calling for even stronger action. A modified report was eventually presented to the faculty for a vote, and in March 1969, the Brown faculty approved seven resolutions that would transform the status of ROTC on campus. Because these resolutions are central to the discussion of ROTC today, we quote them here in full:

- 1) The ROTC units at Brown University shall not carry the designation of academic departments or programs.
- 2) Instruction provided by an ROTC unit shall not carry credit at Brown University.
- 3) No officer of the ROTC units at Brown University shall have, ex officio, faculty status.
- 4) The awarding of a degree at Brown University shall not be conditional upon completion of an ROTC program or any portion thereof.
- 5) The ROTC unit shall not proscribe any choice by ROTC students of academic courses or programs.
- 6) The major provisions of the contract shall be brought back to the Faculty for their approval before the University commits itself to a specific ROTC program.

15 U.S. Code, Title 10, Subtitle A, Part III, Chapter 103, Section 2102. "No unit may be established or maintained at an institution unless the senior commissioned officer . . . assigned to the program at that institution is given the academic rank of professor; . . . and the institution adopts, as a part of its curriculum, a four-year course of military instruction or a two-year course of advanced training of military instruction, or both, which the Secretary of the military department concerned prescribes and conducts.

16 The committee included the Dean of the College Donald Eckelmann, Profs. Richard A. Dobbins (Engineering), Lyman Kirkpatrick (Political Science), Mark Schupack (an author of the AAUP report), and three students: David Kertzer,'69, Otto G. Stoll,'69, Robert A. Shinn,'70.

17 Prasad, "Fire," 54.

- 7) The ROTC Program shall be viewed as a special scholarship program sponsored by the Department of Defense and it has the right to require students who receive scholarship aid to supplement their study with further extracurricular instruction. Such further contractual obligations upon students shall not interfere with their normal course of instruction at the University.

The resolutions, in short, countered the two basic conditions that had defined ROTC programs since the Revitalization Act of 1964: military personnel would no longer be granted a professorship simply by virtue of teaching in the program; and the program itself would be treated as a special scholarship program, with “extracurricular” coursework. The resolutions also stipulated that any future ROTC program that the University might consider had to be vetted by the faculty first.

After the vote, the Air Force terminated its program. President Heffner signed an agreement to extend the Navy’s contract for another year, and the Navy, for its part, tried to work with the Brown administration to meet the new conditions. The faculty proposed curtailing further recruits but allowed NROTC to remain on campus for another three years—that is, until the midshipmen already enrolled could graduate. In 1972, when the faculty was asked to vote on a proposal to re-establish NROTC under revised terms, the terms were seen as insufficient and the proposal was again rejected. While the Corporation accepted the faculty’s action, it encouraged the President to continue negotiations with the Navy. In the meantime, Brown’s NROTC program came to an end.

ROTC after 1972

Brown students who sought officer training after 1972 were able to participate in post-graduate Officer Candidate School as well as in the Army ROTC program at Providence College, which had been in existence since 1951.¹⁸ ROTC enrollments at first declined during this period, owing in part to increasingly negative public opinion about the war in Vietnam. The end of conscription in 1973 and the subsequent creation of the all-volunteer force no doubt played a role, too, since the absence of a draft removed a major incentive for students to enlist. The Army responded to the labor-supply problem in part by opening its doors to women. A front-page article of the *Brown Daily Herald* in December 1973 announced the news that the Army ROTC program at Providence College (“the only educational institution in the greater Providence-Boston area offering Army ROTC”) would admit women for the first time that year.¹⁹ One of the first to join was a Brown student. Even with female cadets, Brown participation remained small, and within a few years some undergraduates began to wonder whether it might not be preferable to bring ROTC back to campus.

The Brown Corporation raised a similar question in 1981, asking President Swearer to look into the possibility of reestablishing the Naval ROTC program. In 1982, Swearer appointed an Advisory Committee on NROTC, chaired by Prof. of History Donald Rohr, to consult with the Navy and to “review the faculty regulations on this subject.” The committee found that, despite having made a variety of arrangements with different peer schools, the Navy would not discuss whether it could meet Brown’s conditions unless Brown applied for a formal contract. Under the circumstances, the Rohr report recommended that the University not pursue further conversations with the Navy, and Swearer did not press the matter.

18 According to the ROTC Revitalization Act of 1964, students from schools not offering an ROTC program were eligible to participate at neighboring colleges. It should be noted that the military did its own reorganization of ROTC during the 1970s, closing a number of detachments at schools that had historically produced only a small handful of officers. This suggests that, even if Brown had not taken the action it did, its ROTC program might have ended for different reasons.

19 “Women enroll for ROTC at PC,” *Brown Daily Herald* (December 5, 1973).

No large-scale review of the ROTC question has been undertaken since that time, although the administration has occasionally looked into its cross-town arrangement with Providence College. In 2002, for example, when a ROTC commander asked to have the program's military science courses printed in Brown's *Course Announcement Bulletin* and to make those courses eligible for transfer credit, an informal review confirmed that neither request could be met under the current faculty rules. The inquiry did lead, though, to a small amount of additional administrative support: an academic dean was given new responsibility to serve as campus liaison to the Providence College program, to support Brown cadets, and to improve communication about ROTC more generally.

Better communication has done little to increase the level of Brown participation in Army ROTC over the past decades. Since 1996, when there were as many as seven Brown cadets participating, the numbers have fallen off dramatically. Currently about one Brown student receives an Army commission every four years.²⁰ The most recent student to go through the program received his commission in 2009. This year, again, one Brown student is enrolled. It is interesting, by contrast, to see how many Brown students have chosen to pursue military service through the U.S. Marine Corps Platoon Leaders Class (PLC). This is not an ROTC program *per se*, because training takes place during summers rather than during the academic year. Students complete the PLC at Marine Officers Candidate School after graduation and earn a commission as a second lieutenant. Approximately ten Brown students have chosen this program over the last few years. The question remains as to why Brown students have preferred summer and post-graduate training over programs that take place during the school year. More data can perhaps help answer this question, but the recent trends are at least suggestive that the nature of student culture and decision-making about military service has changed.

The Solomon Amendment

Students learn about the PLC and other such opportunities through military recruiters at Brown's career fairs, and, as it turns out, this kind of recruitment is important not just for the few students who take an interest each year, but also for the University as a whole. In 1996, the passing of legislation known as the "Solomon Amendment" (U.S. Code Title X, Section 983) made such recruiting a requirement for federal funding. The law allows the Secretary of Defense to deny funding to any institution of higher learning that prohibits ROTC programs or military recruiters on its campus. This curtailment is not limited to funds coming through the Department of Defense but extends to all kinds of federal disbursements, including student financial aid. Because Brown has maintained a relationship with the Providence College ROTC program over many years and allows military recruiters at career fairs, it has avoided any negative repercussions.

Considering this circumstance as a committee, there was general agreement that it would be necessary for Brown to maintain its current relationship with the Providence College program, so that the University would not be put at risk.²¹ But such consensus, of course, begs a larger question. If we recognize the necessity of maintaining a connection to a local ROTC unit, why shouldn't we allow ROTC back on the Brown campus? To put the matter in this way ushers us into some of the major issues defining the current debate at Brown. These are summarized in the next section of the report.

20 According to information from the Army ROTC databases, 47 Brown students have been commissioned since 1988, and 190 Brown students have been commissioned since the start of the program in 1951. (Source: Lt. Col. Matthew McKinley, Patriot Battalion, Providence, RI.)

21 One member of the committee cautioned that if the University were to expand its current relationship with ROTC, any decision to reduce that relationship at a later date would violate the Solomon Amendment, potentially placing the University further at risk.

2. THE CURRENT DEBATE: DISCUSSIONS WITH THE BROWN COMMUNITY

The context of the campus conversation on ROTC today is very different from that of forty years ago, although some persistent threads can be identified. In the intervening years, for example, the military moved from being a draftee-plus-volunteer force to an all-volunteer force. As a paradoxical result, the military over time has become somewhat more representative of the general population than it had been in the 1960s, when college deferments could shield the wealthier from service, and when volunteering for air and sea duty could garner exemption from ground duty. Still, opposition to specific foreign interventions has been significant on many college campuses, including Brown's. The second Iraq War in particular has been deeply unpopular among large segments of the population, and has produced dissent within the military itself. Current polls and debates suggest the same is true of the war in Afghanistan. Nevertheless, a longer view of public opinion over the past four decades indicates that support for the military as an institution has grown among the population at large, outranking other institutions such as the Presidency, churches, corporations, and Congress. This correlates not only with admiration for soldiers and military leaders, but also with the growth in the Pentagon's budget.²² The last ten years of conflict in Afghanistan, Iraq, and Pakistan have further normalized attitudes towards the armed forces, effectively muting critiques of the war. Such changes in attitude are as evident on the Brown campus as they are elsewhere in the U.S.

With these changes come other shifts in rhetoric. Today, for example, campus opponents to ROTC are likely to frame their arguments in terms of the preservation of human rights, especially of underrepresented groups. Similarly, campus advocates for ROTC tend to focus their support on questions of access and choice—the freedom to make one's own decisions about military training. The 1969 faculty resolutions are interesting to consider in this context as well. If the resolutions were once an expedient way to remove an unpopular military presence from the campus, today they read more like a statement about how we normally make decisions on academic matters. Faculty governance of the curriculum is now a central and defining concept of University life. Many of our peer institutions have been able to maintain their ROTC programs, in fact, without compromising this right.

Recognizing these developments only brings the main question of our charge into sharper focus: Do the 1969 resolutions still make sense or do they reveal a bias against the military? To answer properly, we have sought out a wide range of views. The limited time we had as a committee naturally made it difficult to analyze and evaluate all the claims made by alumni, students, and faculty during the course of our deliberations. The following parts of the report should be read, then, more as an overview of community sentiment than as a close reading of every argument. Our principal aim was to represent the broadest possible cross-section of the Brown community, both on campus and off.

22 On these transformations, see Beth Bailey, *America's Army: Making the All-Volunteer Force* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard, 2009); and Melani McAlister, *Epic Encounters: Culture, Media, and U.S. Interests in the Middle East, 1945-2000* (Berkeley: University of California, 2001).

Alumni

Alumni made their positions known to the committee through emails, letters, and an online survey, linked to the March 15 issue of the *Brown Insider*.²³ The survey posed a simple question: “Are you in favor of Brown serving as a host campus for ROTC?” Respondents were given the opportunity to rank their answer (from strongly in favor to strongly opposed), to offer prose comments, and to indicate their year of graduation. The survey, again, was seen not as a scientific instrument but as a vehicle for interested alumni to express their views in a short time frame. In a little more than two months, we received over a thousand responses from graduates spanning from 1943 to 2010 (Figure 1).

Are you in favor of Brown serving as a host campus for ROTC?

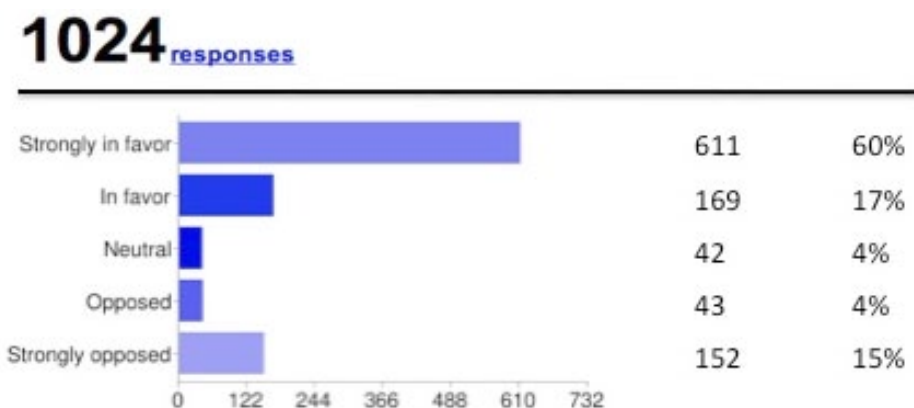


Figure 1. Alumni survey: Summary of responses

As the graph above shows, the majority (77%) of those responding were in favor of Brown becoming as a host campus for ROTC.²⁴ But the ranking alone cannot adequately summarize the hundreds of passionate comments that accompanied these responses. Those most passionate about restoring ROTC to Brown’s campus expressed frustration at the current University policy and confusion about why ROTC had to end in the first place. A few spoke of the administration’s “cowardice” in yielding to what they saw as an outspoken and political minority. Others felt concerned that leadership in the armed forces was deprived of the kind of talent that a school like Brown could provide. Among the most voluble advocates were veterans, or recipients of ROTC scholarships, who attributed much of their personal success to their military experience. A few spoke more directly of how their liberal arts education had influenced their work as officers. A 1959 Brown graduate, who had served for 31 years as an officer in the Air Force, wrote: “I cannot tell you how many times in the course of my career that my input, coming from an entirely different background than a service academy, was factored into the situation and made a difference.”

23 Of the 60 or so letters received by the committee over half were written by alumni.

24 The number of respondents varied among the class years, with alumni from the classes of 2000-2010 yielding the highest return. The next highest return came from the classes spanning the two decades between the 1960 and 1979. The classes spanning 1980 to 1999, and those between 1943 and 1959, had the fewest respondents. The precise breakdown is as follows:

2000-2010	329 (32%)
1980-1999	200 (20%)
1960-1979	351 (32%)
1943-1959	144 (15%)

This view that a Brown education could make a difference was echoed in many other responses, and extended to comments about the composition of the military itself. As one respondent put it: “A military should reflect the culture and citizenry it defends. The greater the divide between the military and civilian cultures, the greater the threat to our republic . . . This country needs more Ivy League educated officers, . . . maybe it will help keep us out of ill-advised forays into foreign lands without a cogent understanding of what we are doing or why we are doing it.” Still others were keen to think about the question from the perspective of what ROTC would do for Brown. They reasoned that ROTC students would make the Brown campus more diverse politically and thus reflect the spirit of the open curriculum, designed to inspire debate and free expression of opinion. This view was aptly articulated by one alumna who said, “We are a campus of students and a community of graduates that embraces ideas of all shapes and sizes, ideas and philosophies. We should welcome ROTC as a new addition to the Brown community that represents the same high principles that Brown represents.”

Alumni who strongly opposed ROTC warned of the increasing militarization of Brown. Some believed that an on-campus military presence would be akin to the University endorsing violence as a solution to world problems. Others registered skepticism that Brown-educated officers could have any special influence at all: “The US military appears to be quite capable of developing leaders within the institutional base that exists,” said one alumna, “and I do not believe that a Brown education would produce [a] ‘different’ military leader. . . [or] more ethical leadership.” Several challenged the idea that the campus would become more politically diverse with ROTC candidates. This view was often combined with comments about the basic incompatibility of a University education and a military education: “The military is [an] organization that is fundamentally hierarchical,” one person wrote, and, in this sense, “opposite to Brown’s objective of teaching people to think for themselves and not to obey without thinking.”

Scattered throughout these comments were references to the repeal of “Don’t Ask Don’t Tell,” although alumni were similarly divided about its significance. Some number expressed doubt about how far the new legislation would go in undoing what they perceived as deeply ingrained sexism and homophobia in the military. Others saw it as a positive development and a sign that American universities should reverse their forty-year opposition to ROTC. One of the letters we received was from an alumna who had been active in the movement to eliminate ROTC during his undergraduate years. He put it this way: “The time which justified the point we made 40-plus years ago in opposing the Vietnam War is long past. The more recent justification for keeping ROTC off campus regarding the discriminatory treatment of gays has been corrected. It is now time to invite Naval ROTC back to Brown and let’s hope they say ‘yes.’”

But even those who strongly favored ROTC’s return acknowledged their own ambivalence toward the military and the role it had played in their lives. As one graduate expressed it, “The military will always be a force for violence and projection of American power. And there will always be principled people, pacifists and others, who can find a multitude of flaws, both in theory and in practice, in the military.” But, the writer continued, “so long as America remains a country worth fighting and dying for, Brown should help it remain strong by having a ROTC program. . . . By graduating future leaders, brilliant and humane, who will be better than those they replace, it will propagate its values, help right the military’s uneven balance among classes and races, and lead the military and the country towards a better future.”

Students

On the Brown campus, current students articulated many of the same positions while framing the debate somewhat differently. The committee had many ways to gather their views—from the continuous stream of letters and columns published in the *Brown Daily Herald*,²⁵ to the meetings with students groups, to the lunch organized by the Undergraduate Council of Students (UCS), to a well-attended town hall meeting sponsored the Janus Forum.²⁶ In addition, an opt-in informal poll conducted by UCS in coordination with our Committee captured a picture of student opinion at the end of the semester-long conversation.

Like alumni, students sympathetic to ROTC spoke of the positive benefits that a Brown education would bring to military leadership; they expressed concern about the divide between military and civilian culture and felt that Brown should play a part in narrowing it; they suggested that a ROTC unit on campus would develop the overall diversity of the student body; and they argued that pursuing officer training reflected Brown's mission of producing lives of "usefulness and reputation." Students who opposed ROTC's return echoed alumni concerns about the militarization of the Brown campus; they decried training programs based on discipline and drill and noted their difference from an education based on free inquiry and the exchange of ideas; they expressed concern about sexism and homophobia in the military, as well as doubt about the capacity of a liberal education—even a Brown education—to change it.

There were, however, three moral questions more or less absent from the alumni feedback that played a large role in the student discourse. The first had to do with Brown's policy on discrimination. Indeed, one of the most frequently debated points on campus centered on the military's treatment of transgender individuals. Students opposing ROTC noted that Brown's anti-discrimination policy safeguards gender identity and gender expression. According to the *Principles of the Brown University Community: Academic and Student Conduct Codes*, "Brown University does not discriminate on the basis of sex, race, color, religion, age, disability, status as a veteran, national or ethnic origin, sexual orientation, gender identity, or gender expression in the administration of its educational policies, admission policies, scholarship and loan programs, or other school administered programs." Yet according to Department of Defense regulations, transgender individuals are ineligible to serve in the military.²⁷ Thus, these students pointed out, the DOD regulations appear to be in direct conflict with Brown policy. If an ROTC unit were re-established on campus, no transgender student would be able to participate and that alone, they argued, would be discriminatory. It would imply, as one group wrote, "either the Code of Conduct is meaningless or Brown cares less about transgender discrimination than it does about discrimination against lesbians and gays.

This line of reasoning became a rallying cry among many undergraduates. Another student expressed it, "Brown University cannot in good conscience associate with the ROTC program. To do otherwise would send an awful message to the transgender community here and outside of Brown about Brown's commitment to non-discrimination." Even those who favored a return of ROTC to campus acknowledged the dilemma that the transgender issue posed, especially the difficulty of reconciling the differences between Brown's policies and current military practice.

25 Over 50 pieces appeared in the *Herald* between January 23, 2011 (the first issue of the semester) and April 28, 2011 (the last issue), the period during which the Committee did its work.

26 The "Janus Forum" is the student arm of The Political Theory Project, which sponsors debates on wide-ranging topics each year. The town hall meeting on ROTC took place on April 26, 2011, and featured two faculty members and two students, each arguing opposite sides of the question, with over 150 students in attendance. A link to the video of the event can be found at http://www.brown.edu/Departments/Political_Theory_Project/janus/events/lectures/rotc_a_janus_forum_town_hall

27 See Department of Defense Instruction 6130.03, "Medical Standards for Appointment, Enlistment, or Induction in the Military Services" (28 April 2010).

Threading through the student dialogue about equity and fairness was a second issue having to do with financial aid. It is not surprising that student aid should have emerged as a theme on a campus that now reaps the benefits of the need-blind admissions policy launched with the Plan for Academic Enrichment.

Some students saw the availability of ROTC scholarships in that context, arguing that the ability to finance a Brown education through ROTC added to the common good, not just by easing the burden on individual students but by making more aid available overall. Others, however, saw it from precisely the opposite perspective, and questioned the value of any scholarship that would force students into years of military service after graduation.²⁸

A final issue relating to student rights focused on the centrality of choice in a Brown education. Many students felt that the University had an obligation to make officer training available for those who wished to participate. If ROTC remains a voluntary activity, they reasoned, then anyone can choose not to join, but having a unit on campus simply reaffirmed a principle—going back to the time of President Wayland—of a student’s right to choose. As one put it, Brown is unusual “in the freedom it grants us to craft our own educations and to pursue our goals in the manner of our choosing, and we as students accept responsibility for our choices.” To deny Brown students access to the ROTC would be “equivalent [to] censoring,” the student concluded, and then went on to ask: “Should the political opinion of one group be allowed to restrict the choices of [another]?”

Overall, the openness of the campus debate meant that positions argued by one student group usually garnered enough exposure to produce counterarguments by another. Different cohorts created websites to publicize their rationales. Brown Students for ROTC allowed visitors to their website to “register as supporters,” and the Brown Coalition Against Special Privileges for ROTC circulated an online petition opposing the expansion of Brown’s relationship with ROTC, which was signed by over four hundred students, faculty, and alumni. By the time a full range of perspectives had been voiced in the press, on websites, in focus groups, and in open forums, there was one final attempt to collect student opinion, through an optional questionnaire sent to the whole student body at the end of April.

Because the ROTC debate was by then far advanced, the form eschewed a simple “yes” or “no” response in favor of a more nuanced question: “What kind of relationship is it important for Brown, as an academic institution, to sustain with the U.S. military’s Reserve Officer Training Corps (ROTC)?” Students were given a list of six possible responses, arranged in a sequence, and asked to select the one statement that best represented their position:

- 1) It is important for Brown to have no relationship at all with any ROTC program, and to recognize the fundamental difference between its mission as an academic institution and that of the U.S. military.
- 2) It is important for Brown to curtail its relationship with any ROTC program until the U.S. military adopts practices that are consonant with Brown’s non-discrimination policy, especially around the issue of transgender equity.
- 3) It is important for Brown to resist expanding ROTC onto the campus until the military adopts practices consonant with Brown’s non-discrimination policy; however, Brown should continue its current relationship with the extracurricular Army ROTC program at Providence College.

²⁸ For more on financial aid and financial impacts, see the Appendix of this report.

- 4) It is important for Brown to support students who wish to serve by continuing its current relationship with the Army ROTC program at Providence College and offering other Navy or Air Force options; however, students should not receive Brown credit for these programs.
- 5) It is important for Brown to recognize the value of ROTC programs by offering transfer credit for ROTC courses taken at Providence College or at other institutions.
- 6) It is important for Brown to take steps to establish its own ROTC program on the Brown campus.

What kind of relationship is it important for Brown, as an academic institution, to sustain with the U.S. military's Reserve Officer Training Corps (ROTC)?

1418 responses

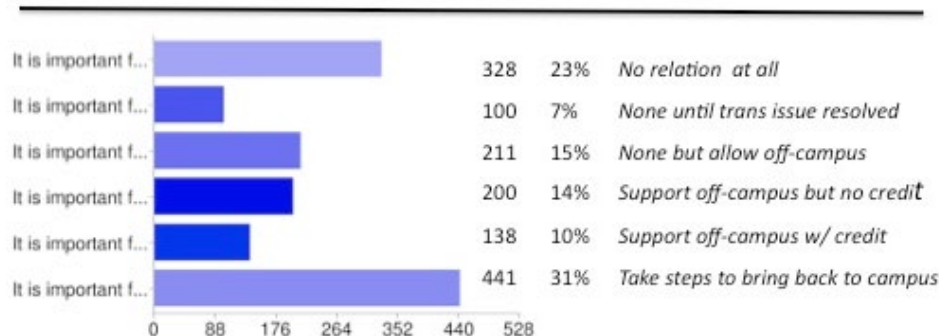


Figure 2. UCS poll: Summary of responses

Over 1400 students completed the survey in a period of about two weeks.²⁹ Figure 2 offers a synopsis of the results. As can be seen, the range of opinion was more evenly divided than in the alumni survey. 30% of those responding chose the first two answers, suggesting that they believed Brown should have even less of a relationship with ROTC than it has now; 29% chose answers (3) and (4), suggesting that Brown should maintain or enhance its current relationship with ROTC; and 41% chose the last two answers, suggesting that Brown should do much more with the ROTC program than it does now.³⁰ In fact, the largest number of students who selected any single response (441 students or 31%) indicated that it was important for Brown to take steps to establish its own on-campus ROTC program.³¹

29 Students were also invited to provide additional comments to amplify their choice. A little less than half of students completing the poll elaborated on their answers by appending written opinions.

30 Statements (4) (5) (6) collectively affirm the idea that Brown should support the ROTC in some way. Taking these together, the student support is 55%.

31 It is interesting to compare this result to that of the poll conducted by the *Herald* earlier in the semester and published in their March 22, 2011 issue. The *Herald's* question was stated more directly: "do you think the ban on ROTC should be lifted?" Of the 972 students who responded 43% approved or strongly approved; 24% disapproved or strongly disapproved; and 33% expressed no opinion, or indicated that they needed to learn more in order to answer. While these results are different, the breakdown of opinion in some ways matches the findings of the UCS poll at the end of the term.

Faculty

Brown faculty members, too, had the opportunity to make their views on ROTC known through letters, emails, and various open meetings. But unlike students or alumni, they were not surveyed. The committee recognized that the faculty had two official venues—a faculty forum in April and full faculty meeting in May—in which to register their opinion and pose questions to the committee, occasions that rendered informal polling superfluous. Judging from the sparse attendance at both meetings, it may be fair to conclude that the ROTC question no longer ignites the same collective passion that it once did forty years ago.³² Nonetheless, faculty opinion on the subject was both vivid and complex, echoing some of the same positions expressed by alumni and students but also reflecting the faculty’s own perspective on Brown as an institution.

One point of connection with alumni was the longer historical view that faculty brought to the issue. We heard, in fact, from a number of people who had taught at Brown in the late 1960s. “I still have vivid memories of the process which led to the faculty vote and of the hectic day in May 1972 when the vote occurred,” wrote one emeritus. “Carmichael Auditorium was filled with faculty, with students in the aisles and outside . . . Antiwar feeling was clearly in the background.” Such antiwar sentiment continued to inform the views of several who spoke at the different open meetings. One summed up his position this way: “It was undeniably the catastrophic blunder of U.S. military intervention in Southeast Asia that led to the 1969 resolutions ending ROTC at Brown. And it is clear from the tragic debacles in Lebanon, Somalia, Iraq, and Afghanistan that nothing useful has been learned from Vietnam. Brown should not support the training of our students for an ongoing government policy of misguided military interventions abroad.” Another expressed the view that, while the military has many virtues, a number of which are important in times of war, they are antithetical to the academic virtues of “skepticism, reason, and the will to question authority.” Many argued that it was precisely because of these academic virtues that the University should work to maintain its independence from the military.

But not everyone concurred. At the other end of the spectrum were those who believe that it is the University’s obligation to support those who would carry out their civic duty through military service. One faculty veteran of the Second World War spoke emotionally about the honor of defending one’s country. Another expressed his concern that Brown was becoming too “marginalized” from the very society whose ideals of democracy and freedom form the foundation of Brown as a university. While understanding the importance of having high expectations for our military leaders, he worried that the University was “holding itself aloof.” “Brown should not make the perfect the enemy of the good,” he said.

The issue of transgender rights was less prevalent in the faculty conversation, but here, too, it garnered some amount of debate. There were those who felt that the issue would resolve itself once the military had enough officers trained on campuses like Brown’s, which promote an atmosphere of tolerance. Others found such views naïve, raising as evidence the number of years it took the military to recognize the rights of gays and lesbians. Still others felt that Brown had a responsibility to honor its anti-discrimination policy, and expressed concern, as students had, about the kind of message that would be sent if the University took further steps without addressing the discrepancy. This issue ultimately became an important point of discussion among members of the committee, too, as will be related at the end of the report.

32 Not counting the committee members themselves, there were fewer than 15 faculty members present at the Forum on April 13. At the faculty meeting on May 3, sixty-nine faculty members were counted when a quorum was called early in the meeting, but only about half of these remained by the time the ROTC report was given.

There was, however, one area of unanimity that emerged across the spectrum of opinion, and this had to do with the role of the faculty in upholding the curriculum. This was, of course, one of the pillars of the 1969 faculty resolutions, which challenged the right of the military branches to authorize their own courses. No member of the faculty, regardless of his or her position on ROTC, expressed any inclination to reverse this basic tenet of faculty governance. Indeed, it formed a theme in discussions about the authority of the ROTC committee itself, whether through questions about the committee process, or about the faculty's rights in general, or even about the status of ROTC at peer institutions. As in 1969, the issue of who gets to decide on academic matters remains a touchstone of faculty life in the University—a transcendent value that underlies not only the history but also the future of ROTC at Brown.

3. DEVELOPMENTS AT PEER INSTITUTIONS

Considering the status of ROTC at other Ivy institutions gave the committee some useful perspective on Brown, and this penultimate section of the report offers a summary of our findings. It is well known that the faculties of Harvard, Yale, and Columbia took steps in the late 1960s, as the Brown faculty did, to restrict the authority of military personnel, steps that ultimately led to the demise of ROTC on their campuses. By contrast, Penn, Princeton, Cornell, and Dartmouth managed to keep their programs alive,³³ sustaining them in some form over the course of the past forty years. Cornell currently has the largest number of ROTC candidates among the Ivy peer group, with about 76 students enrolled each year; Princeton ranks second, typically fielding between 20 and 25 students. Interestingly, none of these peers offers academic credit for the military science courses taken by their students as part of the program; nor do they extend professorial status to the personnel teaching the courses.³⁴ At Cornell, students enrolled in the state-supported technical schools may receive credit for ROTC courses; but this perk does not extend to students in Cornell College. The ROTC programs at our Ivy peer schools, then, are treated just as they are at Brown: as an extracurricular activity.

At first glance, this condition would seem to be at odds with the federal guidelines established by the ROTC Revitalization Act of 1964. This act, as mentioned above, stipulates that universities with ROTC programs accord the senior commissioned officer the academic rank of professor and accept military courses as part of their curriculum. And yet, as the evidence of our peers shows, branches of the U.S. military have been known to negotiate different terms in order to accommodate the character of the schools in question. From such evidence one might speculate, then, that if Brown decided to develop a new relationship with a ROTC program, it would be able to do so in a way that would maintain the principles of faculty governance outlined in the 1969 resolutions.

Indeed, during the period of the committee's deliberations, several of our peer schools—namely, Harvard, Columbia, Yale, and Stanford—did just that, taking the decision to reintroduce ROTC to their campuses in ways that reflect their institutional culture. In early March 2011, less than a month after our committee had been convened, Harvard announced the intention to open its doors to Naval ROTC. A similar announcement from Columbia followed in April, and in May Yale signed its own agreement re-establishing

³³ Dartmouth's program came to an end as a result of campus protests in the late 60s, but was reinstated in 1975.

³⁴ Even if these peer schools have been able to negotiate different terms, many of their ROTC programs are, in reality, housed not on their own campuses but at nearby schools, which extend privileges to their students through a cross-institutional relationship, not unlike the one Brown has with Providence College. This kind of arrangement automatically simplifies questions of academic credit or professorial status, since these issues are handled elsewhere.

ties with the Navy. Only University of Chicago (which has not had an ROTC program since the 1930s) has indicated no plans to re-introduce a program on its campus.³⁵

At Harvard, the change in status appears to be largely administrative. Under the agreement signed by Harvard President Drew Faust, NROTC will now “return” to the campus, but this does not mean the creation of a new detachment. Harvard midshipmen will continue to participate—as they have always done—through the “Old Ironsides” battalion, a Naval ROTC consortium jointly hosted by Boston University and Massachusetts Institute of Technology. The commanding officer of the consortium will simply add a new layer to his duties, becoming “Director of Naval ROTC” at Harvard (in addition to being a Professor of Military Science at Boston University), and holding weekly office hours on campus in order to meet with current and potential ROTC candidates. Harvard will provide the office space along with some support staff, but the director will have neither academic title nor voting rights on the Harvard faculty.

The action taken at Columbia suggests a similarly open-ended arrangement. According to a statement released on April 22, the President of Columbia and the Secretary of the Navy signed an agreement to reinstate “NROTC program enrollment opportunities” at the University. Columbia students will participate in these opportunities through the Naval ROTC unit hosted at the SUNY Maritime College in Throgs Neck, NY. Those who wish to pursue Air Force or Army opportunities will continue to train, as they do now, at consortium units at Fordham University and Manhattan College.

Among Ivy peers, Yale is the only school that has taken a different approach. In early May, the Yale faculty voted on a set of mutually agreeable terms to reinstate a Naval ROTC program on campus. Among the new resolutions are two provisions: that ROTC courses be considered for course credit by the Yale’s curriculum council and that instructors be granted an appropriate academic rank according to their credentials. These new terms remove what had been longstanding obstacles to ROTC at Yale; however, according to the announcement, Yale’s program will still be “part of a consortium with the College of the Holy Cross in Massachusetts.” In other words, the new program at Yale will operate in coordination with other existing NROTC programs, an arrangement that will allow the Navy “to achieve efficiencies,” as the University announcement puts it, by sharing personnel and other resources.

4. ROTC AND BROWN: CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

While these decisions by peer schools provided interesting texture to our discussions over the semester, they did not dominate our work. The committee’s charge was to review the relevant histories and to gather input from many constituents in order to make an informed set of recommendations on the future of ROTC at Brown. The injunction to listen to—and to learn from—the Brown community formed one of the most important aspects of our charge, and we took this responsibility seriously. In keeping with Brown’s culture of student-focused learning and shared governance, our faculty-and-student committee endeavored to conduct an open and generous process over the course of three months. The debate that ensued both on campus and on the committee was intelligent and civil, reflecting a healthy mixture of agreement and dissent. And as we conclude this report we want to make clear that we did not, as a committee, reach consensus on every point; nor did we seek to. It makes sense that our own conclusions should reflect some of the same diversity of opinion that we encountered on campus.

³⁵ This position has been maintained despite pressure from by groups like ACTA. See note 3.

The foregoing sections have presented this debate from the time of ROTC's demise on the Brown campus to the most recent arguments for and against its return. In this final section, we review some of the arguments, and present the committee's response to the specific questions of our charge, in order to conclude our report.

Are the 1969 resolutions still appropriate at Brown? The resolutions passed by the Brown faculty in 1969 invoke a basic condition of faculty authority in academic decision-making: that the faculty has the right, and the responsibility, to recommend all courses of study and faculty appointments.³⁶ We affirm that this condition is indeed appropriate today, and should continue to serve as the basis for any reconsideration of the future of ROTC at Brown.

The resolutions make two basic points that are worth restating here: first, that a ROTC program should be viewed not as a curricular but as an extracurricular activity; and second, that instructors in the program should not, simply by virtue of their office, hold a Brown professorship. The committee finds no reason to revise either of these judgments. We know that many Ivy peers have been able to field ROTC units on their own campuses without offering credit for courses or professorships to instructors. One committee member also pointed out that the resolutions in their current form do not preclude the possibility of the faculty recommending a more appropriate title for an ROTC instructor if a unit were to be reinstated on campus.

Finally and most importantly, the resolutions specify that any future agreement with the Department of Defense be brought to the faculty before the University makes a final commitment. We find this resolution very much in keeping with the spirit of openness that defines the discourse between the faculty and the administration on this campus. Even if ROTC were to retain the status of an extracurricular activity at Brown, we strongly recommend that the President bring any new agreement with the Department of Defense back to the faculty for discussion.

Do the 1969 resolutions reflect a bias against military science and military officers or are their requirements consistent with academic policy in regard to other courses, curricula, and faculty qualifications? As the history makes clear, the 1969 resolutions were created against the backdrop of student and faculty protest against the war in Vietnam, and to that extent, they reflect the spirit of their time. But whether this zeitgeist can or should be called a "bias" is far from clear. The implication that the Brown faculty should ultimately have jurisdiction over Brown courses and teaching appointments is entirely reasonable, as we note above. Brown's current governance structure—with its standing committees to oversee both the curriculum and faculty appointments—ensures that this responsibility is carried out year by year. In this sense, viewing ROTC courses as a form of extracurricular instruction is consistent with Brown's policies, because no course can become eligible for academic credit without review by an academic department and the College Curriculum Council. The same is true for faculty appointments, which fall under the jurisdiction of the Dean of the Faculty and the Tenure, Promotions, and Appointments Committee. We believe that the resolutions should continue to be interpreted in this light: not as a negative statement about the military *per se* but as a positive recognition of the faculty's role in governance of the curriculum, and a reasonable statement about the nature of officer training as an extracurricular activity.

³⁶ This right is echoed in a resolution adopted by the Brown Corporation, June 3, 1972, written in response to the historic faculty vote in May of the same year. The Corporation resolution acknowledges a long tradition vesting the faculty with authority over academic matters but is careful to point out that "final decisions regarding curricular matters rests with the Board of Fellows, and the ultimate authority to appoint faculty rests with the Corporation."

Would there be sufficient student interest to warrant a unit on campus, or is the Providence College program more appropriate in view of the level of demand today? In the absence of an on-campus unit, the committee acknowledges that it is somewhat difficult to gauge the level of interest that might be generated among Brown students. The informal questionnaire we distributed with the help of UCS at the end of April shows student opinion to be split on the issue of the kind of relationship that the University should have with the ROTC. Overall, however, those responding indicate a slight preference towards expanding Brown's relationship with ROTC, including some number of students who wish to see an ROTC unit re-established on campus.

Brown has, of course, maintained a cross-institutional relationship with the Army ROTC program at Providence College since 1951. As noted above, Brown students in recent years have tended to prefer summer and post-graduate training over programs during the school year, which raises the related question of whether there is even sufficient interest to warrant the relationship with Providence College. Nevertheless, the committee agrees that the Providence College ROTC program (which also serves Bryant College, Roger Williams College, and University of Massachusetts at Dartmouth) is a viable option for those Brown students who wish to take advantage of it and we recommend that the University continue this arrangement in the future. Even those members of the committee opposed to ROTC agree that the requirements of the Solomon Amendment make any alteration to our existing relationship with Providence College unrealistic.

What are the conditions that ROTC would require to return to campus? As outlined earlier in the report, the ROTC Revitalization Act of 1964 stipulates that universities with ROTC programs accord the senior commissioned officer the academic rank of professor and recognize military science courses in their curriculum. However, a review of ROTC programs at other Ivy institutions shows that branches of the U.S. military have been able to adapt the terms in order to accommodate the schools they serve. It is reasonable to speculate, then, that Brown could reach similarly acceptable terms if it should decide to create such opportunities for its own students.

The committee also agrees, as noted above, that the Army ROTC program already available in Providence should continue. This implies that any new opportunities offered to Brown students would not reproduce what already exists. To learn more about what another ROTC program might require, the Office of the Secretary of the Navy was contacted to provide more information about Naval ROTC. We learned, most basically, that the Navy would indeed be interested in re-establishing a relationship with Brown, but the high cost of creating a new NROTC detachment makes it unlikely that the Navy would want to create an on-campus program at Brown anytime soon. The preferred solution might involve some kind of cross-institutional partnership with an existing Naval ROTC unit, such as the consortium program at MIT. At this point, we do not know what resources Brown would be required to contribute in order to develop a new relationship with NROTC.

Of course, any negotiation on this subject requires President Simmons to enter into conversations with the Department of Defense, and here, the committee does not have a consensus. There are some who support an expansion of ROTC opportunities for students and others who oppose expansion. The reasons for and against are similar to those encountered in earlier sections of this report: those in favor feel that the University should not hold itself aloof from this aspect of American life and that students should have the right to choose. Those opposed are concerned not only about increased militarization on campus but also about Brown's policies on anti-discrimination. Indeed, on this last point, everyone shares a similar concern. While we recognize that the repeal of "Don't Ask Don't Tell" responds to significant concerns about the discrimination against gay and lesbian men and women in the Armed Forces, it is also clear that

there are ongoing issues of discrimination against transgender individuals that the country needs to face, and, in this, the University may have an important role to play. Some members of the committee believe that the University should not expand ROTC opportunities until these issues have been resolved; others feel that by developing new opportunities for students the University can effect change by other means. In the end, the committee remains split, although a slight majority agrees with the recommendation that the President initiate discussions with the Department of Defense to see how Brown might offer opportunities for students to participate in Naval or Air Force ROTC programs.

If a campus unit is feasible, what would be required to enable this reinstatement? To reinstate a campus unit will require the President to pursue conversations with the Department of Defense. A majority, but not all members, of the committee recommends that the President undertake such discussions in order to make Naval or Air Force ROTC options available to Brown students commensurate with the 1969 faculty resolutions regarding ROTC training; and then to bring the results of those conversations back to the faculty for discussion.

In summary, the committee makes the following three recommendations.

- 1) The committee accepts the 1969 resolutions as a sound basis on which to reconsider Brown's relationship with the ROTC.
- 2) The committee recommends continuing Brown's cross-institutional arrangement with the Army ROTC program at Providence College.
- 3) A majority, but not all members, of the committee recommends that the President engage in conversations with the Department of Defense to learn how Brown students might participate in Naval or Air Force ROTC programs currently unavailable to them, and to bring any proposal she might make regarding the expansion of ROTC opportunities back to the Faculty.

Respectfully submitted,

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Andrew G. Campbell, Assoc. Prof of Medical Science

Catherine Lutz, Prof. of Anthropology and Research Professor, Watson Institute

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Chaney Harrison, Undergraduate student, Class of '11.5

Samuel Howard, Undergraduate student, Class of '14

Sean Dinces, Graduate student, American Studies

Stephen Lassonde, Deputy Dean of the College (staff)

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³⁷ The ROTC website <http://brown.edu/reports/rotc/further-reading> contains a full list of readings made available to the Brown community, including relevant historical documents, letters and articles published in the *Brown Daily Herald* from 2004 to the present, and articles published in national magazines and newspapers on ROTC.

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APPENDIX

Committee Charge (January 2011)

The Committee on the Reserve Officer's Training Corps (ROTC) is being convened to evaluate the historical legacy of military education at Brown and to make recommendations for the future. Following the vote of the U.S. Senate and House to end the ban on gay troops serving openly in the armed forces, President Simmons has called for a committee to review Brown's policies on ROTC.

When ROTC was removed from the Brown campus in 1969, the rationale included the stipulation that no ROTC officer could hold faculty status and that no ROTC courses could count toward a Brown degree. Since that time, there have been two attempts to review this decision. In 1981, the Corporation requested a review of the policy, and the faculty ultimately reaffirmed the 1969 resolutions. In 2002, an internal review also concurred that ROTC military science courses could not carry transfer credit without a change in the faculty's rules. Given how removed we are from the date of these resolutions, it is incumbent on us to review them in light of the recent transformation in military policy.

Chaired by the Dean of the College, the committee includes 7 faculty members, 3 students, and 1 administrator who will meet regularly during spring semester 2011, to address the following questions:

- Are the 1969 resolutions still appropriate at Brown?
- Do those resolutions reflect a bias against military science and military officers or are their requirements consistent with academic policy in regard to other courses, curricula, and faculty qualifications?
- What are the conditions that ROTC would require to return to campus?
- Would there be sufficient student interest to warrant a unit on campus, or is the Providence College program more appropriate in view of the level of demand today?
- If a campus unit is feasible, what would be required to enable this reinstatement?

The committee will consult Faculty Rules and other policies, study relevant archival documents, conduct surveys, and bring the campus community into a conversation about these questions. Feedback will be sought at the University Council of Students, the Brown University Community Council, faculty meetings, and other appropriate venues. After an open debate of the issues, the committee will submit a recommendation to the President on whether ROTC should be restored to campus.

CALENDAR OF MEETINGS

Meetings of the ROTC Committee

February 8
February 15
March 1
March 8
March 15
April 5
April 12
April 19
April 26
May 3
May 20

Meetings attended by members of the ROTC committee in the Brown community

March 3: Queer Political Action Committee
March 6: Brown Immigrant Rights Coalition (BIRC)
March 8: Coalition Against Special Privileges for ROTC (CASPR)
March 10: Students for ROTC
March 14: Brown Graduate Students
March 15: Brown University Community Council Meeting (BUCC)
March 16: Undergraduate Council of Students (UCS)
March 22: UCS sponsored Luncheon on ROTC
April 11: CASPR Open Forum
April 13: Faculty Forum
April 26: BUCC Meeting
April 26: ROTC: A Janus Forum Town Hall
May 3: Faculty Meeting

SURVEY SENT TO ALUMNI

The Alumni Survey on ROTC was conducted online from March 14 to June 3, 2011. It recorded the time and date of the respondent's replies and posed the following questions:

- Are you in favor of having Brown serve as a host campus for an ROTC unit?
- In what year did you graduate from Brown?
- Is there anything else you would like to tell the committee about hosting ROTC on the Brown campus?

FREQUENTLY ASKED QUESTIONS

A document for faculty and students prepared by the Committee on the ROTC

What is ROTC? The Reserve Officers Training Corps, or ROTC, is a military training curriculum offered as an elective or extracurricular program at colleges and universities across the United States. Its purpose is to produce officers for branches of the U.S. military. Students enrolled in the program participate in a two- or four-year curriculum leading to commission as an officer. In exchange, they receive scholarship aid of varying amounts and are required to complete a period of military service following graduation. Three branches of the U.S. military support ROTC training programs: the Army; the Air Force; and the Navy (which includes a small program for Marines). There is no such program for the Coast Guard. ROTC has produced 39 percent of the current officer corps in the U.S. These college-based programs are distinguished from those offered through the four so-called service academies: the U.S. Military Academy at West Point, the U.S. Naval Academy, the U.S. Air Force Academy, and the U.S. Coast Guard Academy.

Is there a difference between Army, Air Force, and Naval ROTC? All ROTC programs have more or less parallel requirements. Students must complete a specific set of military science courses in addition to their baccalaureate degree, and then do a term of military service on graduation. The Naval ROTC program is the only one that indicates curricular requirements beyond the prescribed Naval Science courses. NROTC midshipmen are required to complete, as part of their baccalaureate degree, a year each of calculus, physics, advanced trigonometry, and another physical science; also required are a year of English, a year of American History (or National Security Policy), and a semester of world culture or religions. These requirements are designed to create future Engineers or physical scientists.

What does an ROTC scholarship provide? The ROTC scholarship typically offers full tuition, a supplemental scholarship for books and fees, and a living stipend ranging from \$250 to \$500 per month. With the growth of financial aid at highly selective private institutions in recent years, ROTC benefits may no longer carry as much value as they once did. A ROTC scholarship cannot increase a student's overall aid package, but it can reduce annual earnings expectations or student loans.

Has Brown ever supported military training on its campus? Brown has supported military training during every major conflict since the War for Independence in 1776. In 1917, after the declaration of war against Germany, the Navy created the first ROTC-like training program at Brown, along with a Naval Science department. The training unit folded in 1918 and Naval Science became the department of Nautical Science. In 1940 the NROTC program returned to campus and remained for three decades. An Air Force ROTC unit was established in 1951. Providence College instituted an Army ROTC unit in the same year, and made a cross-town arrangement with Brown that continues to this day, and is still available to Brown students interested in pursuing military service.

How did NROTC and AFROTC come to an end at Brown? In the 1960s, during protests against U.S. military involvement in Vietnam, students and faculty called for the removal of ROTC from the Brown campus. The rationale was on academic grounds: According to federal law, military science courses were to be taught through specially created departments, led by officers who held the title of professor, and Brown was obliged to grant academic credit for these courses. In the spring of 1969, the Brown faculty passed a set of resolutions rejecting military science departments as viable academic units and denying professorial status to ROTC instructors; accordingly, ROTC courses were no longer granted Brown credit. The faculty proposed phasing out all ROTC programs until they could conform to the resolutions. Following the vote, the Air Force immediately discontinued its program at Brown. The U.S. Navy, however, tried to work with the Brown administration to meet the new conditions. In 1972, a proposal was presented to re-establish NROTC at Brown under revised terms. The faculty again rejected the proposal, resolving this time to table the question until federal policies on ROTC had been reformed.

Has the legislation known commonly as “Don’t Ask, Don’t Tell” played a role in the University’s position on ROTC? The faculty’s original position, laid out in 1969, was based on the academic principle that no outside agent should have the right to decide what courses receive Brown credit or who holds the title of professor. Nonetheless, the military’s treatment of gay and lesbian service men and women has been a subject of debate both at Brown and on many other campuses since “Don’t Ask Don’t Tell” was signed in 1993. In the wake of the repeal of DADT this year, President Simmons asked for a review of the University’s position on ROTC.

What paths are now open to Brown students interested in military service? Students interested in the Army may attend the Providence College ROTC program through a cross-town arrangement that has existed since 1951. Brown has commissioned about 8 officers through this program since the 1980s. A somewhat different path is the Platoon Leaders’ Class (PLC) offered through the U.S. Marine Corps. This is not a ROTC program per se, because it allows participating students to complete necessary training during the summer, rather than during the school year. Students who complete the class earn a commission as a second lieutenant on graduation, and are eligible to enter Officer’s Candidate School (OCS) for additional training. Approximately 10 Brown students have chosen this path in the last few years. Brown students may also enter officer-training programs in other branches of the military directly on graduation.

Are there paths for those interested in the Navy or the Air Force? The closest NROTC and AFROTC programs are located in Boston and Cambridge. These programs have no cross-institutional relationships with Brown. Students interested in the Navy or Air Force would need to begin officer training after graduation or attend another university.

Which of our Ivy League peers currently have ROTC programs? Cornell, Dartmouth, Penn, and Princeton maintained ROTC even after the other Ivies terminated their programs in the early 1970s. Cornell currently has the largest number of ROTC candidates (at 76); Princeton ranks second, typically fielding between 20-25 participants. Harvard, Columbia, and Yale recently took steps to bring NROTC back to their campuses.

Do these peer institutions offer credit for the military science courses? None of our peers offers credit for military science courses through their undergraduate colleges. At MIT, one course on organization and leadership is granted credit through the Sloan School of Management. At Cornell, students enrolled in the state-supported technical schools may receive credit for ROTC courses. Yale’s new agreement with the Navy includes the provision that suitable NROTC courses may undergo review by Yale’s curriculum committee.

Are affiliated military personnel at these schools given voting rights as faculty members? No. Officers receive some compensation and may enjoy access to libraries and other privileges extended to members of the campus community, but they do not participate in faculty governance.

Is this a contradiction, or have the government guidelines on ROTC changed? Neither. According to U.S. Code Title X, Subtitle A, part III, universities with ROTC programs are still required to accord the senior commissioned officer the academic rank of professor and to accept military courses as part of their curriculum. However, as the evidence from our peer schools shows, branches of the U.S. military have been known to negotiate different terms in order to accommodate the unique character of the schools in question.

Would a reinstatement of a ROTC program require Brown to offer credit for military science courses? Presumably not, since none of our peer institutions has been required to do this as part of their agreements with ROTC.

Do we know if the Navy or Air Force is even interested in returning to Brown? A conversation with the Office of the Secretary of the Navy revealed that the Navy would indeed be interested in re-establishing a relationship with Brown. At this time, the preferred relationship would involve a cross-institutional partnership with an existing Navy ROTC unit at a neighboring school. This would most likely be at MIT, which now serves as the host campus for both Harvard and Tufts. Brown would have to investigate further to learn more about possible relationships with Air Force ROTC.

How has the Brown community reacted to the question of ROTC's return? The response to the question has been both vigorous and varied. The Committee has heard directly from students, faculty, staff, and alumni in person and via email, letters, the BDH opinion pages, and various formal and informal polls.

Among those voicing opposition to a return of ROTC are members of the Coalition Against Special Privileges for ROTC (CASPR), the Queer Alliance, and the Queer Political Action Committee (QPAC). A representative number of students from these groups was present at the meeting of the Brown University Community Council on March 15, where they publicly raised the concern that, because of the military's failure to recognize transgender individuals, the presence of ROTC on campus would conflict with the University's anti-discrimination policies. Students and faculty have also expressed concern that the military remains an environment hostile to women, that ROTC financial support locks students into post-graduate work for the military, and that the wars in Iraq and Afghanistan would be tacitly supported by the Brown community via support for ROTC.

Other students have expressed the view that the University should be willing to support those who wish to do military service, that ROTC would enhance the diversity of the campus, and that the program is consistent with Brown's mission of producing lives of "usefulness and reputation." Some have also voiced concerns about the widening cultural gap between elite private institutions like Brown and the military.

At a luncheon sponsored by the Undergraduate Council of Students, about forty students discussed the question of ROTC in small groups, as committee members listened on. While not all were in agreement, it appeared that more than half of the students present were in favor of ROTC's return. A poll by the BDH showed a more divided opinion among the students surveyed, with fewer than 50% of those polled in favor of ROTC's return, and a significant percentage expressing either "no opinion" or a desire to learn more about the issue. By contrast, an electronic poll of Brown alumni received over a thousand responses from graduates spanning the years 1943 to 2010. Of these 77% were in favor of having Brown serve as a host campus for a ROTC unit; 20% were opposed.

Would the return of ROTC represent a conflict with Brown's policies on discrimination? Under federal law, individuals identifying as “transgender” are unable to serve in the military.

Brown maintains a policy that the educational, working, and living environment of the campus should be free of any form of unlawful discrimination and harassment. Unlawful discrimination is defined by federal and/or state statutes to include unfavorable or unfair treatment of a person or class of persons because of race, color, religion, sex, national origin, age, disability, veteran status, sexual orientation, gender identity, and gender expression.

What are the broader values underlying the debate over ROTC at Brown? Opponents and proponents of ROTC today operate in a cultural and political climate very different from that of earlier years, especially the Vietnam era. Polls show that the military is today the most respected institution in American society over and above religious or governmental institutions. Opposition to ROTC is increasingly framed in terms of human rights (e.g., the military's treatment of women, gay, lesbian and transgender individuals) while still questioning the morality of war. Advocates for ROTC frame their arguments in terms of access and choice to those who want to become officers, and in terms of service to country.

What other ways does Brown as an institution maintain a relationship with the U.S. military? Currently, Brown receives between \$9 million to \$11 million annually in federal grants from the Department of Defense.

ROTC SCHOLARSHIPS AND FINANCIAL AID

All financial aid awarded at Brown University is based on a family's demonstrated need. There are no merit-based or athletic scholarships awarded by Brown: a student's financial aid award meets 100% of a family's demonstrated financial need. Demonstrated financial need is determined by subtracting the Expected Family Contribution (which includes a contribution from parents that is determined by a formula that accounts for the family's income, assets, the number of children in the household, number of children in college, and a contribution from students) from the cost of education (tuition, room, board, fees, books, personal expenses).

ROTC scholarships are outside resources based on merit rather than need. ROTC scholarship amounts vary by branch (Army, Navy, Air Force) and provide funding to cover full or partial tuition, fees, book expenses, and a monthly expense allowance. ROTC scholarships will be factored into a student's need-based financial aid award at Brown adhering to the University's standard treatment of all outside scholarships. In all cases, outside scholarships (including ROTC) may be used to replace the student's contribution from summer earnings, loans, and/or campus employment. Outside scholarships cannot be used to replace the parent contribution portion of the Expected Family Contribution. Therefore, the impact of these ROTC scholarships on Brown's financial aid award, from the perspective of students and their parents, will vary.

For example, for students from families with annual incomes of less than \$100,000, students will be able to use their ROTC scholarships to eliminate the need for them to contribute from their summer earnings and their requirement to obtain a campus job during the academic year. For families with total annual incomes in excess of \$100,000, Brown includes a loan requirement in each financial aid package. Therefore, for these families, students will be able to reduce and/or eliminate their expected contribution from summer earnings, their requirement of obtaining campus employment during the academic year, and their student loans.

Students not eligible for need-based financial aid from Brown would still be able to receive the maximum amount of ROTC scholarship support based on their branch of service and enrollment status. In these cases, the ROTC award would directly reduce the cost of Brown for the family.

As with other outside scholarships, if the outside resource exceeds the total amount of student effort (summer savings, campus job, and loan) in a student's award from Brown, the Brown University scholarship amount will be reduced by the difference. In these instances, Brown University Scholarship would be recouped and available to be used to fund additional needy students.

What a discussion of financial aid cannot determine, however, is whether or not any expansion of Brown's relationship with ROTC would result in a net financial gain for the University. If Brown were to incur additional financial burdens, for example, through increasing ROTC program opportunities for students, these costs might cancel the gains made through additional financial aid.