

Alexander E. Jaramillo Burgos

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In 1951, at the height of the Korean War, nearly 600 Tufts undergraduates (~70% of male students) were part of NROTC or AFROTC.<sup>1</sup> In 1974, not a single ROTC student remained on campus. In 1969, after a series of campus protests regarding the Vietnam War, Tufts faculty voted to remove ROTC from campus. The board of trustees were reluctant to do so and negotiated with the Department of the Navy, but could not reach an agreement that worked for both parties. Later that same year, the trustees decreed that after the graduation of all current NROTC midshipmen in 1973, NROTC was to be removed from campus. This paper will explore the story of how ROTC was removed from Tufts campus: the protests, resolutions, and decisions, as well as tracing campus culture and the major players.

Contextually, battles were being fought all over the United States over ROTC on a variety of college campuses, both private and public. Many of these fights were significantly more intense and contentious than those at Tufts, and included activist faculty that actively organized students and leftist movements to push back against the administration and the war. Many debates grew intense, with an activist minority sometimes resorting to physical action against ROTC buildings. In October of 1968, SUNY-Buffalo protestors associated with Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) and Youth Against War and Fascism (YAWF) ransacked ROTC buildings, breaking windows and computers. They also collected files and burned them in front of the building.<sup>2</sup> In February of 1970, 1,000 student protestors in SUNY-Buffalo attacked ROTC

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<sup>1</sup> Anne Sauer et al., eds., "World War, 1939-1945," *Concise Encyclopedia of Tufts History* (Tufts Digital Library, 2000).

<sup>2</sup> Kenneth J. Heineman, *Campus Wars: The Peace Movement at American State Universities in the Vietnam Era* (New York University Press, 1993). 217

offices, among other federally-associated buildings.<sup>3</sup> In the spring of 1972, demonstrators attacked ROTC offices at the University of Massachusetts, and 800 Kent State students occupied ROTC offices resulting in the arrest of 129.<sup>4</sup> An activist faculty was often just as radical in their beliefs and actions as the most fervent of student activists. Responding to what they saw as an overreach of their president's power, 45 faculty members of SUNY-Buffalo occupied academic buildings in a sit-in. They arrested, and this radicalized the remaining faculty to vote to abolish ROTC in April of 1970.<sup>5</sup> At the University of Oregon, students protested a faculty meeting devoted to curriculum changes and decreditation of ROTC. They felt that any discussion that was not focused on the outright banning of ROTC was not a discussion worth having, and sprayed the room with imaginary machine gun fire.<sup>6</sup> Nothing so extreme ever occurred on Tufts campus over ROTC.

At Tufts, the campus-wide battle over ROTC took place from February to May 1969. However, as early as February of 1966 concerns were raised about freedom of speech and expression for students enrolled in ROTC at Tufts. In a letter to university leadership, Dean of Men Alvin R. Schmidt responds to discussions that ROTC students are limited in freedom of expression. He cites meetings with Captain Jackson (the NROTC commander) and Colonel Welch (the AFROTC commander) and reports that there are no military regulations prohibiting free expression, because "cadets and medshipmen [sic] have no military status, not even the Contract NROTC students who are in the Inactive Reserve."<sup>7</sup> In December of 1967, the Tufts chapter of SDS pushed against ROTC on campus, highlighting the experience of a Tufts

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<sup>3</sup> Heineman. 238-239

<sup>4</sup> Heineman. 263-264

<sup>5</sup> Heineman. 240-241

<sup>6</sup> "ROTC Dissent across the Nation," *Observer*, February 3, 1970.

<sup>7</sup> Alvin R. Schmidt to President Wessell, Vice Presidents Mead, Tredinnick, deBurlo, Deans Stearns, Campbell, and Kelley, February 10, 1966.

midshipman that was separated from the program for his political actions.<sup>8</sup> Midshipman (MIDN) James Fiorentini was officially disenrolled for “general aptitude reasons,” but Fiorentini claimed it was due to his teach-in activism as president of Young Democrats, as well as his picketing of Dow Chemical.<sup>9</sup> In the vein of counterculture protests of the time, Tufts SDS opposed his disenrollment as attack on free association and free speech. 1968 at Tufts saw many protests over military recruiting on campus. However, it is worth noting that in the May 1968 TCU referendum Tufts students supported military recruiting on campus at a near 2:1 ratio. Even when asked “I would support the prohibition of military recruitment until such time as the Hershey directive is rescinded,” Tufts students voted to keep recruiting with 791 supporting, 693 opposing, and 316 abstaining. (The Hershey directive refers to the order of General Hershey, Director of the Selective Service system, that any eligible draftee caught illegally protesting would have their draft order modified.)<sup>10</sup> The existence of a silent majority that supported the military-empowered status quo is notable for such a controversy-racked campus.

The sparks of expulsion began in February of 1969, with the motion of Professor Robert L’H. Miller to the Educational Policies Committee to investigate decreditation of ROTC courses. Miller, an infantry officer in WWII and pacifist minister, was regretful of his service.<sup>11</sup> His motion to investigate whether ROTC courses are as academically rigorous as courses in other departments passed. Though Miller only makes academic inquiries, he seemed to be ultimately pushing for the expulsion of ROTC. He notes “I don’t think ROTC belongs anywhere,” and “I really wanted the faculty to make the first move on this campus... I don’t want students telling

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<sup>8</sup> “Navy ROTC at Tufts,” *The Third Floor*, December 8, 1967.

<sup>9</sup> “Navy ROTC at Tufts.”

<sup>10</sup> Tom Owens, “Proposal,” *Observer*, February 14, 1969.

<sup>11</sup> Joanne Shapiro, “Faculty Considers ROTC Decrediting,” *Observer*, February 7, 1969.

me, since I know what the military is... I cherish the view that faculty speak first. Faculty are too often behind the students. I admire students who have the guts to say, ‘we don’t want it.’”<sup>12</sup> In this same February 7<sup>th</sup> edition of *Observer*, the editorial board pushed a statement against ROTC accreditation. They argued that it is unsuitable on academic grounds, and because ROTC is not controlled by the university but by the U.S. military. Notably, they don’t include moral arguments, because “Every member of the Tufts faculty must make his own decision regarding the morality of a military institution on a university campus.”<sup>13</sup> Though no clear connection has been made between support for ROTC and support for the war, antiwar sentiment still underlined opposition of ROTC accreditation.

In the following 14<sup>th</sup> February issue of *Observer*, several authors come to the defense of ROTC. Lieutenant Commander M.D. French, Naval Science instructor in the NROTC unit, politely clarifies *Observer* mischaracterizations of ROTC.<sup>14</sup> AFROTC Cadet James (Jim) M. Calm (a perennial contributor in the clashes to come) clarifies the same points that the Lieutenant Commander did, but also provides a more piercing shot into the arguments of Professor Miller and anti-ROTC forces at Tufts. He reports that he questioned Professor Miller regarding other accredited courses at Tufts, such as those of the Experimental College, or rhetoric classes.<sup>15</sup> Calm notes that the professor believes these should be discredited as well, but that Miller focused

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<sup>12</sup> Shapiro.

<sup>13</sup> “ROTC,” *Observer*, February 7, 1969. See also Sol Gittleman’s profile of Miller in “The Quiet Men,” *Tufts Now*, November 11<sup>th</sup>, 2013. Miller also later helps students with the draft and how to register as a conscientious objector.

<sup>14</sup> M.D. French, “Indisputable Points,” *Observer*, February 14, 1969.

<sup>15</sup> The Experimental College offers non-traditional courses with experience-based instructors, to include fellow students.

on ROTC. Calm notes that it is in “academic vogue” to criticize ROTC, and implies that antiwar notions are being hidden in accreditation criticisms of ROTC.<sup>16</sup>

Other arguments featured in the February 14<sup>th</sup> issue of *Observer* include a letter from Gary Noble, where he notes, among other things, the hypocrisy of a liberal arts university restricting the rights of students to enter a career field. Further, he brings up an important financial issue, noting that Tufts would lose approximately 300 thousand dollars in Defense Department scholarship money by expelling ROTC.<sup>17</sup> On February 25<sup>th</sup>, the newly formed Tufts chapter of the Young People’s Socialist League (YPSL) weighs in on the issues and comes out against ROTC. They argue that not all members of the Tufts community agree to the foreign policy of the United States, and therefore, ROTC does not deserve a special place on campus. YPSL stops short of fully coming out against the war, however.<sup>18</sup> At this point, it appears the campus mood necessitated a new referendum on ROTC, as some reported that more students are against ROTC than against recruiting in the previous year.<sup>19</sup> Ever the cheeky cynics, some students writing for *Observer* satirically advertise a new Experimental College course, “Killing for Credit.”<sup>20</sup>

A public forum on ROTC was held in Curtis Hall on Sunday, March 2, attended by both radicals and ROTC apologists. The three main speakers were Jim Fiorentini, former Tufts NROTC midshipman, Eric Mann, regional SDS organizer, and Cadet Jim Calm. These three argued for three different positions on ROTC. Fiorentini recounted his story of being terminated

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<sup>16</sup> James M. Calm, “Academic Vogue?,” *Observer*, February 14, 1969.

<sup>17</sup> Gary Noble, “ROTC Must Stay,” *Observer*, February 14, 1969.

<sup>18</sup> Rich Cohen, “YPSL on ROTC,” *Observer*, February 25, 1969.

<sup>19</sup> Owens, “Proposal.”

<sup>20</sup> G. Biris and C. Harding, “Killing for Credit,” *Observer*, February 14, 1969. The Experimental College is an academic program at Tufts University where visiting lecturers and fellow undergraduates teach courses.

for his political beliefs, that ROTC restricted freedom of speech, and noted an “inherent lack of equality between students and the professors in ROTC...” Eric Mann toed a more radical line, connecting support for ROTC on campus with support for the Vietnam War, because “SDS is opposed to our system and hence to the military as an organ of that system.” Cadet Jim Calm refutes academic criticisms of ROTC, and offers a counternarrative to the imperialist military model, arguing that civilians direct the military, and attacks on ROTC are therefore misguided.<sup>21</sup>

In March, commentaries flowed into *Observer*, commenting on the issue at all angles. Philosophy professor Hugo Bedau, who was present at the March 2<sup>nd</sup> dialogue, argued that no one brought up the fact that ROTC conflicts with university values of developing skills for “common human aspirations and needs” because it instead values “‘superior orders’ over loyalty to the methods and standards of humane and reasonable men.”<sup>22</sup> Maria Hill offers a careful review of ROTC departmental management, noting that ROTC courses are approved by the faculty, as well as a national Association of NROTC Universities and Colleges. She argues ROTC professors must be approved by deans and the provost, that ROTC professors have equivalent experience to graduate degrees, and that Department of Defense (DoD) regulations allow for classroom controversy to be introduced by a professor if relevant. She also notes that ROTC professors are paid by DoD funds, and that Sweet Hall, the ROTC building, was built with DoD funds and given to the university.<sup>23</sup> ROTC instructors were not afraid to weigh in on the controversy, in person and in writing. Lt. J.S. Ibach, a Tufts naval science instructor, was present during the March 2<sup>nd</sup> dialogue, and later wrote to *Observer*, noting that “anti-militarists would best be served by keeping ROTC on the liberal arts campus” because ROTC liberalizes

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<sup>21</sup> Dave Ritchey, “Forum Reviews ROTC Controversy,” *Observer*, March 7, 1969.

<sup>22</sup> Hugo Bedau, “Basic Humane Knowledge Is Goal of University,” *Observer*, March 7, 1969.

<sup>23</sup> Maria Hill, “Careful Scrutiny,” *Observer*, March 7, 1969.

the military officer corps by providing officers trained in the American university system instead of the military academy.<sup>24</sup>

Throughout late March and early April, feelings continued to swirl about ROTC on campus. Arguments were made in defense of the freedom to associate with ROTC, as well as the opposing argument that ROTC precluded free association and inquiry.<sup>25</sup> Organizations and people as diverse as a Marine corporal whose life was saved by a Tufts ROTC graduate, to the ACLU, to an Air Force cadet who denies the existence of imperialism, all commented on the issue.<sup>26</sup>

On April 9<sup>th</sup>, a student referendum was conducted regarding the position ROTC ought to hold on campus. Out of 3,100 undergraduates, 1,375 participated. 1,050 students voted to retain ROTC, in some form, on campus, while 325 students voted to eliminate it from Tufts completely. Students split nearly even on whether to award academic credit to ROTC courses, but a majority voted that the Department of Naval Science was not a legitimate academic department, and that Navy and Marine officers that taught ROTC courses should not be afforded faculty status.<sup>27</sup>

It's important to note that in terms of numbers, the extreme on-campus activism that characterized the late 1960s was limited to a dedicated core of antiwar activists. This remained true at Tufts, and even at other universities where protests grew to a fever pitch. For example, at

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<sup>24</sup> Lt. J.S. Ibach, "Civilian Military Control Should Be Maintained," *Observer*, March 7, 1969. For more on the provenance and development of this argument in American socio-military relations, see Michael Neiberg, *Making Citizen Soldiers: ROTC and the Ideology of American Military Service* (Harvard University Press, 2000).

<sup>25</sup> James M. Calm, "The Credit Question," *Observer*, March 7, 1969. "ALCU on ROTC," *Observer*, March 7, 1969.

<sup>26</sup> Cpl. Shawn Spiman, "Sour Grapes," *Observer*, March 7, 1969. Thomas Bearor, "Imperialism and ROTC," *Observer*, March 7, 1969.

<sup>27</sup> Russell E Miller, *Light on the Hill: A History of Tufts College* (Beacon Hill Press, 1986). 286. Not to be confused with religion professor and antiwar activist Robert Miller. History professor Russell Miller wrote a definitive history of Tufts in this two-volume set.

SUNY-Buffalo, where destructive protests were the norm, a referendum was conducted of the student body regarding ROTC and Themis (a defense contract research hub). A majority of students voted to keep ROTC and Themis on campus, and two-thirds disapproved of the destruction of Themis sheds and the occupation of academic buildings. As if to only exemplify the divide between the student body and the activist core, a student threw two Molotov cocktails into the Themis site in response to the referendum.<sup>28</sup> At Tufts, there were approximately six openly identified SDS members, as reported by the *Criterion*.<sup>29</sup> Of course, SDS operated in the shadows, and did not maintain a member list. A more accurate number of activists can be drawn from how many students met in Curtis Hall (home of the SDS on campus) after the faculty vote, disappointed the faculty did not go farther in disbanding ROTC. This number was approximately 125.<sup>30</sup> The broader student body wasn't so active in opposing or supporting political issues. Steve Wermiel, an *Observer* reporter who writes numerous times against ROTC, notes the apathy of the Tufts student body, lamenting the fact that they only get interested in politics when politicians like Bobby Kennedy excite them.<sup>31</sup> Furthermore, during the peak of student protests on the night of April 14<sup>th</sup>, many students were only interested in the commotion, without a real conviction towards either side. These students are panned in an *Observer* piece titled "The apathetic viewpoint: Monday night."<sup>32</sup>

*Observer*, widely cited in this paper, was a progressive-included student newspaper, and all its editorials regarding ROTC came out against it on both academic and moral grounds.

Furthermore, *Observer* criticized the campus culture that tacitly defended ROTC. *Observer*

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<sup>28</sup> Heineman, *Campus Wars: The Peace Movement at American State Universities in the Vietnam Era*. 215

<sup>29</sup> "Anti-ROTC Tag Used, Not SDS," *The Tufts Criterion*, April 1969. The bias of the publication should be considered because as an alumni and parent newsletter, it would present SDS as less influential force than it was.

<sup>30</sup> "Anti-ROTC Tag Used, Not SDS."

<sup>31</sup> Steven Wermiel, "Take off the Blinders!," *Observer*, April 4, 1969.

<sup>32</sup>



published a creative narrative news piece detailing the march on President Hallowell's home the night of April 14<sup>th</sup>. It is titled "The apathetic viewpoint: Monday night," and narrates the demonstrations from the point of view of an uninterested student who ventures from the dorms to see what the commotion is about, but doesn't take a side.<sup>33</sup> On March 6<sup>th</sup>, 1970, long after the campus contentions of April 1969, *Observer* was still holding the line against apathetic Tufts students. It printed a headline of "The wisdom of the Silent Majority:" followed by a large blank box. *Observer* wasn't afraid to criticize servicemembers either. In a comic, one man shines a flashlight through one ear and out the other of a man in an army uniform, proclaiming: "Aha! Another career man."<sup>34</sup> *Observer* caricatures a stereotypical sorority girl, "Silent Majority Suzie" who is apathetic to the demonstrations on campus, noting "Like daddy says, leave the war to the generals and the politicians in Washington."<sup>35</sup> This supports the notion that students involved in Greek life trended towards supporting ROTC.

After the student-wide referendum on April 9th, the ROTC issue began to move to the forefront of student life at Tufts. On April 11<sup>th</sup>, the student-faculty Educational Policy committee issued a report in response to Professor Miller's inquiries in February. They declared that they could not reach consensus, and that the importance of the issue necessitated a full faculty vote. Their votes on the following issues were as follows: ROTC should be abolished: 4 favor, 7 oppose, 1 abstain. ROTC departments are to be discontinued as academic departments, ROTC should afford no academic credit, and all ROTC officers (except unit commanders) loses faculty status: 6 favor, 5 oppose, 1 abstain. Tufts ROTC should form a cooperative program where students train at Navy bases instead: 6 favor, 3 oppose, 3 abstain. ROTC continues unchanged: 3

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<sup>33</sup> "The Apathetic Viewpoint: Monday Night," April 18, 1969.

<sup>34</sup> "Aha! Another Career Man.," *Observer*, March 6, 1970.

<sup>35</sup> "Silent Majority's Suzie Sorority Speaks," *Observer*, October 16, 1970.

favor, 7 oppose, 2 abstain. They also note that the ROTC issue has many more moral, political, and pedagogical grounds than only accreditation, and should be voted on accordingly.<sup>36</sup>

It was also announced on April 11<sup>th</sup> that Air Force ROTC would be phased out of Tufts campus by June 1972 because of low enrollment numbers.<sup>37</sup> Because this announcement lines up with the peak of campus discussion regarding ROTC, it may be surmised that campus opinion may have had an impact on the decision. However, internal documents between the Tufts administration and the Department of the Air Force indicate that the AFROTC unit at Tufts had been on probation for years because of declining enrollment. As early as May 1966 AFROTC had been targeted for “management improvement measures” to increase cadet enrollment, and despite cooperative efforts, numbers didn’t increase enough to appease the Department of the Air Force.<sup>38</sup> Provost Mead notes that despite close cooperation over the previous two years with the AFROTC unit commander, Colonel Welch, enrollment had not increased. He also notes the national trends of declining ROTC enrollment, and that Tufts is not alone in its disestablishment of AFROTC. (Boston University had recently been ordered to being disestablishment for the same reason.<sup>39</sup>)

On the night of April 14<sup>th</sup>, anti-ROTC groups met in Curtis Hall, arguing over the complete expulsion of ROTC from campus, and how this might best be achieved. They decided to also push against military recruiting on campus, and urged for the university to provide approximately 250k in financial aid for NROTC midshipmen who would lose their ROTC

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<sup>36</sup> “Ed. Pol. Committee Issues ROTC Proposal,” *Observer*, April 11, 1969.

<sup>37</sup> “AFROTC to Leave Tufts Campus by 1972,” *Observer*, April 16, 1969.

<sup>38</sup> Theodore C. Marrs to Burton C. Hallowell, Department of the Air Force, Office of the Assistant Secretary, February 26, 1968. At Tufts, average Air Force officer production from 1964-67 was 11.2 per graduating year, which fell below the Air Force’s “minimum acceptable production” of 15 officers per year.

<sup>39</sup> Leonard C. Mead to Burton C. Hallowell, March 15, 1968; Nina McCain, “Tufts Faculty Votes to Kill ROTC,” *The Boston Globe*, 17 1969.

scholarships. They argued over how to proceed, and decided on direct action that night, in the form of a protest of President Holloway's home. Groups chanting "ROTC MUST GO!" marched to the dormitories to recruit more protestors, but in this effort, also stimulated a pro-ROTC counter protest. This pro-ROTC group held a conservative stance towards campus politics, chanting "ROTC MUST STAY, SDS MUST GO." From this pro-ROTC group broke off a pro-referendum group that argued for Tufts to respect and implement the results of the referendum. They argued that the referendum ought to be used as a metric for Tufts popular will, and that the administration and faculty should deal with academic and credit concerns, but keep ROTC on campus. Reporting suggests that the fraternities, with their houses so close to the commotion outside of Gifford House (the presidential residence), came to the defense of ROTC. Still, *Observer* criticism notes there was a large amount of interested but not particularly politically inclined students present. However, it is clear the numerical majority that supported ROTC in the referendum were showing out. As students protested, argued, and chanted until nearly midnight, one student noted: "God may be dead, but he didn't leave SDS to govern his grave."<sup>40</sup>

Early next morning, at around 5:30am, on April 15<sup>th</sup>, students began to set up tents and booths in front of Ballou Hall.<sup>41</sup> Groups argued all day while students passed to and from class. Inside Ballou, faculty and administrators discussed and planned the faculty meeting the next day. At 1pm, a memorial service was conducted for the members of the class of 1969 that were to die in Vietnam. (In fairness, an April 1970 survey of the class of 1969's employment show that 11% of male students—approximately 79 graduates—were in the military.<sup>42</sup>) Professor Slapikoff,

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<sup>40</sup> "Anti-ROTC Meeting Results in March on Hollowell Home," *Observer*, April 16, 1969. "The Apathetic Viewpoint: Monday Night."

<sup>41</sup> Ballou Hall is the main administrative building at Tufts. Located at the top of the hill, it is also at the heart of campus.

<sup>42</sup> "1969 Class Survey Shows Low per Cent in Military," *Observer*, April 17, 1970.

biology professor and fervent anti-ROTC activist, and Lt. Ibach argued before large groups of students, fomenting campus discussion. One prescient sophomore noted “This week the sleeping midget—Tufts—is waking up.”<sup>43</sup>

Campus sentiments came to a climax on Wednesday April 16 when the administration canceled classes at midday and a special session of the Faculty of Arts and Sciences was convened in Ballou. Twenty-five students attended the discussions inside, while many more stood around outside in the rain. A loudspeaker was set up so that these students could hear the discussion inside.<sup>44</sup> Indoors, a group of Liberal Arts and Jackson faculty distributed a manifesto titled “A Statement of Principles in Defense of the University.” This letter portrayed Tufts as primarily an academic institution, a “scholarly sanctuary” that must not be pushed aside in the name of “military competence” instead of “scholarly inquiry.” They argued that because of the military-centered goals of ROTC, their corresponding departments should not receive recognition as academic departments. After three and a half hours of “heated discussion and acrimonious debate” the faculty adopted two resolutions.<sup>45</sup> First, they recommended to the trustees that the NROTC program should be discontinued as soon as possible, currently attending midshipmen excluded. The tally on this vote was 108 in favor of discontinuation and 55 opposed, with 6 abstentions. The second recommendation was made to the two constituent faculties, of Liberal Arts and Jackson, and the College of Engineering, that the Department of Naval Science should be discontinued as an academic department, that no academic credit be

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<sup>43</sup> “Information Tents Set Up On Campus,” *Observer*, April 16, 1969.

<sup>44</sup> Miller, *Light on the Hill : A History of Tufts College*. 285

<sup>45</sup> Miller. 286

given for NROTC courses, and that ROTC instructions not be accorded faculty status. The tally on this vote was 100 in favor and 20 opposed, with 16 abstentions.<sup>46</sup>

The faculty generally was polarized along college lines. The Liberal Arts and Jackson faculty opposed a military presence on campus, though, of course, some disagreed. One pacifist professor supported ROTC arguing that an officer of a liberal arts background at Tufts was likely to liberalize the officer corps and push against future colleagues from West Point or Annapolis. The College of Engineering, on the other hand, overwhelmingly supported the retention of ROTC on campus. (In September, the Engineering faculty would recommend to the trustees an integration of NROTC into the engineering school, with its commanding officer becoming a faculty member.<sup>47</sup>) Tensions were high in the room and some faculty went so far to say that if ROTC students were to lose their ROTC scholarships, their tuitions should be paid for by a tax levied on professors who voted to expel ROTC.<sup>48</sup>

It is worth noting at this point that Tufts faculty were not wholly empowered by university regulations to expel organizations and break contracts. However, faculty were generally in charge of accreditation of classes. They knew Navy regulations generally did not allow ROTC classes to be uncredited, so they also voted on a “safety valve” resolution to guarantee ROTC’s expulsion from campus. On April 25<sup>th</sup> they voted in favor of decrediting ROTC and removing departmental status to the Department of Naval Science.<sup>49</sup>

Throughout the rest of the semester and the summer, the Tufts community seemed to be satiated by the faculty vote, as well as assurances that ROTC will be removed from campus.

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<sup>46</sup> Miller. 287

<sup>47</sup> Miller. 287

<sup>48</sup> Joanne Shapiro, “Faculty Votes NROTC out by 1973,” *Observer*, April 18, 1969.

<sup>49</sup> Steve Wermiel, “Jaxson, L.A. Faculty Approve ROTC Decreditation in '73,” *Observer*, April 25, 1969.

However, the Trustees dragged their feet on this faculty directive. In May, they deferred action to October to have more time to investigate other options besides full expulsion. In July, Provost Ullman, along with other faculty and administrators, met with Navy officials in Washington.<sup>50</sup> In September, the Trustees urged the faculty to negotiate with the Department of the Navy instead.<sup>51</sup> Murmurings on campus suggest that the Department of the Navy was less than amenable to full negotiations that Tufts officials were ready to implement, though President Hallowell still maintained ROTC expulsion decisions were not final.<sup>52</sup> In November, the Trustees defer action again, waiting on official guidance from the Navy on how to proceed, as Navy negotiation requirements were unclear.<sup>53</sup> On November 12<sup>th</sup> 1969, it is reported that Tufts officials met with Secretary of the Navy Chafee to discuss ROTC on campus, but came to no conclusion that was amenable to both parties.<sup>54</sup> As a result, ROTC was to be removed from Tufts campus by 1973.

It is necessary to explore ROTC's academic framework at Tufts because of its importance in faculty criticism. In the late 1960s, Tufts NROTC and AFROTC had a building to themselves in Sweet Hall where the Departments of Naval and Air Sciences were headquartered.<sup>55</sup> During the post-WWII expansion of ROTC, it was customary to ingratiate ROTC into departments of naval, air, or military science, for each of the three branches. This was done to create a sense of legitimacy in the view of university faculty, in the hope that they would see ROTC instructors as

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<sup>50</sup> "The ROTC Report," *Observer*, September 12, 1969.

<sup>51</sup> "Trustees on ROTC: Will Negotiate Contract," *Observer*, September 8, 1969.

<sup>52</sup> "The ROTC Report."

<sup>53</sup> "Trustees Defer Action," *Observer*, November 12, 1969. More specific information regarding the content and nature of trustee meetings over ROTC has been found in trustee archives, but they are currently closed for research. The author is working through Tufts DCA procedures to seek access to these documents.

<sup>54</sup> Chuck Abbe, "ROTC Talks Held with Navy Officials," *Observer*, November 12, 1969.

<sup>55</sup> Miller, *Light on the Hill: A History of Tufts College*. 285 Sweet Hall stood where the Dowling Hall parking garage stands today.

fellow professors. This legitimacy would not have come naturally, because most ROTC instructors were mainly from junior officer ranks, O-1, O-2, O-3, and O-4 (First Lieutenant, Captain, and Major in Army, Air Force, and Marines, and Lieutenant Junior Grade, Lieutenant, and Lieutenant Commander in the Navy). These officers would range from 23-34 years old, and a majority would not have post-secondary education beyond perhaps a military school master's degree. Only the commander of an ROTC unit would have significant postgraduate education, as a higher ranking and older officer, an O-5 or O-6 (Lieutenant Colonel and Colonel in Army, Air Force, and Marines, and Commander or Captain in Navy). Furthermore, these officers, in accordance with typical military human resources practices, would be on rotation in the ROTC unit for approximately 3-4 years.<sup>56</sup> As seen in the referendum, most Tufts students were not convinced by these factors of the legitimacy of ROTC. The evidence of these social relations between ROTC and the faculty are not as obvious as student referenda, but there exists a record from ROTC in response to the decision to remove ROTC from campus. In 1969, after the faculty voted to remove ROTC, the Air Force detachment commander, a colonel, wrote a particularly bitter and vitriolic letter in the *Flypaper*, a Tufts AFROTC student publication. It was written to the cadets in the class of 1973 and noted how the administration and campus had no respect for their devotion to duty and sacrifice.<sup>57</sup> There are signs that the faculty was ready to continue the fight to remove ROTC from campus, as the faculty "Committee for Exploration about ROTC at Tufts" was disbanded only because the trustees decided to remove ROTC.<sup>58</sup>

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<sup>56</sup> Neiberg, *Making Citizen Soldiers : ROTC and the Ideology of American Military Service*. 48-51

<sup>57</sup> *The Flypaper*: September 1969 Issue

<sup>58</sup> Albert D. Ullman and Freeland Abott, "Annual Report," March 23, 1970. Of course, the committee's name does not specify its position on ROTC; it just as well could have been in defense of ROTC. Contextually, however, there is no mention of a unified coalition of faculty defending ROTC, so it can be assumed that this group focused on its removal.

Though the Tufts faculty brought forth and developed the issue of ROTC decreditation and expulsion, they certainly did not toe as radical a line as Tufts SDS or even *Observer* readership. This can be seen in *Observer's* reaction to the faculty's Statement of Principles that were developed because of debates over ROTC. *Observer* balks at the notion that "infringement of free assembly, destruction of property, intimidation, and interference of persons doing a job" are to be avoided, because it unnecessarily limits student protest while faculty get to maintain the status quo.<sup>59</sup>

Before the controversy of 1969, ROTC commanders and administrators reflect a system of tight administrative checks on approval of any new Navy officers proposed to become instructors at the Tufts NROTC unit. Candidates were proposed by the Bureau of Naval Personnel in the Department of the Navy in Washington D.C., and the provost would request approval of the president and the deans for each one.<sup>60</sup> In January 1961, an ensign was proposed as a replacement instructor and was roundly rejected by President Wessell, Deans Stearns and Campbell, and Provost Mead. Provost Mead's annotation implied that his candidate was one of a long line of rejected officers, stating: "As usual, not qualified for Tufts faculty."<sup>61</sup> The fact that the Navy proposed an ensign, a junior officer with less than two years in the service, supports faculty arguments that NROTC instructors were subpar. However, the fact that Tufts leadership rejected this candidate suggests they had significant power in appointments. Moreover, they used this power often, rejecting many candidates.<sup>62</sup> In a May 1961 letter proposing another

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<sup>59</sup> "A Dangerous Document," *Observer*, March 6, 1970.

<sup>60</sup> Leonard C. Mead to Captain A.R. Gallaher, February 28, 1962.

<sup>61</sup> Leonard C. Mead to Deans Stearns, Campbell, President Wessell, January 11, 1961.

<sup>62</sup> Leonard C. Mead to CDR. W.P. Baker, May 26, 1961.



replacement, Provost Mead complains of the candidate again, writing “No. Unimpressive. Can’t they turn up anyone better?” Dean Campbell concurs, writing “...he would not be admissible to the graduate school, and [I] therefore question whether he should be appointed a member of the faculty.”<sup>63</sup> In another letter, Dean Campbell complains about a candidate’s academic background, noting “his work in apologetics and morals is not very good.”<sup>64</sup>

It is worth noting that many of the major players in the Tufts administration and faculty had previously served in the military. Professor Robert Miller, as previously discussed, outwardly explained how his military service informed his antiwar positions. (Sol Gittleman reports that he would shake uncontrollably at the sound of fireworks.<sup>65</sup>) President Hallowell had served in the United States Army from 1942 to 1946, rising the ranks from private to captain.<sup>66</sup> Dean Charles Stearns, who oversaw negotiations between ROTC commanders and the Tufts administration, served as a naval officer aboard an aircraft carrier in the Pacific during WWII.<sup>67</sup>

Other documents from the early 1960s reflect a close working relationship between Provost Mead and NROTC commanders. In January of 1964, administrators approved a plan for NROTC midshipmen to be picked up by helicopter in Ellis Oval, the main running track and football field on the south side of Tufts campus.<sup>68</sup> This reflects the relative peace that Tufts campus enjoyed before Vietnam War activism began in earnest. Students from 1968 onwards protested campus symbols that had much smaller connections to the military.

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<sup>63</sup> CDR. W.P. Baker to Leonard C. Mead, May 18, 1961.

<sup>64</sup> Leonard C. Mead to Captain Raphael A. Zoeller, March 2, 1964.

<sup>65</sup> Sol Gittleman, “The Quiet Men,” *Tufts Now*, November 11, 2013.

<sup>66</sup> Miller, *Light on the Hill : A History of Tufts College*. 258

<sup>67</sup> Gittleman, “The Quiet Men.”

<sup>68</sup> Leonard C. Mead to Captain Raphael A. Zoeller, January 21, 1964.

The administration went so far to strictly enforcement commitments to NROTC. In the fall of 1964, Midshipman Binder told his superiors that he was considering withdrawing from NROTC and his military commitment, because he did not enjoy his NROTC summer cruise aboard a Navy vessel, and because he wished to enter graduate school post-graduation. However, he has signed a contract with NROTC before coming to Tufts that mandated a four-year commitment in return for a scholarship to Tufts. The administration came down hard on the side of NROTC, telling MIDN Binder that if he withdrew from NROTC, he would be expelled from Tufts and not allowed to reapply until September 1965. They felt they “cannot condone the breach of moral obligation to the United States Navy” and that “the University must react to the moral implications in your decision.”<sup>69</sup> The defense of ROTC values by Tufts administrators contrasts with the treatment by faculty of ROTC only five short years later.

Despite the feeling of unrest between the faculty and the ROTC detachments on campus, Tufts alumni and parents came to the ardent defense of ROTC. They made their thoughts clear in letters to the alumni publication, *The Criterion*, as well as in *Observer*, the main campus publication at that time. The former dedicated an entire article to publish the thoughts of alumni and parents. Nearly all alumni and parents came out against the university’s decision to remove ROTC from campus. They generally did not have any creative apologies of ROTC, just attacks on left-leaning youth and defenses of the United States military. One engineer from the class of 1950 was so incensed that he returned his diploma to Tufts and “[wishes] no connection whatsoever with your university as it now exists” and “[demands] that my name be removed from the roster of alumni, School of Mechanical Engineering, Class of 1950.”<sup>70</sup> The Criterion

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<sup>69</sup> Ashley S. Campbell to Benjamin Binder, Dr. Mead, Dean Schmidt, Capt. Zoeller, October 2, 1964.

<sup>70</sup> “Alumni, Parents Shoot Back on ROTC Controversy,” *The Tufts Criterion*, June 1969, Volume I, Number 5 edition.

did publish one letter from a mother of a student who was “overwhelmed that the conservative student body of Tufts voted to retain NROTC and all it stands for. Thank goodness the faculty thought otherwise.” This same mother noted that through her student son, she learned and lauded the constructive dialogue on campus.<sup>71</sup>

What was notable about discussion on Tufts campus regarding ROTC was that it focused on dialogue and debate, instead of violence and occupations. The *Criterion* reports that “during the days leading up to the faculty vote, talk on both sides flowed without interruption and with little dramatization.” A professor noted “we are a small, intimate school, and the students have always had access to the faculty and the deans and other administrators... We appear to be responding not only to legitimate student demands, but also to a demanding society. Tufts has become a place where generations can come together and learn from each other.”<sup>72</sup> The *Criterion* reported an instance in which a Navy lieutenant (perhaps Tufts NROTC instructor J.S. Ibach, a perennial campus commentator) spoke to a crowd of more than 300 students outside Ballou Hall regarding ROTC on campus. The lieutenant noted that he had been shouted down other campuses, but that “Tufts is different. Here anyone can speak and everybody listens.”<sup>73</sup> The testimony of a naval officer towards the civility on Tufts campus speaks volumes, because if anyone was to be shouted down, it would have been a military officer.

Of course, there were still antiwar protest theatrics. Pictures from *Criterion* photographs show students setting up a mock graveyard on campus “In Memory to the Class of 1969” as well as staging a mock Vietnam execution, complete with headbands, dummy rifles, and folk guitar

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<sup>71</sup> “Alumni, Parents Shoot Back on ROTC Controversy.”

<sup>72</sup> “Perhaps Not Luck We Avoided Turmoil...,” *The Tufts Criterion*, April 1969. Again, the bias of the *Criterion* must be considered, as alumni and parents would have much preferred to see a campus in dialogue than one in violence.

<sup>73</sup> “Unique Tufts Style Emerges.”

music. While most demonstrations were peaceful, there was some violent acts. Professor Miller reports that the Crane Room, on the edge of campus near Boston avenue, was firebombed in May of 1969. “The motive was unclear, although there was conjecture that the fire, which came at the height of the controversy over ROTC, was started by individuals from outside the campus who mistook Paige Hall [the adjacent building to the Crane Room] for Sweet Hall [ROTC headquarters] ...”<sup>74</sup> In a later instance, a NROTC station wagon was unsuccessfully firebombed when Navy non-commissioned officers found a poorly constructed Molotov cocktail attached to the gas tank.<sup>75</sup>

This chapter at Tufts ends the symbiotic relation Tufts enjoyed with the United States military with the expulsion of ROTC from campus. The Tufts community thoroughly discussed this issue, and in the end, a loud minority of students, combined with an activist majority of faculty, won out. While this ended ROTC as an institution on campus, it did not end the existence of ROTC cadets and midshipmen on Tufts campus.

In April of 1972, the trustees were urged by the faculty to reject on-campus recruiting and to keep ROTC off campus in the form of an informal vote, perhaps as a response to murmurings for it to return.<sup>76</sup> Throughout the fall of 1976, there were a variety of student petitions circulated to bring back ROTC. Faculty voted to allow students to register for ROTC courses at MIT, but not for credit.<sup>77</sup> In 1978, President Mayer wrote in a letter to Provost McCarthy that he was in favor in the reestablishment of NROTC on Tufts campus partly to comfort alumni.<sup>78</sup> In May of

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<sup>74</sup> Miller, *Light on the Hill : A History of Tufts College*. 291

<sup>75</sup> “Bulletin,” *Observer*, May 12, 1972.

<sup>76</sup> “Trustees Hold Key to Recruiting: Meeting Tonight,” *Observer*, April 28, 1972.

<sup>77</sup> Anne Sauer et al., “NROTC 1941-1972,” *Concise Encyclopedia of Tufts History*, 2000.

<sup>78</sup> Jean Mayer to Kathryn McCarthy, February 28, 1978. See Gittleman, 18: Mayer was another military veteran, having fought for Free French forces during WWII, as well as receiving a Croix de Guerre and Legion of Merit for his service.

2011, the faculty voted to allow a transcript note for ROTC students, but maintained a no-credit policy.<sup>79</sup> Students, including a unanimous vote of the TCU Senate, argued that ROTC students deserved more than just transcript notes.<sup>80</sup> However, Dean of Undergraduate Education James Glaser noted that faculty were still generally opposed to the concept of ROTC.<sup>81</sup>

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<sup>79</sup> Doug Lederman, "Tufts Will Recognize ROTC on Transcripts," *Inside Higher Ed*, May 3, 2011.

<sup>80</sup> "ROTC Deserves Credit beyond Transcript Recognition," *Tufts Daily*, March 30, 2011.

<sup>81</sup> Lilly Riber, "ROTC Students Indignant at Administration's Refusal to Grant Credit," *Tufts Daily*, October 30, 2006.

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