

## C O N T E N T S



### WE JEWS

*Rabbi Jonathan Perlman, who saved a number of Jews during the massacre in Pittsburgh's Tree of Light Synagogue, spoke for all of us when he said, "What happened yesterday will not break you. We will continue to thrive and sing and worship and learn together. We will not be ruined by this event."*

Stefan Merken

### The Draft in 2018

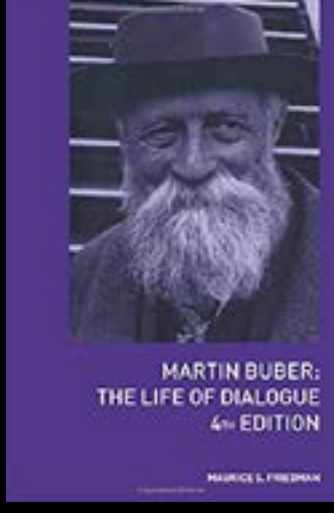
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Maurice S. Friedman

### Martin Buber on Peace

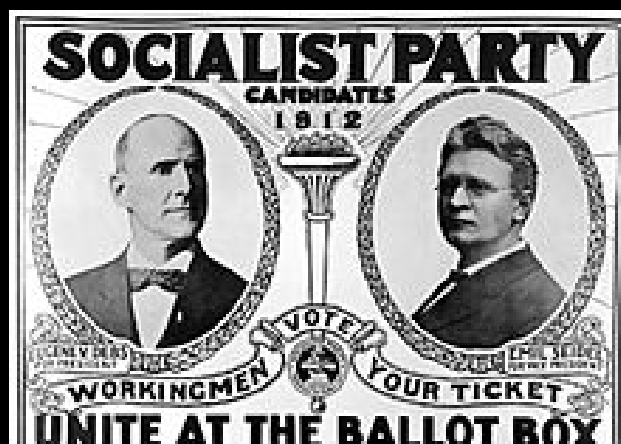
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### The Racial History of Arlington National Cemetery

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### The Antiwar Speech That Earned Eugene V. Debs 10 Years in Prison

*From Where I Sit***The Draft in 2018**

Stefan Merken

**A** short history of where we are now on the issue of registration and the draft. Many of us have not even thought about the draft in years. If you are in your 30's or older you may not even be aware of some of current laws concerning registration and the draft. Here are high points from Selective Service System (SSS):

In 1973 the government ended conscription. The SSS was put on standby.

All male citizens and residents of the U.S.A. are required to register by their 18<sup>th</sup> birthday (30 days prior and/or 30 days after).

Women are excluded and are not required to register for the draft.

There is no option to register as a Conscientious Objector.

The National Commission on Military, National, and Public Service is at work right now to determine the fate of Selective Service (Draft) Registration.

This information was taken from *The Reporter for Conscience's Sake*, Bill Galvin, and CCW Staff. For more info or to read a longer article go to <http://centeronconscience.org>.



STEFAN MERKEN is Chair of the Jewish Peace Fellowship.

☆

*Open for Comment***It's Time to Abolish Selective Service (Draft) Registration!**

Bill Galvin  
and  
Maria Santelli

**T**he National Commission on Military, National, and Public Service is at work right now to determine the fate of Selective Service (Draft) Registration, and they need to hear from people of conscience!

Congress established the Commission in September 2017 following negotiations over the National Defense Authorization Act (NDAA) and the deeply contested issue of requiring women to register for the draft.

The commission's mandate is to consider issues of national service, both military and civilian, including important questions about Selective Service registration: Should it continue, should women be required to register, and are there changes that should be made to the Selective Service System, such as those we at the Center on Conscience & War (CCW) have long advocated for, which would protect the rights of conscientious objectors?



*The Commission on draft registration is accepting comments through early 2019. Go to <https://inspire2serve.gov/> to submit yours.*

It has been decades since there has been a serious national conversation about Selective Service. This is a great opportunity to lift our voices to call for an end to Selective Service (Draft) Registration. All branches of our government have affirmed that the primary purpose of Registration is to be prepared for war. For many people of different faiths and beliefs, any cooperation with war even registration is a violation of conscience. Currently there is no option to register as a Conscientious Objector. As a result, individuals who cannot

participate are punished for life, without due process.

If the commission fails to endorse ending Registration, they must urge Congress to allow people to register as conscientious objectors and restore full rights to people of conscience.

You can submit written comments now through the Commission's website [<https://inspire2serve.gov/>](https://inspire2serve.gov/) via email, including the subject line "Docket 05-2018-01" to [<national.commission.on.service.info@mail.mil>](mailto:national.commission.on.service.info@mail.mil), or by mail to:

**National Commission on Military, National, and Public Service**  
Attn: RFI COMMENT – Docket 0 5-20180-01  
2530 Crystal Drive, Suite 1000, Room 1029  
Arlington, VA 22202

The official comment period ends September 30, 2018, but the Commission will accept comments through early 2019.

☆

BILL GALVIN is Counseling Coordinator and MARIA SANTELLI is Executive Director of The Center on Conscience & War.

**Pursue Peace**

"Be of the disciples of Aaron, loving peace and pursuing peace, loving mankind and drawing them to the Torah."

—Hillel the Elder (end of first century BCE to beginning of first century CE)

"Thou shalt not kill. Nation shall not lift up sword against nation, neither shall they learn war anymore."

—Isaiah 2:4

**SHALOM**

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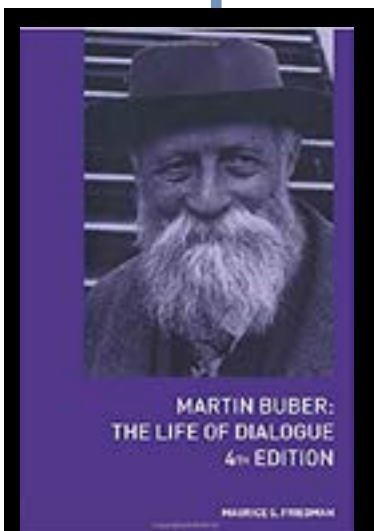


## Peacemaking

# Martin Buber on Peace

*Martin Buber (1878–1965) is in the foremost ranks of contemporary philosophers, religious thinkers, and scholars of the history of religion. He is known as a leader of Zionist thought; translator and interpreter of the Bible; interpreter of Hasidism; professor of religion in Germany and later of social philosophy at the Hebrew University, Jerusalem; organizer of adult education; and author of many books, including I and Thou (1923), Tales of the Hasidim (two volumes, 1947), and The Way of Man (1965).*

Maurice S. Friedman



Some material from Friedman's book *Martin Buber: The Life of Dialogue* (New York: Routledge, 1955; 4th edition 2002) has been used in this article.

When I asked Martin Buber to speak to the Jewish Peace Fellowship in 1952, he said, "I will do it, but you must explain to them that I am not a pacifist." "One must choose between 'ism' and 'situation,'" says Buber. By 'ism' he means action according to a set of abstract, universal principles, whether pacifist or any other, and by 'situation' the spontaneous action relevance for pacifists in Buber's philosophy with its insistence on treating the other as a "Thou" and not an "It," on experiencing a situation from the side of the other person as well as one's own, and on the use of good means to one's ends.

"What knowledge could be of greater importance to the men of our age, and to the various communities of our time," wrote Buber in 1947, than that "the use of unrighteousness as a means to a righteous end makes the end itself unrighteous?" The person or community which seeks to use evil for the sake of good destroys its own soul in the process.

The peacemaker "is God's fellow worker," but we make peace not by conciliatory words and humane projects but through making peace "wherever we are destined and summoned to do so: in the active life of our own community and in...its relationship to another community." One of the central emphases of Buber's Zionism, correspondingly, has been his insistence that the Jews in Palestine live *with* Arabs and not just *next* to them. For many years he was one of the leaders of *Ihud* (Unity) and of the League for Jewish-Arab Rapprochement and Cooperation. Buber wrote in 1939 in an open letter to Gandhi:

I belong to a group of people who from the time Britain conquered Palestine have not ceased to strive for the conclusion of a genuine peace between Jew and Arab. By a genuine peace we...

infer that both peoples together should develop the land without the one imposing its will on the other.

Although in the final analysis the only thing that can help is what is true and right, in an emergency this is not always possible. But the humanity of our existence begins there where we say:

We shall do no more injustice than we must to live. Only then do we become responsible to this life, and this responsibility cannot be laid down according to any set principle but must be ever again recognized in the depths of the soul according to the demands of each concrete situation.

"The human world," Buber wrote in 1952, "is today, as never before, split into two camps, each of which understands the other as the embodiment of falsehood and itself as the embodiment of truth." People put faith in the possibility of genuine conversation between individuals and peoples from our own as the alien culture

which has to be destroyed in order that we can live in a truly "human" world, that is, a world dominated solely by our own world-view. Yet the resumption of true dialogue between peoples will only be possible when the mistrust which divides the world into hostile camps is overcome.

The powerlessness of politics must be recognized today before it is too late, and it must be recognized by men who will come together out of the camps and will talk with one another, despite their criticism of the opposing system and their loyalty to their own. Men such as these will come together out of the camps and will talk with one another, will be able to distinguish between the true and exaggerated needs of their own and other people. There is one front of such men, writes Buber, the representatives of a true humanity who fight together even without knowing it, each in his own place. Only through genuine dialogue between them "can the opposition, certainly not be removed from the world, but be humanly arbitrated and led toward its overcoming." ☆

*"The human world is today, as never before, split into two camps, each of which understands the other as the embodiment of falsehood and itself as the embodiment of truth."*

—Martin Buber, 1952



MAURICE S. FRIEDMAN (1921–2012) was a Conscientious Objector in World War II, co-founder of the Institute for Dialogical Psychotherapy, and a widely published expert on inter-religious dialogue. He published more than twenty-five (25) books, with over a dozen about Buber including a three-volume study of Buber's life and work and concluding with the posthumously published *My Friendship with Martin Buber* (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 2013).



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## Memorialization

# The Racial History of Arlington National Cemetery

Murray Polner

Most nations maintain cemeteries for their war dead. I've visited them in France, Russia, Israel, Japan and the U.S.A. In the river town of Vicksburg, Mississippi's immaculately kept memorial park contains the remains of boys and young men killed in the Civil War.

All these burial sites are rightly deemed to be hallowed grounds. But here, Arlington National Cemetery is our most "sacred shrine." In *The Politics of Mourning: Death and Honor in Arlington National Cemetery* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2016), Micki McElya, associate professor of History at the University of Connecticut, relates Arlington's history, the good and the not so good, and does so brilliantly, gracefully and unsentimentally.

Arlington National Cemetery opened in 1864 on the estate Mary Anna Curtis, great-granddaughter of Martha Washington and wife of Confederate General Robert E. Lee. It had also housed the slave-built Freedmen's Village, a settlement of freed slaves who were paid \$75,000 in 1900 after the last remaining former slaves residents departed.

The first to be buried was a 21-year-old Union private who had not experienced combat and died in May 1864 in a local hospital.

Since then the dead of all our many wars, beginning with the Revolutionary War, have been buried there as well as notable civilians. On Decoration Day, May 1868, James A. Garfield, a Union Civil War general and eventual U.S. president, appeared at a Grand Army of the Republic-sponsored ceremony where the graves were decorated with flowers and wreaths. Setting the tone and solemn nature of the event, Garfield reverently intoned, "The soil beneath our feet [has been] washed by the tears of slaves and was now sacred."

The interred now include Medal of Honor recipients, Gus Grissom and Roger Chaffee, astronauts killed in the 1967 crash of Apollo 1; Audie Murphy and Lee Marvin, both veterans and actors; Justice Hugo Black; Medgar Evers; Alexander Haig; Robert McNamara; the agnostic Robert Ingersoll; JFK, RFK, Ted Kennedy, and Jacqueline Kennedy Onassis; Joe Louis; General George C. Marshall; WWII cartoonist Bill Mauldin; Pat Moynihan; and many others including Robert Thompson, an American Communist leader and combat veteran, and a cenotaph for band leader Major Glen Miller who died in a air crash over the English Channel. In 2011, an area was dedicated to fourteen Jewish chaplains who were killed while on active military duty in WWII, the Cold War, and Vietnam.

"The vast majority of those who journey to the ceremony do not go to mourn a friend or family member but to express patriotism's more tangible connections," writes McElya. "Millions go there every year because they want to be in the presence of heroes."

Draftees from the two world wars and Vietnam are disproportionately represented, where their many bodies worsened the cemetery's space problems. McElya writes that by the end of 1973, roughly 3,403,000 military had served in the Vietnam War.

**African Americans were not allowed burial in Arlington until 1948 when President Truman desegregated the military.**

*Continued on next page*



### *The Challenge of Shalom: The Jewish Tradition of Peace and Justice*

Edited by Murray Polner and Naomi Goodman

Highlights the deep and powerful tradition of Jewish non-violence. With reverence for life, passion for justice, and empathy for suffering, Jews historically have practiced a "uniquely powerful system of ethical peacefulness." *The Challenge of Shalom* includes sections on the Tradition, the Holocaust, Israel, Reverence for all life and Personal Testimonies. \$18.95 per copy, plus \$5 shipping.



### *Peace, Justice, and Jews: Reclaiming Our Tradition*

Edited by Murray Polner and Stefan Merken.

A landmark collection of contemporary progressive Jewish thought written by activists from Israel, the US and the UK.

*Publishers Weekly* called it "literate, thought-provoking" and "by no means homogeneous" and which looked at "from all angles, the idea that editors Polner and Merken believe reflect the most basic attitude in our Jewish heritage."

*Publishers Weekly* concluded: "There is much to learn here for anyone, Jew or Gentile, interested in global issues of peace and justice."

\$25.00 per copy, plus \$5.00 for shipping

*Continued from page 4*

Large percentages were draftees, though we know comparatively few children and grandchildren of pro-war politicians and VIPS served. Forty-three (43) percent of the dead in 1970 were conscripts, she tells us, which to me is why those eager to fight wars need a draft.

Initially, Arlington was only for white men. Before too long, the Confederate dead and Robert E. Lee were honored with a memorial, which McElya points out appeared to contemporary critics as “a stark reminder of how far the cause of black freedom had been pushed from official memories of the war.”

Remains were repatriated from the Spanish–American War and our invasion of the Philippines, soldiers and sailors killed in “American wars for empire” or as the war-loving imperialist Theodore Roosevelt, still admired by many Americans, proudly put it, “the triumph of civilization” over “the black chaos of savagery and barbarism.”

Not until 1948 when Harry Truman desegregated the military were African Americans allowed in. Medgar Evers had been drafted in 1943 and served in a segregated unit and was awarded two bronze stars for serving in the invasion of Normandy and northern France. Back home in Mississippi he joined the NAACP and the progressive American Veterans Committee. After his murder by a KKK assassin he was interred with full military honors but his burial, writes McElya, was “eulogized more pointedly as a fallen soldier in the civil rights movement.”

It wasn't as easy for two fallen Nisei soldiers, Fumitake Nagato and Saburo Tanamachi, from the storied and segregated 442nd Japanese American Regimental Combat Team. They were buried in Arlington in 1948 to much acclaim, though few press accounts mentioned the infamous 1942 Executive Order placing west coast Japanese, including their families, in internment camps. Their joint burials were “markedly different from the segregated burials of Arlington's recent past, from the separate and subservient places for nonwhite people,” McElya comments. Finally, the nation's most sacred ground was finally “recast as a terrain of inclusion and meritocracy, distinct from other parts of the country, while exhibiting its true national values” and was indeed “a model for the rest of the country on honor, citizenship, and the management of race.”

As a result, in 1949 and again 1951, a Mexican American rifleman, Felix Longoria, killed in 1945 in the Philippines and the Native American Sgt. John R. Rice, killed in the Korean War, were finally buried in Arlington, after their hometown cemeteries, whites-only, had denied them burials. Truman was so incensed that he sent the local mayor and the cemetery a telegram expressing his outrage.

Robert Thompson was quite another case. He was a leader of the Communist Party, veteran of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade in the Spanish Civil War, and a draftee in the U.S. Army where he was awarded the Distinguished Service Cross for “extraordinary heroism” in combat.

After he and other Communist leaders were later tried and convicted for violating the notorious Smith Act, he was sentenced to prison, fled, was captured, and then served four years and five months in prison. In 1957, still a party member, the fifty-year-old Thompson died of a heart attack. When his wife Sylvia applied to have him buried in Arlington, McCarthyites, politicians, and a media out for Red blood protested any suggestion that a Communist could be laid to rest in Arlington. His brave wife fought back. “Barring the ashes of my husband, a war hero, from Arlington Cemetery, is an incredibly immoral and illegal act,” she said, adding, “the Pentagon has yielded to political ghouls. Are they now saying that Arlington is only for political conformists?” Three years after his originally scheduled funeral, the Supreme Court ruled that Thompson's ashes could be interred in Arlington. Somehow the Republic survived.

The Vietnam War predictably created many unanticipated

problems for the cemetery's management. In 1969, at the nadir of the war, Sgt. Michael Sanders, a guard member of the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier and the famed Third Infantry Regiment, told his hometown Louisville Courier Journal that he and some of his fellow guard members were opposed to the war. The army then punished him by shipping him to a combat unit in Vietnam, which the then-vigorous and unintimidated antiwar military press condemned and exposed. Sanders, meanwhile, served six months in Vietnam and was then honorably discharged.

Internal and serious problems have also plagued the cemetery management and infuriated the families of the dead. Thousands of graves of our forever wars “had been mismarked, lost, or discarded,” as McElya carefully explains. It was as if veterans and their families “could not help but imagine their remains mishandled, lost, or accidentally discarded in a cemetery landfill. ...through the neglect, incompetence, or corruption of the bureaucratic state.”

Arlington is beginning to run out of space as the dead in our current and inevitable future wars continue arriving. ✧



**PFC Fumitake Nagato (1918-1944) was buried at Arlington National Cemetery in 1948. His internment along with that of PFC Saburo Tanamachi recast Arlington “as a terrain of inclusion and meritocracy.”**

## Arlington is beginning to run out of space.

**MURRAY POLNER is co-editor of SHALOM.**



*100 Years Ago***The Antiwar Speech That Earned Eugene V. Debs 10 Years in Prison**

Prominent labor organizer and political activist Eugene Debs delivered a speech at the Socialist Party convention in Canton, Ohio, on 15 June 1918. Because of it, he was prosecuted under the Sedition Act for interfering with the draft, leading to a 10-year prison sentence and the stripping of his U.S. citizenship. (He ended up serving 2 years and 8 months in the slammer; President Warren G. Harding commuted his sentence.) Interestingly, Debs ran for President on the Socialist Party ticket five times, with the last time occurring while he was in prison [in 1920]. He received almost one million votes.

—The Memory Hole

**W**ars thought history have been raged for conquest and plunder. In the Middle Ages when the feudal lords who inhabited the castles whose towers may still be seen along the Rhine concluded to enlarge their domains, to increase their power, their prestige and their wealth they declared war upon one another. But they themselves did not go to war any more than the modern feudal lords, the barons of Wall Street go to war.

The feudal barons of the Middle Ages, the economic predecessors of the capitalists of our day, declared all wars. And their miserable serfs had been taught to revere their masters; to believe that when their masters declared war upon one another, it was their patriotic duty to fall upon one another and to cut one another's throats for the profit and glory of the lords and barons who held them in contempt. And that is



*Eugene Debs, the rail union president who ran five times as a Socialist for the U.S. presidency, campaigned with fiery speeches. (Chicago Tribune historical photo)*

war in a nutshell. The master class has always declared the wars; the subject class has always fought the battles. The master class has had all to gain and nothing to lose, while the subject class has had nothing to gain and all to lose—especially their lives.

They have always taught and trained you to believe it to be your patriotic duty to go to war and to have yourselves slaughtered at their command. But in all the history of the world you, the people, have never had a voice in declaring war and strange as it certainly appears, no war by any nations in any age has ever been declared by the people.

And here let me emphasize the fact—and it cannot be repeated too often—that the working class who fight all the battles, the working class who make the supreme sacrifices, the working class who freely shed their blood and furnish the corpses, have never yet had a voice in either declaring war or making peace. Yours not to reason why; yours but to do and die. That is their motto and we object on the part of the awakening workers of this nation. If war is right let it be declared by the people. You who have your lives to lose, your certainly above all others have the right to decide the momentous issue of war or peace...

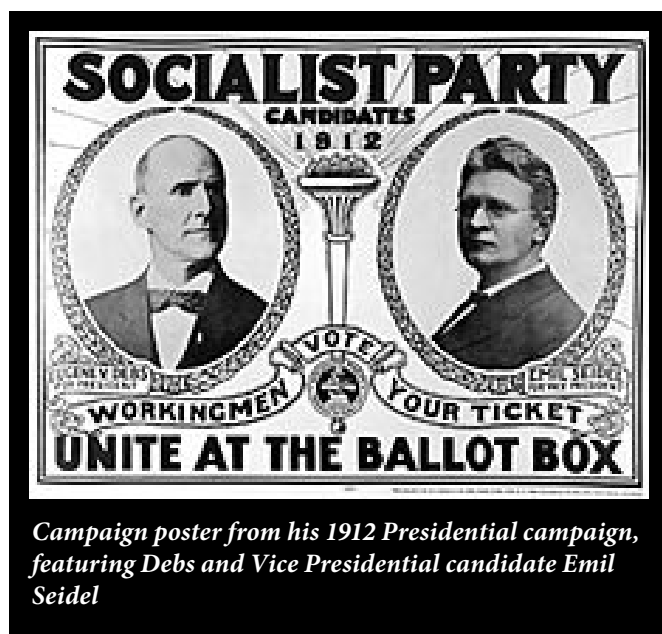
You need at this time especially to know that you are fit for something better than slavery and cannon fodder. You need to know that you were not created to work and produce and impoverish yourself to enrich an idle exploiter. You need to know that you have a mind to improve, a soul to develop, and a manhood to sustain...

*The working class who fight all the battles and shed their blood have never had a voice in declaring war or making peace.*

They are continually talking about your patriotic duty. It is not their but your patriotic duty that they are concerned about. There is a decided difference. Their patriotic duty never takes them to the firing line or chucks them into the trenches. And now among other things they are urging you to "cultivate" war gardens, while at the same time a government war report just issued shows that practically 52 percent of the arable, tillable soil is held out of use by the landlords, speculators and profiteers. They themselves do not cultivate the soil. Nor do they allow others to cultivate it. They keep it idle to enrich themselves, to pocket the millions of dollars of unearned increment...

And now for all of us to do our duty! The clarion call is ringing in our ears and we cannot falter without being convicted of treason to ourselves and to our great cause.

Do not worry over the charge of treason to your masters, but be concerned about the treason that involved yourselves. Be true to yourself and you cannot be a traitor to any good cause on earth. ✪



*Campaign poster from his 1912 Presidential campaign, featuring Debs and Vice Presidential candidate Emil Seidel*